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ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE EMERGENCIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY I.

WITH

LARGE APPENDIXES, CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

One generation shall praise thy works unto another, and declare thy power.—The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed; and men shall sing of thy righteousness.
Psalm cxlv. 4, 7.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. I. PART I.

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ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

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AND

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SHEWING

THE VARIOUS EMERGENCIES

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII.

WITH

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS MADE OCCASIONALLY, OF PERSONS IN CHURCH AND STATE, OF EMINENT NOTE IN THAT KING'S REIGN;

AND PARTICULARLY OF

THE TWO ENGLISH CARDINALS, WOLSEY AND POLE.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;

AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace;

THAT I, with your favour and licence, dedicate these Ecclesiastical Memorials to your Grace, is not with intent that you should countenance and defend all that is contained in them, or patronize the frail and fallible author; nor yet this way to recommend my work to the world, nor for any other mercenary ends, as have been not unusual in dedications to persons of great figure and eminence: but indeed, to speak the truth, that both the author and his book may receive an honour and ornament from so great and venerable a name as your Grace's is.

Your Grace will not regard so much the private writer, as the gravity and importance of the subjects treated of, being matters historical of this noble kingdom; and chiefly, and most designedly, the ecclesiastical affairs and transactions throughout the reigns of three princes successively: wherein reli-

gion met with so many remarkable changes and struggles; till at last, by the good providence of God overruling the counsels and contrivances of men, the Church of England was purged from many gross errors in doctrine, and inveterate superstitions in worship, and a happy reformation at length effected. The accounts whereof are so large, that besides what other historians have writ, many more notices remain in the divers records and archives of our kingdom, to amplify this illustrious part of English history. And from faithful collections thence, I have endeavoured to make further discoveries of these very weighty concerns.

And perhaps it may be no improper matter of contemplation to your Grace, in your high place and calling, in order to your government of this Church under his Majesty King George, to observe the method and course taken in those times, in the cause of religion, by holy divines and bishops, and especially your incomparable predecessor Archbishop Cranmer; who by his wisdom, learning, and pains, was so active and successful in reforming and restoring religion in the two former princes' reigns, and which cost him his blood in the third. But we that live in these times (uncessant thanks be to God) enjoy the benefit of their labours and sufferings.

And now nothing seems to be wanting to perfect this our Reformation, but (which I am sure is one of your Grace's chief cares) a sweet union and concord among us, who still have this mighty blessing of the reformed religion: that *with one mind and one mouth we may glorify God*; according to the Apostle's advice to one of his Churches: and, that *there*

Rom. xv. 6.

1 Cor. i. 10.

may be no divisions among us, but that we may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment; as he exhorted another too sadly divided Church. And whatever endeavours have been made to bring this desirable thing to pass by disputations and argumentations, or otherwise, methinks the reading and pondering well these ecclesiastical histories might be of considerable influence towards the effecting it; wherein is related, by what measures the Reformation was carried on, and what able and excellent men were employed therein, and with what thanksgiving and gladness it was universally received. For the godly reformers, the great transactors of this heavenly work, were wise, learned, and holy men, sufferers many of them, and martyrs for the cause: who set themselves impartially to purge this Church of all its former superstition, idolatry, corruption, and false doctrine; and who made the word of God, revealed in the sacred Scripture, the only rule they made use of in this great undertaking; and consulted also with the most eminent reformers of the Churches abroad. And how infinitely joyful were all good men then in the restoration of the gospel, and the freedom to profess it! And how unanimously did they join together in the public service of God then established!

These things, I say, which are largely told in some parts of these volumes, might serve to reconcile, in all peaceable spirits, an esteem for this Church of England, and for the worship and service performed in it; being nothing but what we see was exercised in the first and happy establishment of it under King Edward the VIth; and which

cost so many years, and so much pains and blood. And I pray God, these and such like writings may produce such good effect.

But, my Lord, I dare not detain your Grace any longer, after I have recommended this my labour to the charitable censure of your Grace, and all other pious and judicious readers: being,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

THESE Memorials, respecting chiefly religion, and the reformation of it in this kingdom in former times, the author had composed and fitted for the press divers years ago; but thought fit to lay them aside for a time, and to begin rather with what he had writ of the Lives and Acts of the four first Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury; as shewing therein the beginning, progress, opposition, and establishment of the said happy Reformation, in a continued history, under the influence of those most worthy confessors and prelates. Nor did he think it convenient to burden those books, which were large enough of themselves, by inserting those memorials into them, which would have rendered them too bulky, and less saleable: but rather chose to compile them into other volumes by themselves, in due time to follow the rest, in order to the rendering more complete the former published histories. This gave occasion to their being suppressed hitherto.

But they being a faithful collection of many important matters which went before, accompanied, or immediately relating to that great work carrying on in the State, and well worthy to be known, the author was willing and desirous that they may now be recommended to the world; and that all that value our Church and religion reformed, and that are studious of this sort of antiquities, may enjoy them; and that they may be the more correctly set forth by himself, and have his review before his death, which his great age suggesteth cannot be far off. And he dares promise, that those learned and reverend persons, who have approved

and encouraged his former pains and studies, will not be disappointed in these now offered: and presumes, that the further knowledge of this part of English history will not be disagreeable to them, as well as it may be useful and beneficial to those of this Church and kingdom, and entertaining also to all persons inquisitive into the transactions about religion in those critical times, (so memorable, when the corruptions of the Church and churchmen began to be looked into,) and the progress made therein in those three reigns.

But I must let my reader know, that I did not intend, when I took this work in hand, to write a complete Ecclesiastical History under those three supreme governors of this land, and of all the occurrences and events of religion and the Church in their reigns; for that hath been done, or endeavoured by some historiographers already. Mine are only Ecclesiastical Memorials; and intended but to supply what hath been omitted by them, or to rectify some mistakes or misrepresentations of persons and things; or to fill up and enlarge matters, more briefly or imperfectly related in our published histories. Nor do I pretend to complete those writings: what I do is only to communicate to the world what I have of this sort of history, out of my store, and to digest these notices in their proper places, chronologically from year to year as they occurred. My design being chiefly to bring to light such further particulars as I have found in state-papers, and letters, and records, and many other original MSS. of the best sort, after long and diligent converse with them.

And that the readers may be the better satisfied with what I have done in this undertaking, and give the more credit thereunto, I shall first shew them with what materials I have been furnished, and what assistances I have had: and then, what diligence, care, and faithfulness I have used in the digesting of them into some volumes.

These Memorials then are compiled from transcripts by me taken out of divers libraries of MSS. the choicest in the kingdom, to which I obtained access: whereof one was the

Cotton library. Several volumes whereof I had the free perusal of, and liberty to transcribe from, by the favour of Sir John Cotton, bart. then the possessor thereof, at his own house. Such another library, consisting of MSS. is that belonging to Bene't college in Cambridge, being the collections of that famous antiquarian, Matthew Parker, sometime archbishop of Canterbury: to which I had access by the favour of Dr. Spenser, sometime master of that house. Dr. John More, sometime bishop of Norwich, and after of Ely, by his great industry and charge, made a very large and noble collection of such original writings: from them also I had his leave and encouragement to take copies, as I thought good; and the rather, for our ancient friendship and acquaintance, and equal standing in the University. In the Paper-house at Westminster are reposited a great number of papers of state: to this house I was also admitted by the favour of Sir Joseph Williamson, knt. sometime keeper of that office; a friend having first procured me a licence from the Council-table directed to him, to admit me. The honourable Mr. Harley, now the right honourable the Earl of Oxford and Mortymer, erected a library, stored with great numbers of papers of this sort, at his house in York Buildings, while he lived a private life there: I had his favour then of free access thereunto, and liberty to transcribe: from whence also I made considerable collections. Such a treasurer up of choice papers of state, and such like originals, was William Petyt, esq. late keeper of the Tower records, deceased: he also favoured me with free access to them, remaining then in his chambers in the Inner Temple; but now removed to a library erected in the same Temple, for the repositing and preserving them. The office of Heralds hath a treasury of most valuable papers; whence also, by their continued favour, I have taken not a few copies for my turn. I have had also the use of numerous MSS. of ecclesiastical affairs, sometime belonging to the famous martyrologist, John Fox; and that by the kindness of a gentleman that was executor to the said Fox's last descendant, deceased. I have had the

perusal of divers notable state letters, or of more private correspondence between persons of the highest rank and quality in Church and Court, preserved in the house of a gentleman of quality, descended from a secretary of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth.

Besides all which, I have had the benefit of correspondence with some learned and accurate men in the Universities: who furnished me with many useful transcripts from some of the college libraries, or from their own private stores: and of one also from Canterbury, *viz.* the Reverend N. Battely, vicar of Bekesborn, deceased, (whom I must never forget to mention with gratitude and respect,) from whom I received not a few curious things, taken from the records and antiquities of that cathedral church, as well as elsewhere, as from the Council-books in those reigns. But besides these, other worthy persons have communicated choice papers of this nature, to encourage and enable my studies in such historical notices concerning our Church and churchmen in that age of reformation, in order to the publishing of what I have, or might hereafter do; as namely, the right reverend Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester lent me a volume of extracts from the registers of our convocations. Also, Mr. Thoresby of Leeds, Dr. Sampson, sometime a physician in London, and Mr. Roger Morice, a minister, deceased, gave the like assistances.

And besides this treasure of collections from libraries and friends, I made use of many books anciently set forth; which are now so much out of knowledge, that they may be held near equivalent to ancient MSS. whence many remarks may be taken to illustrate and improve the history of those times, both as to public and private transactions: and to recover the knowledge of many men of figure, whether of the laity or clergy, of the city or court; in the times wherein these Memorials are concerned.

My diligence also will in part appear, in that I have made no use of transcribers and amanuenses: or, that I saw not the originals myself, but left it to the care of others to take out thence: who oftentimes make mistakes, omissions, and

false writing of letters and words, to the spoiling and corrupting of the true sense, sometimes by negligence or too much haste, and sometimes for want of skill, and not knowing well the manner of old writing in the shape of the letters, or the abbreviations commonly used in times past. For the prevention of which inconveniencies, I writ all from the MSS. with mine own pen, and with as much care as I could, that whatsoever I transcribed might be exactly taken, both as to the letter and spelling.

I have been very careful not to repeat what I found already published, and appearing in print, unless for the causes above mentioned: and therefore, if any such records, letters, or other papers shall be found in these volumes, they are for some good reason inserted. Yet perhaps some very few may have slipped in without my knowledge that they were elsewhere shewn: as I find there are one or two in Bishop Burnet's third volume of his History of the Reformation.

I have avoided partiality, or relating matters occurring, with a favour to one side, or prejudice to another: and have made it my course to set down things as I met with them, on which side, party, religion, or persuasion soever the persons concerned were: and generally, in the very words of the papers and writings where I found them.

I have noted the various books that came forth from year to year, as I had seen or met with them, of what sort soever they were; but chiefly such as concerned religion. Of these, for the better instruction what they were, I have briefly told the contents, purposes, and subjects treated of; gathered from the epistles dedicatory, or from the prefaces, and sometimes the heads of the books themselves. Of which books some were Popish, some Protestant, some Puritan, some schismatical, or heretical.

Remarks and observations also are here made of divers persons, whether of the court or clergy, whose names occur in the current of the history, scarce yet taken notice of by our historians, and they of note in those days, whose memory by this time is in effect lost and perished. And commonly

received opinions of others are occasionally rectified, and more truly represented; and their words and actions set in a truer light.

Many considerable notices are given, particularly of the two English cardinals in King Henry's reign, with whom he had so much to do; which are scarcely met with elsewhere, so particularly and largely as will be found in these commentaries.

I need not mention the profit and use that may be made of them; but in short, the best use of all is, that we of this kingdom may gather hence abundant cause to thank God, that hath cast our lot in these days, when, after so many years' pains and struggles, so much blood and opposition, gross ignorance of religion, superstition and idolatry is removed, and the saving knowledge of God and his word, and the free profession of the gospel in the truth and purity of it, is brought unto us. And wherein we may observe, how providentially things fell out by little and little, by unseen causes, and sometimes unmeet men, to bring to pass our Reformation.

I end this my preface with the same good counsel to my readers, that J. Clement, a preacher in King Edward's days, and a sufferer under Queen Mary, gave his, in the beginning of a little book of his, called *A Confession of his Faith*, viz.

> Put away contention, and read with discretion:
> Try only by the touchstone: judge without affection.

Excellent rules for readers, as well of books of history as of religion.

Written from Low Leyton in Essex,
August the first, 1721.

CHAPTERS AND CONTENTS

OF THE

MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,

UNDER THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY VIII.

THE INTRODUCTION. Page 3.

CHAP. I.

Wolsey's counsel and influence in the King's affairs. Goes over into France with the King. Present at the conquest of Tournay. Nominated Bishop of that city by the King. Had the abbey of St. Martin's there. The care and affairs of Tournay committed to him. Letters of the Council there to him. His spies in France. Intelligences from them. Discovery of a conspiracy in France to invade England. The Chapter of Tournay's letter to Cardinal Wolsey, their bishop. Another Elect pretends to that bishopric. The Pope's *breve* in Wolsey's behalf. The cause referred by the Pope to two Cardinals. Richard Sampson, the Cardinal's chaplain, his Chancellor and chief officer there. The French King's letter to King Henry. Transactions for peace. The Cardinal's managery thereof. His letters to the King's ambassadors at the French Court. Tournay restored upon terms: and the bishopric. Ann. 1513. —1518. P. 5.

CHAP. II.

An interview proposed between the two Kings. The obstructing thereof endeavoured by some foreign ambassadors. The Cardinal's answer to their jealousies, arising thence. The King suspicious of France's amity. The Cardinal the King's Lieutenant at Calais, sends his advice to the King about it: and for the English merchants' ships trading thither. His letters Ann. 1520. —1522.

to the King. The King's book against Luther: printed at London by Pynson. The Pope gives the King the title of *Defender of the Faith*, for writing this book. The King becomes zealous for the Pope. The Cardinal instrumental therein. T e English Court noted abroad for learning. A commission from the Cardinal to all Bishops, to have Luther's books delivered up. Luther's errors condemned by the Pope; ordered by the Cardinal to be fixed upon the doors of all cathedrals and other churches. P. 38.

CHAP. III.

Ann. 1523. 1524. Bishop Fisher's book against Luther. The King grants his privilege for printing it; with his commendation of it. A note of the change of the King's mind afterwards; looked upon as a wonder. He shews his zeal for the Pope, in an embassy to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Sends him the Garter. The ceremonies thereof. The Cardinal's instructions to the King's ambassadors there. He appointeth a reformation of the Clergy in both provinces. Fox, Bishop of Winton, his excellent letter to the Cardinal thereupon. Stafford reads lectures out of the holy Scriptures, and St. Paul's Epistles, in Cambridge. Paynel and Thixtel, learned divines there. The Cardinal removeth the Convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster. The dispute thereupon arising. He summons a new Convocation throughout England. P. 62.

CHAP. IV.

The King assisteth the Emperor against France. He consulteth with the Cardinal about forces to be sent to him to Italy. Six thousand archers. The Cardinal's book drawn up for settling the same: and his letter thereupon to the King. The King's ambassadors at Rome. The Cardinal's letters of instruction to them, concerning the affairs then in hand. To Clark, Bishop of Bath; to Pace; and to Dr. Knight, ambassador with the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries. His instructions to him concerning the King of Denmark; beaten out of his kingdom. P. 78.

CHAP. V.

Ann. 1525. 1526. The King's letter to Luther upon his book; and Luther's former letter to the King, occasioning that letter. The French

King taken prisoner by the Emperor. By the Cardinal's policy, King Henry enters into league with that King. Dr. Knight, and Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, ambassadors in France. Their instructions from the Cardinal. Form of the peace drawn up by the Cardinal between the two Kings. The letter to the Emperor drawn up by the Cardinal. P. 91.

CHAP. VI.

The Pope imprisoned by the Emperor. The Cardinal draws up a requisition to him in favour of the Pope. Goes Ambassador to France. Made Vicar General by the Pope. An instance of his exercise of it. The Cardinal's Legantine Courts. His Courts for wills and testaments. The Archbishop of Canterbury's contest with the Cardinal about his Courts. Complains to the King. The King rebukes him. Anno 1527. P. 105.

CHAP. VII.

Prosecution of divers persons in the diocese of London for religion. Visitation of London diocese. Divers detected of heresy in Essex, London, &c. Their confessions; and penances. P. 113.

CHAP. VIII.

A continuation of the visitation and prosecution of the professors of the Gospel in the diocese of London. Further proceedings of the Bishop and his Chancellor the next year. His Vicar General goes down into Essex to visit. Many detected in Colchester, and other parts thereabouts. P. 124.

CHAP. IX.

The Cardinal acting in the King's matrimonial cause. Ambassadors sent to the Pope for dissolving the marriage. The King's own book against it. Brought to the Pope. The Pope reads the King's book, and commends it. P. 134.

CHAP. X.

Divers conferences with the Pope about the King's cause. The Pope declares his mind to the Ambassador in this matter. At length yields to the King's demand. Anno 1528. P. 142.

CHAP. XI.

The Pope declines the King's matter, as much as he could, for

fear of the Emperor. Notable speeches of Dr. Gardiner, ambassador with the Pope. P. 149.

CHAP. XII.

A secret commission propounded by the ambassadors. But trifled with. But the commission at last sealed. P. 155.

CHAP. XIII.

Fox, one of the King's ambassadors with the Pope, returns home. Delivers his letters from the Pope to the King. Brings with him a dispensation and the said commission. The King glad thereof. The Cardinal's care of his conscience. The King begins to be offended with the Pope. His sharp speech against him. P. 159.

CHAP. XIV.

Cardinal Campeius comes into England from the Pope. Other business and concerns with the Pope. The Cardinal's colleges founded by him. The monasteries dissolved, and parsonages impropriated, for their endowments. The Pope's approbation thereof. P. 165.

CHAP. XV.

Ann. 1529. 1530. The Cardinal of York's declination and fall. Tyndal's Book of Obedience falls into the Cardinal's hand. The strange event thereof. The Cardinal exceedingly dejected. Labours by his servants, Crumwel and Gardiner, the recovery of the King's favour. His letter to Gardiner. Is pardoned by the King. His need, and miserable circumstances. His concern for his college. His rules for his school at Ipswich. P. 171.

CHAP. XVI.

Some observations upon this Cardinal. Addressed to by the title of Your Highness. Proud; yet courteous. Liberal and munificent. Advances many. Would obtain his own ends. His court-craft. His Legantine Court. Instrumental to much public good. Erasmus's commendation of him. A patron to Erasmus. P. 182.

CHAP. XVII.

A Convocation. The condition of the Clergy at this time. Their laws and constitutions complained of. The Convocation sub-

mits to the King. The synod's defence. The Clergy own the King's supremacy. Matters to be proposed in Convocation. Deliberation about retrenching the Church's power. P. 198.

CHAP. XVIII.

New-year's-gifts of the clergy, and nobility, and gentry, to the King. The festival. The church-book: printed for the use of Priests and Curates. What it contained. The beads. P. 210. Ann. 1531. 1532.

CHAP. XIX.

King Henry's matrimonial cause. Books writ of this argument. He requires the judgments of Universities and learned men in other countries. An agent sent abroad for that purpose. A fish of a monstrous bigness taken at Tinmouth. Act against Annates. An address from the Convocation to the King against them. The Carthusians flatter the King in the dedication of a book to him. P. 216.

CHAP. XX.

The Princess Mary; the King's message to her; no more to be called Princess. The Pope rejects the King's appeal. A book writ thereupon. Books writ against the Pope's usurpations. The King's book against him. P. 224. Anno 1533.

CHAP. XXI.

Deliberation at the Council Board about casting off the Pope's authority. Resolutions taken. Doctor Sampson, Dean of the King's chapel, his book in Latin for the King's supremacy against the Pope. The contents thereof. P. 230.

CHAP. XXII.

Struggling for the Pope by some of the Clergy. Divers of these emissaries about the nation. A letter of Latymer to one of them. A priest's complaint of him. A ballad made of him. His apology for himself. A Papist writes, who Antichrist is. P. 244.

CHAP. XXIII.

The general sentence, or curse. Books prohibited. Dispersers of them. Acts of Parliament against the Pope. Friars preach for the Pope still; and for Queen Katharine: specially the Friars of Greenwich. The Bishops take the oath of supre- Anno 1534.

macy. Instructions to them, and to all the high sheriffs, to urge the King's title. Order for preaching, and the beads. Latymer made the King's Chaplain. Accused to the King. His vindication of himself. P. 253.

CHAP. XXIV.

Books and discourses about this time, viz. *De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis, &c. De Potestate Regis. De vera Obedientia*; made by Dr. Gardiner. Bishop Fisher's troubles. His letter to the Secretary. P. 263.

CHAP. XXV.

Matters of Sir Thomas More. The Nun of Canterbury; called *The holy Maid of Kent*. Some account of her. More's concern with her. Gives occasion of the King's displeasure against him. P. 271.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1535. The authority of the Kings of England in spirituals. Various heads of common places with respect thereto. The Bishops preach the supremacy, and enjoin it. The orders in the province of York, by that Archbishop. The Clergy of York. The integrity of this Archbishop suspected. He satisfieth certain Priors. His judgment of Bishop Fisher's death. Several Bishops, their letters to the Secretary; concerning their preaching the King's supremacy; and orders for it in their dioceses. P. 283.

CHAP. XXVII.

The northern Clergy backward in their obedience to the King. Some of them taken up for seditious preaching. Letters sent thither from the King. A book of the King's supremacy, to be read by the Curates, revised and augmented. P. 296.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Some executed for refusing to swear to the King's supremacy. The Friars of the Charter House consult at a Chapter. Three of them sent to the Tower. Condemned for treason. Their speeches. Their characters. Three more of them executed. The King would have reclaimed them. The condition of this house. An order for the Charter House. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More executed. He a great persecutor: some instances of it. Bilney, Petit, Tewkesbury, Baynham, Frith. P. 299.

CHAP. XXIX.

Crumwel now the King's great instrument. The Benedictine order visited. Royal visitations of the religious houses and dioceses throughout the kingdom; and the Universities. Lectures appointed by the visitors. P. 316

CHAP. XXX.

The valuation of the benefices to be taken. Letters from the Commissioners sent abroad for that purpose. Their instructions. The King offended with the Bishop of Winchester. His letter to the King. The Bishops, how affected to the Reformation. Shaxton Bishop of Sarum's case. P. 325.

CHAP. XXXI.

The King's Primer, set forth for the better instruction of the people in their prayers and devotions. A particular account of this book. Seditious books called in by proclamation. Sir Thomas Eliot's letter on this occasion. Some account of this learned Knight. His books. P. 335.

CHAP. XXXII.

The King's embassy to Scotland, France, and Germany: to draw other princes from dependance on the Pope: and to resume their own right and supreme power. Dr. Fox sent into Germany. Petitions of the German Protestant princes to the King. His answer to them. Some account of the King's ambassadors sent to Germany. Conference with the Wittenburgh divines. The princes are in a demur. Dr. Barnes sent to Germany before: and Haynes and Mount into France secretly. Endeavour to bring Melancthon into England. The King invites him hither by an obliging letter and message. P. 346.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Reginald Pole dealt withal to acknowledge the supremacy, and the lawfulness of the King's divorce. Starky, a learned man, commanded to write to him. His argument with Pole about the King's divorce. Pole's answer. Starky again to him. His vindication of the execution of the Carthusian monks. Papal indulgences granted to St. Lazar in North Wales. King

Henry flattered by old prophecies. Princess Katharine Dowager dies. Her last will: and some remarks of her. P. 361.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Anno 1536. Embassy of the German Princes to the King. Their instructions for making a league with the King. A Convocation. The King, and Council, and Clergy, protest against the Council at Mantua. A new Convocation. A protestation of the Convocation against errors and abuses. Popish bulls, dispensations, &c. annulled by Parliament. The Convocation of the northern province; stiff in their old principles. Their answer upon ten articles sent them. A royal visitation for York, moved. Dr. Layton's letter to Crumwel thereupon. Layton and others appointed visitors of all religious houses. The cause of their dissolution. P. 376.

CHAP. XXXV.

A visitation of the religious houses. Visitors appointed by the Lord Crumwel. Their instructions and commissions. Many surrender their houses. The visitors' divers letters, giving accounts of the monasteries; *viz.* of Reading, of Glastenbury, Maiden Bradley, Brutan, Ferley; relics in those places. Leicester. Wolstrope, a pious monastery. Nunneries of Catesby, Stixwold. Monasteries in the diocese of Litchfield; in Kent, Folkestone, &c. Pensions allowed the Monks, &c. Suitors for some religious houses. Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor, for the Spitals. Ramsey abbey. Fountains and Rivax. Papers preparatory to a suppression. Value taken of all monasteries and benefices ecclesiastical. P. 388.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Monks of the Charter House, their dissimulation. The dissolution of it. Queen Anne's death. A favourer of religion, and such as suffered for it. Her pious letter to Crumwel. Her discourses with the Constable in the Tower. The condition of the Lady Elizabeth her daughter. The Lady Mary now sues to be reconciled to the King, with her submission. Several articles sent to her to subscribe. Pole's sayings to the King in a letter upon Queen Anne's execution. Divers Protestants now persecuted. Their tenets. Articles against Bar-

low, Bishop of St. David's. Seditious books brought in. The Bishop of Durham writes to the Secretary about them. Contest between the Bishop of Lincoln and his Archdeacon. P. 427.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Letters to and from Reginald Pole. Hopes conceived of Pole. Two questions propounded to him by the King, in a letter from Starky. His book, *De Unione Ecclesiasticâ*, writ to the King. Latymer's judgment of the book, in a sermon before King Edward. A long and earnest letter of Starky to him about it. The King displeased with Starky. His letter to the Lord Privy Seal, to favour him to the King; with his protestation on his own behalf. P. 445.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The King sends for Pole. He excuses his coming; and why. Bishop Tonstal reads Pole's book by the King's command. The Bishop is much moved at the reading it. His letter to Pole, shewing his dislike of it. Pole again in answer to the Bishop. The Pope sends for Pole to Rome. Which occasions another letter to him from Starky: upon the rumour of his being talked of to be a Cardinal. Tonstal and Stokesly to him, upon his being made a Cardinal. The Pope sends him to France. Thence he writes to Crumwel. Departs out of France. Declares his merits towards the King. P. 455.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Regulation of preaching. The letters of instruction to the Bishops. Crumwel's letter to the Bishops, with the King's letter. What was done in York diocese upon these letters. One in Worcestershire sent for up for his preaching. Rebels in the north. The King goes to Canterbury. Entertained at St. Augustin's. Notes out of a journal of that monastery. The whole Bible in English first printed, with marginal notes. P. 466.

CHAP. XL.

Cardinal Pole declared the King's rebel. Recalled to Rome. Anno 1537. His legacy from the Pope to France. Discoveries made concerning Pole, by Throgmorton and Legh, to Crumwel by their letters. P. 476.

CHAP. XLI.

Letters congratulatory of the Universities to the King, for his proceedings in reforming religion. *The Institution of a Christian Man* now comes forth. The judgments of a great many Bishops and other learned men concerning confirmation. Rodolph Bradford, a learned man. Some account of him. Humphrey Monmouth, an eminent citizen of London, dies. Formerly committed for heresy. Articles ministered against him by Sir Thomas More. His petition to Cardinal Wolsey and the Council. His last pious will. P. 484.

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538. Injunctions for religion, set forth by Crumwel, the King's Vicegerent. His letter to Archbishop Cranmer for these Injunctions. The proceeding of the Archbishop upon that letter; and of the Bishop of Chichester. This Bishop's message to Rye, upon dissensions there. Crumwel offended with him. His vindication of himself, in a letter to Crumwel. He is committed to the Tower. He confesseth a combination of himself and some other Bishops, to do their endeavours to preserve the old religion. His letter to Crumwel, confirming what he had said of the Bishops of Durham, London, and Winchester. The Church of Norwich turned into a dean and canons. The King's patents for the same. But void for want of the Bishop's consent. P. 493.

CHAP. XLIII.

Treaty with the German Princes, confederates. Melancthon writes to the King. A conference about religion, between the German ambassadors and the English divines. The heads argued of by them. The Bishops disagree. Archbishop Cranmer's endeavours to bring them to a compliance. The ambassadors depart. The King's obliging farewell to them. Writings of the Bishops concerning divers abuses in religion. The King's writings of purgatory and priests' marriage. Another letter of Melancthon to the King, exciting him to further the cause of religion, and a consent in pious doctrine. The Council at Vincenza. The King protests against it. The Pope excommunicates him; and absolves his subjects from their obedience. P. 506.

CHAP. XLIV.

Books set forth against the Pope's supremacy in England. Some contents of them. Bishop of Durham's sermon against the Pope before the King. Therein he reflected upon Cardinal Pole, acted by the Pope against his natural prince and country. P. 512.

CHAP. XLV.

Affairs between the King and the German Protestant Princes. Anno 1539. They send their agents hither: as the King had his agents with them. The King receives another excellent letter from Melancthon, brought by one of the agents. The report of the King's agents, Mount and Paynel, from the Princes. Melancthon's letter to Crumwel. Sarcerius, Prince of Nassau's chaplain, meets the King's agents at Frankfort. His letter to the King. Principles of the German Protestants, shewed by their agents here. These good endeavours of concord succeeded not: and why. P. 522.

CHAP. XLVI.

Injunctions concerning books and sects. The greater monasteries suppressed. The good promised thereby not performed. The Monks' ill behaviour and dissolute lives. The Monks of Sawtry. Mr. Loud murdered by them. New cathedrals founded out of them. Religious houses dissolved. P. 530.

CHAP. XLVII.

The King wavers in religion. Six articles propounded in Convocation, enacted in Parliament, with difficulty: sadly resented. Dr. Heins's letter to a courtier, concerning the bill of six articles. Shaxton and Latymer upon this leave their bishopries. Many burnt upon this act. Others fly beyond seas. A book of ceremonies now framed by a Convocation. Letters patents for the English Bible. A proclamation for reading it. The German agents see the King married to Anne of Cleves: return. The King's discourse with them at parting. The confederates expostulate with him by their letters for the six articles. P. 542.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Anno 1540. A commission to certain Bishops and Divines, to examine the doctrine and ceremonies. The Lord Vicegerent's speech to the Lords. What was performed by them. Their judgments of several points penned by themselves. Errors and anabaptistical opinions spring up. The King dissatisfied about the Lady Anne of Cleves's marriage. The case committed to the Convocation. The King's commission to them. Referred to a committee. The depositions taken concerning the marriage. The decree of the Clergy of both provinces, that the King was not obliged by that marriage; but was free to marry elsewhere. Their letters thereof to the King. P. 550.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Lord Crumwel's end. His honours. His character. Barnaby, a merchant, Crumwel's servant: employed abroad in France by him. His advice about Newhaven. Names of the Privy Counsellors, and their order of sitting. Commissions granted out upon the act of six articles. Prisoners upon that act, priests and others in London. Dr. Barnes burnt. Gospellers in Cambridge and Oxford. A commission for Oxford. Robert Wisdom, a learned divine of London, taken up. His doctrines; which from Lollard's Tower he declareth his sense of. Huntington a priest and poet. The supremacy gone through and acknowledged in Ireland. P. 561.

CHAP. L.

Ann. 1541. —1543. A new Convocation. Bible in folio printed. The Bishop of Winton, Chancellor of Cambridge, interposeth in a controversy arisen there about the pronouncing of Greek. Makes a decree about it, in opposition to Cheke, that read the Greek lecture. He argues with the Chancellor in certain letters. Vindicates himself from rashness. Notwithstanding, Cheke's new and true way prevails in the University. The Chancellor's letter upon this to his Vice-Chancellor. Dr. London, a great champion of the Pope, dies. Three learned men admitted to the Privy Council. The Convocation meets again. *The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man.* The King's pre-

face to that book. *The right Pathway.* Procession to be said in English. P. 573.

CHAP. LI.

Leland's new-year's-gift to the King; being an account of his commission to search the libraries of the monasteries and colleges throughout the whole realm. John Loud, a learned and pious man. William Morice another. Some account of them. Persecution at Court. A few notes of Mrs. Ascue, martyr. Anno 1545. P. 594.

CHAP. LII.

King Henry's death. Prevented in some good designs by death, *viz.* a reformation of religion. So the Duke of Somerset to the Lady Mary. This King beloved of his people. A benevolence to the King, anno 1544. A further character of him. Hated in Italy. The condition of the laity and of the clergy in this reign. Divers sorts of priests. Anno 1546. P. 600.

CHAP. LIII.

A notable book came forth, called *A Supplication of the poor Commons to the King*; shewing the late state of his kingdom. The King's care for the education of his children in learning. A Latin letter of the King of Portugal's daughter to the Lady Mary. Sir Richard Moryson's praise of the King: and Sir Thomas Chaloner in his poems. The leagues, conventions, and treaties with foreign princes throughout this King's reign. P. 608.

MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

AND THE

EMERGENCIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I PURPOSE in this work (God assisting) to digest in order certain historical remarks of important matters, that occurred in the age of the Reformation; such, especially, as relate to the ecclesiastical state of this kingdom: taking them as they lie in course of time, through the reigns of King Henry VIII. and of his son and daughter, King Edward and Queen Mary, successively. To the end that many memorable matters that I have met with, after long converse with ancient and authentic writings, either omitted wholly or but imperfectly touched at by our historiographers, may not be for ever lost, and irrecoverably perish. There are but very few who have made it their task to write of the transactions of this Church, and the events of religion in those busy times. And since those that have, there is a good after-harvest to be gathered. And these my gleanings, whatsoever they are, I was loath should be stifled, and lie concealed within rough papers, (as a candle under a bushel,) but serving, as I conjectured, for future use and benefit, I was willing they should see the light. Wishing that others, who have been perusers of such monuments and originals, might be excited by my example to contribute also their collections to the compiling of a true and perfect history of our Church in that age: for the better knowledge 2 of the Reformation in its first dawnings, and of the providential occasions, accidents, and successes of it.

In the province I undertake, I mean to follow the course that St. John took in writing his history of JESUS CHRIST, after the other Evangelists; who gathered up the παραλειπόμενα, *i. e. remainders* of that sacred history, omitting what had been said by the other writers before him; unless where the contexture of the story required it.

Qui παραλειπόμενα scriberet, omittens aliis dicta, nisi siquid contextus historiæ desiderabat. Grot. Annotat. ad Matt. xxviii. 20.

The most material original papers, out of which I have collected these my Memorials, (besides those that fall in, in

the current of the history,) shall be added in an Appendix by themselves, both for the reader's better satisfaction, and for the safer preservation of them to posterity. So that this book shall serve for two purposes, *viz.* to be a supply of the defects and omissions of our Church's story, and also a treasury of divers valuable manuscripts relating thereunto.

The King's affairs, for a great many years successively, being chiefly, and almost solely, conducted by the great Cardinal Wolsey, of him therefore necessarily much will be said. Whose counsels and intrigues, tending mainly to the King's satisfactions, and his own grandeur, and that of the Papacy, the supreme providence turned to clean different ends to what he drove at, and sometimes quite contrary thereunto. So his projects for the aggrandizing the Pope ended in the expulsion of him out of this kingdom; and his endeavours for the establishment of the superstitions of religion concluded in a reformation of it. And however fine his politics were in forwarding the match between the King and the Lady Anne, when he little thought of religion all the while, they produced the greatest alterations therein, that had been in many hundred years before.

So that in the current of the history many remarkable passages concerning the Cardinal will fall in, which will give us a view of him, both in his highest prosperity and elation, and in his lowest ebb; while he lay under the pressures of the King his master's displeasure. Where we may see as well his pride and swelling haughtiness in his prosperity, as his pusillanimity and poorness of spirit under his misfortunes.

CHAP. I. 3

Wolsey's counsel and influence in the King's affairs. Goes over into France with the King. Present at the conquest of Tournay. Nominated Bishop of that place by the King. And had the abbey of St. Martin's there. The care and affairs of Tournay committed to him. Letters of the Council there to him. His spies in France. Intelligences from them. Discovery of a conspiracy in France to invade England. The Chapter of Tournay's letter to the Cardinal, their Bishop. Another Elect pretends to the bishopric. The Pope's breve *in Wolsey's behalf. The cause referred by the Pope to two Cardinals. Richard Sampson, the Cardinal's Chaplain, his Vicar General and chief officer there. The French King's letter to King Henry. Transactions for peace. The Cardinal's managery therein. His letters to the King's Ambassadors at the French Court. Tournay restored upon terms: and the bishopric.*

Anno 1513. King Henry put on by Wolsey to take the Pope's part against the French King.

SOON after the young King Henry had received Thomas Wolsey into his bosom, and made him his favourite, which was about the eighth year of his reign, in the year 1513, the said King undertook a royal expedition into France, against King Lewis XII. out of zeal to the Pope, with whom the said French King was at wars. To which undertaking Wolsey, to shew himself a true Churchman, may justly be supposed to have moved and persuaded his great master, out of a show of the high religion and merit of being the champion of the Papal see: Wolsey also hereby serving the private ends of his own ambition; when it should be known to the Pope, how he was the instrument of stirring up the King to this chargeable piece of service to him. And that he might shew himself the more openly in this expedition, he attended the King's person, and went over with him to Calais, and had the office of victualling the army. That it was a spark of zeal kindled in the King, as The King's

BOOK I.

well as bravery, which put him on this action, may be collected from a letter of his to Sir David Owen; commanding him to prepare himself to attend him into France, with threescore archers, and forty bills on foot: prefacing his letter with the reason of his resolution, namely, "That it was "according to his duty to God and his Church, at the re- "quest and desire of the Pope's Holiness, and other Chris- "tian princes; and that it was for the defence of the Church, "being by the French King oppressed; and for extinguish- "ing the detestable schism raised by certain perverse Car- "dinals, and maintained by the same King. And that for "God's quarrel, as well as for recovering his own right, he "would pursue and continue the said war, and personally "proceed himself into France with a royal army. And "in conclusion, advised Sir David to accomplish his com- "mand, as he tendered his honour, and the advancement of "that *meritorious* voyage." All which may make one conclude, that the King in this matter was acted by some Churchman; and that must be he that was most inward with him, *viz.* Wolsey; being also his Almoner. A transcript of this letter is reposited in the Appendix, from an original.

Anno 1513. zeal to the Church excites him to this expedition.

Numb. I.

The King's care of trade.

Wolsey, though he knew how to indulge the King in his pleasures, yet he reminded him sometimes of business too; and particularly made him sensible, what an advantage trade was to his realm. Which he therefore, even in these his youthful days, encouraged, giving out letters of safe conduct to his merchants and their ships, taking care of them; and when they sustained any damages by foreign princes or states, requiring satisfaction by his ambassadors. Of this I find an instance or two.

His safe conduct to Barnaby, a merchant, for a general trade.

The King had granted a very large, and somewhat extraordinary, safe conduct and licence to Thomas Barnaby, of London, an eminent merchant, for himself, servants, factors, or attorneys, denizens, or strangers, to traffic in all manner of commodities in all places, and at all times, during a certain term of years. And this was under the Great Seal. One great obstruction to which safe conduct was, that Mar-

guerite, Duchess of Savoy, Regent of the Low Countries, there being war between France and the Emperor Maximilian, her father, had prohibited, by proclamation, that any bay-salt or wine of the growth of any part of France, should be brought into Flanders, or elsewhere, under her dominions, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Now this proclamation interfering with the King's licence to Barnaby, who traded chiefly in French commodities, caused him to despatch a letter to Dr. Knight, his Ambassador there, to solicit the said Regent, that notwithstanding her proclamation, she would grant to the said merchant a safe conduct, under her Great Seal, in as large and ample manner as that of the said King's was. Sir John Wallop was also sent upon this occasion, both to give further knowledge to the said Knight in this matter, and to carry letters to the Regent touching the same. This letter, signed by the King, is dated from *his* monastery (as he calls it) of Chartesaye, the 12th day of August, as I conjecture, in the year 1513 or 1514.

Anno 1513.

The King requires satisfaction for an English ship detained by the customers of Zeland.

Not long after, there was an English ship, called The Cast, laden with wool, cloth, and other commodities, for Italy, by John Allen, Hugh Clopton, Richard Fermour, and others. Which, by reason of storms at sea, was forced into Zealand. Being got into a port there, the custom officers of the Prince of Castile, who was now Governor of the Low Countries, had demanded a certain toll, called the toll of Gravelyn and Zeland. Which the ship refusing, as being put in there by stress of weather against their wills, they caused the purser to be arrested in the town of Middleburgh, and committed to prison, and by force of gun-shot caused the ship to be boarded, and took out of her her sails; and detained her from her voyage, till the owners and merchants had put in sufficient sureties to answer according to law. But hereby the King's subjects were put to great damage, charge, and hinderance. And moreover, by this retarding of her voyage, she afterwards fell into the hands of the Moors, who slew divers of the mariners and gunners, and took the ship and all her goods, and the residue of the people on board, whom they detained in captivity. This wrong the

BOOK I.

King mightily resented, and, as he said in his letter, he could not nor would suffer to pass without sufficient amends. And considering that it was contrary to all law, right, and conscience, that any toll, or any imposition, should be exacted of any ship so forced and driven in by bad weather, and where nothing was intended to be put to sale: and considering also, that the treaties of intercourse made betwixt them and their progenitors, Kings of England and Governors of the Low Countries, were expressly contrary thereunto, he commanded Sir Edward Poynings, and Dr. Knight, his Ambassador there, to lay open these things at good length to the Prince of Castile's Commissioners; and that they should require restitution of such money or bonds as had been made or paid for the said tolls: and also demand satisfaction, as well for the said ship, goods, and merchandizes lost and taken, as for all other losses, damages, and hinderances thereby sustained. This was given under the King's signet at Greenwich, the 22d day of July; which must be about the year 1515.

Anno 1513.

Both these letters are signed by the King's own hand: but I take our Wolsey to have had the great stroke in them, being now the main agent in the English Court and Council: but more certainly in the latter, there being an insertion of a clause in the superscription of this letter, which is the same hand with that of one of his own secretaries. I have placed both those letters, for the antiquity and remarkableness of them, in the Appendix.

N°. II, III.

But now we shall enter upon divers matters of history, of the King's proceeding to hostile acts against the French King, invading his dominions, and taking some important places from him by force of arms; and of the amity afterwards concluded between them. Wherein much of our Cardinal's counsels and actions will be discovered and brought to light.

Wolsey made Bishop of Tournay.

Tournay being conquered by the King coming thither in person with a great army, and the city surrendered to him, Wolsey, his Chaplain and Almoner in his royal retinue, was thought fit to be nominated by the King to that bishopric.

And his preferment thereunto was with good advice, as best agreeing with the King's interest there, that some English subject might enjoy that spiritual dignity. And so the Lord Mountjoy, the King's first Lord Lieutenant of that place, thought fit to inform the King in a letter, together with the Earl of Worcester, the King's Chamberlain, and Dr. Young, Master of the Rolls, from Tournay, in these words: Anno 1513.

" Sir, If this bishopric may be gotten clear into your hands, " it were good, this town, being under the Bishop of Tour- " nay and Cambrey, and all the bayliage, should have no " resort in no case to the Archbishop of Reams, but to the " Archbishop of Canterbury; in like wise as Calais and the " marches have." They wrote to the same effect concerning the abbey of St. Martin's there, the present Abbot being obnoxious, and an enemy to the King, and was gone to Denmark. They advised, " that some Englishman might " be preferred also to that abbey by the King: adding, that " when that Abbot went away, he made an interest for an- " other in Henault. And that if any such thing should be " sued for at Rome, and there were no let by the King, " it might be a great displeasure. For that they there " thought it one of the greatest stays, to have that city " continue in his obeisance, next to the Bishop, was to have " a good Englishman Abbot. Which should be a discreet " man, and that had the language; or some other good " man, English of heart. And they thought, that some " such able person might be found in England, if he were " inquired for. And that he [the Lord Lieutenant] doubt- " ed not to find sufficient information against him that then " was Abbot, by the which he might lawfully be deposed. " And that the Lord Durrier had written unto them, that " his brother, a Dean, might be recommended to his Grace " to have that abbey by postulation." Advice to the King for a Bishop of Tournay, and an Abbot of St. Martin's.

Their further advice to the King was about settling of the Court there for spiritual affairs, *viz.* " That as to his

BOOK I.

Anno 1513.

" Court of *Resorte*, [as it was called,] if any Doctors of " Civil Law, and languaged, might be found in England, " they would be most fit to serve his Grace there. For " hard it should be to find others there meet therefore. " That his own subjects should serve his Grace faithfully, " and be most indifferent to his subjects, and least to his " charge. And so concluded their letter to him with " these words, *And thus Jesu preserve your noble Grace.* " Written at Tournay, the 19th of August.

" Your most humble subjects and servants,

" C. Worcester.
" W. Mountjoy.
" John Young."

The King upon this letter had Wolsey in his eye; who was ready at hand to be invested with those preferments: and whom, no question, the King thought such a fit person for his purpose, *viz.* an Englishman, and well endowed with learning, language, and other abilities. Though he met with opposition enough afterwards, both the former Abbot and the Bishop pretending their rights to the same abbey and bishopric. The Abbot, some years after, upon some considerations, was convented to appear before the Cardinal's Official, (who seems to be Dr. Sampson, his Chaplain, whom he left behind him at Tournay.) But he appealed from him to the Pope; pretending to be subject immediately to him, and none else.

Applications from Tournay to Wolsey.

Wolsey's figure now began to be more resplendent at Tournay. For the King left the preservation of that city to his care, as we may conjecture: since the application of the officers there was generally thenceforth made to him. To whom also the King had given, upon the conquest of that city, the bishopric thereof, with all the revenues belonging to it. For the French Bishop, as one of our historians writes, was banished, or rather absented himself. And he appointed, when he went away thence with the King, Richard Sampson, his Chaplain, to be his Chancellor

Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops.

there; and to receive and return the rents and benefits to him, as we shall see by and by. Who was also one of the Commissioners in the government of that place.

Which town of Tournay the King held a good while, till the year 1517, when he sold it to King Francis for six hundred thousand crowns; and for the castle which he had built, a great sum more. The General, chief Captain, and Deputy thereof, was Sir J. Russel. The Council here were Edmond Wiseman, Robert Seymour, Philip Denis, John Anlaby, Richard Basford, Leonard Musgrave, Roger Beckett, John Dimock, William Sympson, Thomas Harvey, Richard Widders, Nicolas Sampson, the father or brother, I suppose, of the abovesaid Richard, the Cardinal's Chaplain, and chief Officiary here; who signed letters also from hence with the rest. Now to shew somewhat of Wolsey's first conduct in state; to him, being Bishop here, or rather administrator and possessor of the bishopric, addresses were made from the garrison, as occasion served, when any business was with the King. One letter I meet with of the Deputy and Council here to the Cardinal, was on this occasion. The King had sent his letters, dated the 22d of April, (the year not set, but, as it seems, anno 1514,) to the Deputy and Council, and whole garrison, "willing and commanding "the garrison to receive their payments by the half year, "(whereas they had received them formerly every quarter,) "like as it was ordained in all other his garrisons in those "parts. And willing the gentlemen, constables, and vint-"ners, to make certificate to be so contented." But this they were not contented with; desiring that they might be paid as formerly, quarterly.

7 Upon occasion of their payment. Cott. Libr. Caligula. E.

And upon this they directed their letters to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and also to all the Lords of the King's most honourable Privy Council; shewing, "that the inha-"bitants and householders of the King's other garrisons, "as Calais, &c. were of one nation, of long continuance; "and many of good substance; and glad to assist, help, and "trust each other, as good and true subjects: whereas they "there, at Tournay, were wholly to the contrary, as far as

Their letter to Wolsey, shewing their case.

BOOK I.

Anno 1514.

"they could perceive. And that among the garrison there "were few or none that were of substance; so as of himself "to victual or help his fellow. In other places of the "King's garrison they had great helps and furtherances, "which they had not there: as, to be trusted for their meat "and drink, as well as for all other necessaries, from pay-"ment to payment. Also, that if one had need of ready

The Exchequer.

"money, he might go to the Exchequer, which was always "well provided of money, and fetch and take so much as "he had served for. Or if he or they had need aforehand, "if he brought surety for the Treasurer's discharge, he "should have his whole wages aforehand. Which provision "they had not there, notwithstanding they had more need "than they."

That the money here (as they signified further) was not so good nor profitable as it was in other the King's garrisons. And that caused victuals and other necessaries to be far the dearer; "whereof a great cause was, the course "that the money had there. Which also annihiled and "minished their wages. For six pence now [added they] "goeth not so far, ne not so good ne profitable, as five "pence was wont to be, &c.

8 "And that it was to be considered, that the King's ser-"vice there should be regarded before other garrisons, in-"asmuch as it was so far out of his realm, in a strange "country; and among some that peradventure would de-"sire the King's dishonour: which might well happen, by "the reason of such long payment, as by the half year, &c."

The said gentlemen, therefore, "humbly beseeched the "Lord Cardinal's Grace, to have them in his gracious "remembrance and furtherance in this behalf, concerning "the foresaid particulars and premises before alleged. "Wherein (as they wrote) his Grace should do a great "meritorious deed: considering that it touched a common-"weal; and the King having no loss, ne further charge "thereby. And the most part of the said gentlemen had "little or nothing of themselves but their bare wages, with-"out fee, annuity, office, or other profit by the King: also,

"having there few friends or none. And where that some "of them had friends in England, they had now lost them, "by reason of their long absence; as well as other advance- "ments, which might have happened unto them.

"Wherefore, please it his Grace tenderly of his charity "to have consideration herein. So that by his gracious "favour and instance to the King's Highness, the said gen- "tlemen may obtain the grant of payments quarterly, with "the good course of money. And so shall they be bound, "with all the whole retinue and garrison, to pray for the "maintenance and prosperity of his good and gracious "estate." Signed by those mentioned above, and others whose names are scarcely to be read, being in number fifteen.

From this original letter we see the interest the Cardinal had at Court, and the honour now done him; and withal, what good offices we may presume he did sometimes for subjects under pressures and hard conditions put upon them from the Court.

The constable and yeomen of the garrison to the Cardinal, complaining.

And to shew further how uneasy this order was (of post- poning these payments) to the inferior sort of officers and soldiers of the garrison, when the Deputy and Council there shewed them the King's pleasure, or perhaps the Cardinal's rather, who acted now all under the King, I have the letter before me, of the constables of Tournay, (who were the yeomen of the King's guard there,) to the Cardinal, con- taining their piercing complaint, and what miseries and ne- cessities they must groan under, if it should take place; and certifying the present condition of that place. The superscription of their letter was, *To the Lord Cardinal's Grace, and to all the Lords of the King's most honourable Council.* It began, "How that it had pleased his Grace to "direct his gracious letters unto the King's Deputy, and "the Council there, of that his city of Tournay, and the "marches of the same, bearing date at Westminster, the "22d day of April. In which his gracious letter they un- "derstood, that it was thought by the King's Highness, "and by his most honourable Council, that it was not

BOOK I. Anno 1514.

" requisite or necessary to content and pay the King's gar-
" rison of Tournay their wages by the three months, as
" heretofore time hath been used, but that it was conve-
" nient and sufficient to content and pay to the same gar-
9 " rison accordingly, as by his gracious letters did appear,
" that is to understand, from the third day of April to the
" third day of October; and so from the said day of Octo-
" ber unto the said day of April: and so to continue to be
" paid half yearly. And thus the said garrison to be con-
" tented with the said days of payment. And further, that
" the said garrison should certify his Grace of the same,
" with their letters assigned and subscribed with their
" hands, according to the tenor of his Grace's letter."

But so far were these men from giving under their hands their contentment herewith, that they took this opportunity of declaring their great discontent, and shewing at large the distresses they were in, even then; and in many particulars, to what harder circumstances they must be driven, unless their payments were quarterly, as before. How they proceeded in this their address to the Cardinal, and what they now certified of themselves at this juncture, the continuance of their letter shew; which being somewhat long, I have put, as a valuable original piece, in the Appendix; especially contributing something unto the history of those times, and that great Cardinal. To which I will subjoin another letter to the same, from Sir Richard Jarnegan, and the Council, expressing the garrison's necessities: all shewing how little benefit, besides the vainglory, the taking of Tournay was to the King, and some share of it perhaps to the Cardinal, for the keeping of it.

Numb. IV.

Numb. V.

Another address to Wolsey from the garrison.

There happened about this time a mutiny in the garrison, and a treasonous conspiracy among the Tournois, who were uneasy under their new King. Which being pretty well suppressed, and the better to quiet the people's minds, the King ordered the Lord Mountjoy, who was now his Lieutenant there, to declare a general pardon to them that had been active in those insurrections and treasons; and withal, to discharge some of the garrison that might be

spared. But the Lieutenant had some doubts and scruples in his discharge of these commands. And this caused another address to the Cardinal from Tournay; importing, Anno 1514.

"That, whereas in the King's last letters sent to the "Lord Chamberlain, dated at Oking, it pleased his High- "ness to write, that his pleasure was concerning the pardons, "as well for the Englishmen there for their riots and un- "faithful assemblies, as for the townsmen, for their treasons "and conspiracies, he (the Lord Lieutenant) should make "unto them pardons, according to the tenor of such copies "as he had lately sent over; he advised, that if these par- "dons should be of any value to the parties, it should be "necessary, that he should have commission sent unto him "from the King's Grace. And then when time convenient "was, they might be granted. He also found it necessary "to advertise the Cardinal, that of the English and Welsh- "men there, many were thieves and murderers, hunters, "and such others, as he feared, that if they had not their "pardons in like wise, they would either make business, or "they would avoid: and when they were avoided, would "make some captain among themselves, and go as well to "the King's enemies as otherwise."

He proceeded in his communication of this business with the Cardinal in these words: "Also, my Lord, when the "garrison shall be minished, in my poor mind it shall not "be good to minish them but by little and little: for and "if they be strong enough, there be many of light minds "which reckon little to make their hands at their departing. "Also, for any surety the town could put the King's Grace "in, though the honest men and the heads be reckoned "good, yet in the common people there he had but small "trust; if the French King might have it (keeping his "amity) by surprising: wherein should lack no colour. "That if the heads, which then were governors, might have "a convenient garrison for a season, they might make all "things in more surety. That the Lord Chamberlain, and "Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, (who both were then there,) did

BOOK I. Anno 1514.

"the best they might to bring all things to pass to the "King's pleasure; and as for himself, he added, that what "lay in him should not be slacked."

He then acquainted the Cardinal with the news brought there, *viz.* that the Queen's Grace [Queen Katharine] was with child "And that if it were so, no subject under the "King would more rejoice at it: and required his Grace "that he might know the certainty; to the intent, that on "the King's behalf he might command, throughout all the "land, her Grace to be specially prayed for; and a sermon "and procession to be, to the laud and praising of God: in "like wise as the French King had wrote thither for to have "done for his Queen." And so, after some private matter concerning the bestowing of a prebend in that church, he concluded with these words, "And thus Jesu send you "good life, and long. In haste, at the King's city of "Tournay, the 8th day of September.

"Yours to his power,

"W. Mountjoy."

About this last inquiry of the Queen's being with child, none could better inform that Lord than the Cardinal: who, not long before, had the honour to receive a secret letter from the King's own hand thereof. Which being a curious piece, and shewing how highly that King now favoured and loved the Cardinal, I shall insert it here from the original.

The King to the Cardinal, concerning the Queen's being with child. Vespasian, f. 3.

"My Lord Cardinal; I recommend me unto you as "hartily as I can. And I am right glad to hear of your "good health, which I pray God may long continue. So "it is that I have received your letters. To the which, "because they ask long writing, I have made an answer "by my Secretary. Two things there be, which be so se-"cret, that they cause me at this time to write to you my "self. The one is, that I trust the Queen, my wife, be with "child. The other is, the chief cause why I am so loth to "repair to London, were, because about this time is partly

" of her daungerous times. And because of that, I would " remeve here as little as I may now. My Lord, I write " this unto you, not as an insured thing, but as a thing " wherein I have great hope and lyklyode: and because I " do well know, that this thing will be comfortable to you " to understand. Therefore I do write it unto you at this " time: no more unto you at this time: *nisi quod Deus* " *velit incœptum opus bene finiri.* Written with the hand " of your loving Prince,

" Henry R."

Anno 1514.

I set down these things the more at large, that it may be observed, how all the great affairs of state were managed mainly by Wolsey; the King's servants abroad taking their instructions from him, with his diligent and constant letters to them, upon their accounts given him of the management of their offices: naming him first in their addresses to the Court, and then naming the Privy Council after him, thus; *To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the Privy Council.* Where likewise may be seen the intimate esteem he had with his King.

11

The Cardinal writes to Tournay, of an intent of seizing that place.

The Lord Lieutenant and Council at Tournay apply to him again, upon a letter of the Cardinal's to them, dated at Durham Place, the 21st of August; the tenor of which was, " That the King's Highness was advertised, as " well from Master Deputy of Calais, and Sir Thomas Spi- " nel, as by two sundry spies out of France, that the " French men were about an enterprise against Tournay: " and for that intent they were in a readiness; intending " in brief time to proceed to the accomplishment of their " purpose. Wherefore that the King's pleasure was, that " they [of that place] should have a special regard to " see that town well and substantially furnished; and such " things to be foreseen and put in a readiness, as should be " requisite for the surety and defence thereof, &c. But " also to have vigilant and diligent espials, for the attain- " ing the very truth and surety of their intent and purpose " in this behalf. And of the same to advertise his Grace

CHAP. I.

Anno 1514.

"with all celerity in post. He added, that he thought "that this assembly that was bruited to be, or if any such "attempts should be made there against the garrison, it "was not without the comfort and stirring of the inhabit- "ants: and that therefore they should by all means dis- "arm them." This was the sum of Wolsey's letter, being now one of the chief managers of state affairs, and particularly of this conquered place. To whom it is worth imparting, what answer, and with what deference, the Council there returned. Wherein may also be seen in what state and condition the place then was: but it being somewhat large, I recommend it to be read in the Appendix.

Numb. VI.

Payments due at Tournay noted to the Cardinal.

There was some discontent here among the English, for backwardness in their pay; which might create the more jealousy of hatching some tumults. For in a letter of the said Lord Mountjoy to the said Cardinal of York, dated November the 8th, he signified what payments would soon be due: *viz.* the 10th day of that month was the payment of the labourers; which amounted unto the sum of 1000*l.* The 15th day was the payment of the footmen and horsemen, amounting to the sum of 1760*l.* And within seven days after, another payment to the labourers, that amounted to the sum of 1000*l.* more.

Intelligence brought to the Cardinal by a Friar.

This place the King had but little comfort of, being always in fear of a surprise. The Cardinal had again another time, in the month of May, (whether in the year 1514 or 1515, I know not,) intelligence brought him by a Friar Augustin, whom he had employed as a spy, of a sudden attempt intended to be made upon the place: of which the Cardinal and the Council, from the palace at Hampton Court, wrote to Sir Richard Jernegan, now the King's Lieutenant there, as certain news. This was writ May the 12 9th. And such speed was made with it, that on the 11th day at night, the said Lieutenant received it. And it was but a few days before, the Deputy of Calais wrote to the said Sir Richard, that a Friar was passed thence into England with news: and that the said Friar warned him to will the Lord Lieutenant of Tournay, to have a good

guard upon the King's place. The morning after the Cardinal's letter came to them, and they were sitting in Council upon it, another Friar from a Frenchman, one Lord Ligne, (who was that Lord's Confessor,) comes also with letters to the said Lieutenant, requiring eftsoones to have credence to his said Confessor: the which Confessor had shewn him of the enterprise in such manner as were the Cardinal's letters. But the Council there conjectured strongly, that all this came only from the Lord Ligne, to shew himself officious; and that the King might value him and trust him. And Sir Richard did think, that if the religious that came to the Cardinal with this news were well examined, peradventure it might be so found. Nevertheless they resolved to provide for the worst.

Information by spies sent into some parts of France.

Now a word more concerning *spies*. The King in April, the month before, sent to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, that they should send forth *espies*, to be advertised of the intent of the French. For the city was in danger without, as well as within. Accordingly, Sir Richard Jernegan answered, that he had two spies at Paris, in the French King's Court: and that one of them he looked for hourly. That he had sent his spies into Normandy, and those parts, (because the noise and bruit was, that the chief assembly was there,) surely to be advertised of all appearances and occurrences there. That one of these spies informed him, that there were 2000 men enrolled in France, to be in a readiness in all times in the dominions of the French King, with captains appointed for the same. And that the bruit was, that they were enrolled to come to Tournay: but that (as he told the King) it was the manner of the Frenchmen, to make bruit one way, and intend another way. Wherefore it would be necessary all the King's other garrisons should be looked to. And further, the Council there assured the King's Grace, that all the garrisons there, and other Englishmen, were of as good courage as any men might be; desirous and wishing the Frenchmen would come, to the end his Grace might know what service they intended and would do his Highness. And lastly, that

CHAP. I.

they had victualled and fortified the town; so that in a short time there should be no lack. This was dated April the 13th, and signed by Jernegan, the Lieutenant, and next to him by Sampson, the Cardinal's Chancellor, and then by Sir Richard Whettehill, Sir Philip Tremayle, and others of the Council there.

Anno 1515.

Some magistrates of Tournay come into England.

Thus though this place was now in the King's possession, yet he had little assurance of quiet possession, and had reason to suspect the faithfulness of the inhabitants, whatever oath of fealty they had given. This notice was given the Cardinal, who was now in England; and from Westminster directed the Governor there, to persuade the chief officers in the town to come into this kingdom, there to wait upon the King himself, and the Privy Council, to satisfy them of their faithful and true obedience. And they, so coming, were to have all the fairest usages and promises given them that could be. Jernegan, according to the Cardinal's instruction, required the chief magistrates of the town to pass over into England: of which more particularly thus he wrote to the Cardinal. "Pleaseth your Grace "to understand, that according to your last letters, dated "at Westminster, the 29th day of January, I have exhorted "with comfortable words the Provost and Council of the "town, to send certain Commissioners to the King's High-"ness, your Grace, and his most honourable Council. "Whereupon they have at this time sent Mr. Nicholas De-"preys, this year last past High Provost, Mr. John De "Puys, Great Counsellor, and Eloy de la Rice, High Pro-"curer of this city, with certain articles; whereof I send "your Grace the copy: desiring to write unto your Grace "in their favour; as I trust, before their departing from "your Grace they will so demean themselves, accomplish-"ing the King's pleasure, that they shall deserve his gra-"cious thanks. Nevertheless, Sir, because that it is the "King's pleasure, and your Grace's, that we should devise "with them; and endeavour ourselves to induce them to "the King's pleasure in certain things, as, entertaining "certain numbers of men and others, if they be not so

13

Account thereof written to the Cardinal.

"handled at this time, that they shall accomplish the "King's pleasure in some part touching the same things, "wherein we have devised with them; hereafter, if any "such charge shall be committed unto us, they shall little "regard our communication, or devising with them in any "manner of behalf. And that your Grace may have more "clear knowledge of their charge and said articles by this "bearer, Robert Kirk, the King's servant, we send certain "instructions to your Grace of our poor opinions touching "the same: to whom it may please your Grace to give "confidence and credence."

Anno 1515.

A conspiracy by the French, &c. for invading England and Tournay:

A secret and dangerous conspiracy against the kingdom was now in hand by some foreign powers; and discovered by one Crossene, a spy of the Cardinal's: in which were engaged the French, the Dane, the Scot, with some English. Intending to invade England on the side of Scotland, and in some other place of this realm. And another party were to attack Tournay. And this to be done all at once. One party to be headed by the Duke of Albany, a Scot, and another by one of the Poles. But this coming to the Lord Lieutenant of Tournay, Jernegan, the King's faithful officer, by the said Crossene's secret information, he hastened a particular account of it to the Cardinal, the last day of May, by letter. The full tenor whereof ensueth.

Discovered by a spy.

"That it might please his Grace to understand, that "that same day came one Henry Crossene, unto one of the "gates there at Tournay; and desired one of the warders "to cause him [the said Jernegan] to come and speak "with him secretly without the town. The which he did "according to the other's desire. That at his coming, Cross- "sene shewed him, that his Grace [the Cardinal] knew him "well; and then shewed him a writing that he had from "his Grace, for to pass and repass into England at his plea- "sure. That therefore he [the Lieutenant] gave the more "credence unto his sayings. And that the Governor of "the English fellowship, Mr. Hewester, brought him unto "the Cardinal's presence. [Offering then, as it seems, his "service to him.] Where at that time, as Crossene went

CHAP. I.

Anno 1515. 14

"on, his Grace gave, as he thought, but little credence to "him. That his Grace should moreover understand, that "the same Henry Crossene was come straight from the "French King's Court; and had shewed him this news "following, to advertise his Grace with diligence."

First, he saith, that the French King, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Albany, for the realm of Scotland, and Richard de la Pole, be all in one confederation and appointment; and concluded upon these enterprises following. And that for the sure conclusion of the same, there was already departed into Scotland, and from thence to Denmark, Monsieur de Pursel, chief Counsellor of Roan, and David Cokron, King of Heralds. The which David, Herald of Denmark, Jernegan said, was the same that he took going to France now lately. Of whom (as he added) he wrote to his Grace with speed: and therein he thought he had done acceptable service.

And then follows the whole relation of the intended enterprise, as it was discovered to him by the said Crossene: which being somewhat long, I rather refer the reading thereof to the Appendix. Numb. VII.

Something now concerning the Cardinal's more private affairs with respect to his bishopric there.

The respectful letter of the Chapter of Tournay to the Cardinal.

He had obliged the Chapter and members of that church, by obtaining of the King to continue their church liberties and privileges, and their governors, as before. And his requesting some favour from them for a son of the King's chirurgeon, occasioned a letter full of profound duty and observance; importing, how exceeding glad they were of a letter from his Grace. And so much the more, that hereby they had an opportunity, which they had long sought for and desired, of professing their high respects to his dignity: not that they could repay any thing answerable to his benefits towards them: only (as it was fit) to declare their great good-will towards his fatherhood; but chiefly to acknowledge the extraordinary honour and singular observance they had to the same. That they all unanimously consented to his request, and yielded to him most

joyfully whatsoever he desired: professing, that there was nothing, little or great, that they would not cheerfully and readily do for his sake. CHAP. I. Anno 1515.

And then upon occasion of some money that the Canons had received, which Dr. Sampson had required, or some share thereof, for the Archbishop's use, being his receiver, and was denied; they gave the Cardinal this account thereof: that they had shewn that learned Doctor, his Vicar, that that money, though paid into their receipts, belonged not to them; but was peculiarly set apart for the fabric of the church, and for the procuring of their treasurer's cope; and which had been granted to that Church by the apostolical authority and decree. They promised whatsoever could be expected from them, his most faithful beadsmen, and whose name and dignity was most dear to them; and to whom they were, for so many and great reasons, bound. And mentioned, how from his care their church's liberty was by the King's gift preserved and defended; and that they had such Governors and Rectors hitherto, as guarded them and their privileges. And in conclusion, begged and beseeched him to take upon him the patronage and defence of their church. And so prayed Al- 15
mighty God for their most victorious King, and all prosperous success to his fatherhood. Dating their letter from their chapter at Tournay. But the whole letter, (whereof these be some short contents,) writ in Latin, I have thought worthy transcribing, and placing in the Appendix. N°. VIII.

Another Bishop Elect pretends to the bishopric in opposition to Wolsey.

But it cost our great Prelate no small trouble and opposition before he could obtain the possession of this bishopric: which indeed he seemed to come into more violently than justly, as may appear by the sequel. For there was another Bishop Elect, a Frenchman, whom the French King had presented. And when Dr. Sampson came, in Wolsey's name and authority, unto certain towns in Gaunt and Bruges, in Flanders, which were within the compass of the bishopric of Tournay, to administer his jurisdiction there, as Wolsey's Vicar General, he found no reception among that people: the other pretended Bishop having all the fa-

CHAP. I.

vour. Of this he writ an account at large to his Lord; *viz.* "That after he came to Bruges, as he had before in
Anno 1515. "Gaunt, by his letters patents he desired the favour and "aid of the Lords of the town: but he found them nothing "favourable. That a few days after, he called the Bishop's "officers together, and shewed them the Pope's *breve*, and "letters patents of the Lady Margaret, [then governess of "the Low Countries] written in Wolsey's favour. Which "notwithstanding when they had heard, because the matter "was of great weight, they desired a day's respite to con-"sult what they should think best to do; being the 18th "day of September."

Advised thereof by Sampson.

And therefore he shewed how he suspected the integrity of the French King in this matter; thus continuing his letter: "My Lord, the French King, as I think, hath not "kept all promises with your Grace: for the Bishop Elect "had made for all Flanders, both another Vicar General, "and also a Receiver, and all the profits without fail of the "year past be received, and all paid and delivered to the "Elect in France. Moreover, he had ordained his officers "strongly to resist, when I should come. They had readily "their *appellations* made, with other remedies, as strong "as by the law possibly might be made: which this day, "when they assembled, they shewed expressly. And if "with rigor I should have made process against them, "without fail I should have made a commotion among the "people, whom they had before provoked."

And here inserting his advice, what was convenient to be done in this difficulty, he added, "that if his Lordship "should quietly have this administration, there were no "mo remedies, but the French King must by his letters "charge the Bishop Elect to be content, and suffer this ad-"ministration, nor to resist: or else if these officers saw "the French King's letters favourable to his [Wolsey's] ad-"ministration, all they would immediately obey."

His advice not to proceed by law against the Elect.

And this he thought the best course to prevent further inconvenience in law to his Lordship; thus continuing his advice: "that if his Grace should follow the process of the

" law, and the Bishop Elect defend his possession with " marvellous great trouble, his Grace should never have " profit. Wherefore they had instantly desired to have a " day of respite, to counsel with the Bishop Elect. And " accordingly, that he had granted them till St. Mar- 16 " tin's day; except that in the mean time it might appear " the Bishop Elect should not return personally to defend " his possession: always provided, that such profits, as in " the mean time should fortune, should be reserved. That " he granted them this time so boldly: for that if it so were, " that the French King favoured his Grace at this time, as " he thought he did, shortly it might be known, that the " Bishop should not return; and his Grace hastily, or they " came to him, might cause by his letters, that the French " King might charge him to have patience."

And then telling his Lordship, " that without this means, " by the French King, it should not be possible quietly to " have this administration: for that he was dispensed with " *de non residendo studii causâ.*"

But the officers of the party of the Elect objected against passages in the Pope's *breve*, shewing the reasons why he admitted Wolsey to the administration of that bishopric; namely, his absence and desertion of the bishopric: which indeed seemed to be done by him at that time of necessity, for his own safety. This matter Dr. Sampson shewed to the Cardinal, in this manner: " That as they heard the " tenor of the *breve*, one of them with a quick mind sus- " pected the *breve* in three places. First, because it saith, " *Et ecclesiam Tornacens. deseruisset.* Et postea, *dubi-* " *tandum sit, quod idem Episcopus ad ecclesiam ipsam re-* " *dire contemnit, quando per procuratorem accepit posses-* " *sionem. Neque hactenus fuit unquam hic præsens.* Verba " denique præscripti sunt hæc prope finem: *de residuis* " *illis fructibus*, et proventibus, *tam quos hactenus perce-* " *pisti, et qui post dicti Electi decessum proveniunt. De-* " *cessit, inquit ille, nunquam, ut qui nunquam adhuc af-* " *fuit.*" Dr. Sampson added, *Sed hiis pro tempore, ut po-* *tui respondebam*, &c. " That is, that these exceptions he

The Pope's *breve* in Wolsey's behalf against the Elect.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1515.

"answered presently, as well as he could: concluding, "that this was in the end the only method whereby this "administration might be had most quietly, if it might ap- "pear by any means that the King of France stood well af- "fected towards this matter. And till he had further intel- "ligence from his Grace, he would abide at Bruges. And "so beseeched Almighty Jesu to preserve his Grace. "Dated at Bruges, the 18th day of September, 1514.

"Subscribing, Your Chaplain, and daily beadman,

"Richard Sampson, Priest."

This letter was superscribed,

To the most reverend Father in God, and his special good Lord, my Lord of York.

Whence it appears he was not yet Cardinal.

The Elect enters the towns of the diocese, to take possession.

But to pursue this controversy a little further. The French Bishop would not desist, nor let go so wealthy a preferment: and for the better qualifying himself for the same, he was advised to come in person into those parts very shortly: and so Sampson had informed the Cardinal's 17 good Grace; [for Wolsey was now advanced to that title;] in order to his entrance into the towns of the diocese, as the manner was, for to take possession. And by another letter of his, written August the 4th, he tells the Cardinal, that now he was come; intending to enter into the towns, for his possession taking. And then adding, in this exi-

Inhibition to him from Rome.

gence, his judgment in these words: "Wherefore, Sir, if "that it shall be your gracious pleasure, further to pursue "the title of this bishopric, and not intending the contrary, "it shall be very necessary with speed and diligence to "have one *inhibition* from Rome, that he shall proceed "no further. Moreover containing, *Quod in pœnam et sen-* "*tentiam inhibitionis ob contumaciam inciderit, cum pen-* "*dente adhuc lite* (*ut existimatur*) *inhibitioni et pontificis* "*decreto, non sit nihil inobediens; imò verè contemptor.* "And if it shall be your gracious pleasure, in the mean "time, by the eyde [aid] of your gracious letters, directed "in the said behalf unto my Lady Margaret, and other

" cheffys [chiefs] of the Council in these parties, that I ob- Anno 1515.
" tain a defence and prohibition by the said Council, and
" their letters, that the said Elect, during the process, shall
" take no further possession; most humbly I beseech your
" Grace to know your pleasure: the which I shall with di-
" ligence accomplish, by the help of Almighty God: who
" preserve your Grace in most prosperous health and ho-
" nour." Dated at Tournay, the 4th day of August.

The process committed to two Cardinals by the Pope.

This suit between the Cardinal and the Bishop Elect was committed not long after to two Cardinals by the Pope, as it seems. But the said Elect, in pursuit of his title, had caused certain writings to be set up openly in divers places. Which Sampson acquainted the Cardinal also with, called by him, *certain affixions:* which, as he said, the French Elect had caused to be made out; notwithstanding the process committed to two Cardinals by the Pope's Holiness to his Grace, and a copy of the same. And that the said copies were affixed in all the places of Flanders, and in villages also within the bailiages, whereas were the Bishop's farmers, and the temporal lordships belonging to the Bishop. The which copies Sampson shewed the Cardinal, he caused to be taken down; and copies of the inhibition, decreed by the said reverend Cardinals, affixed in the same place, with this subscription; that it appeared evidently, both the French Elect pretenced, and other his officers, by virtue of the same inhibition, against the which, in contempt of the Cardinals, they presumed to continue their old process, suspended *causâ litis pendentis coram præfatis reverendissimis dominis*, to have fallen into the sentence of excommunication. He had further (as he proceeded in his relation of this contest) appealed *ad cautelam*, *inhærendo prioribus ab hujusmodi novo gravamine*. And then bespeaking the Cardinal, in respect of something more to be done in this his cause; " Nevertheless, Sir, saving your gra-
" cious pleasure, it were very necessary, both for danger of
" the sentence, *quæ semper timenda est*, and slander of
" the world, that by the said most reverend Cardinals your
" Grace should have a commission to some men in these

CHAP. 1.

Anno 1515. 18

"parties to *decern* [*i. e.* decree] the same one excep-
"tion and process now made by the French, were of no
"strength; and your Grace's officers to be in no danger of
"the said process or sentence, *Et si opus fuerit, etiam*
"*eos omnes ad cautelam absolvere.* This thing, Sir, is so
"necessary, that no man shall dare to serve your Grace
"here in any office, if they be not declared by this means,
"*liberi ab omni excommunicationis metu.*" And then Sampson named a person to the Cardinal fit for this purpose; continuing thus: "The Abbot of St. Amands, *in*
"*pabulo Tornac. diocesios, præpositus divæ Pharaeldis*
"*Gaudensis, et Abbas Sancti Nicolai in pratis juxta Tor-*
"*nacium ejusdem dioc.* shall be a very convenient person
"to be in the said commission. The more speedily that it
"be done, the more shall it be to your Grace's honour.

Sampson addresses to the Cardinal for preferment; and why.

And after all this pains taken, counsel given, and service done to the Cardinal, he thought it seasonable now to put in a word for himself: entreating him to make some provision by preferment, for his better and more creditable subsistence, whose circumstances at present were but mean. Therefore, in the conclusion of the same letter, thus he addressed himself to his great patron: "Most humbly, Sir, I
"beseech your Grace, to be a good and gracious Lord
"unto me; that I may have your most gracious succours
"and further aid. For else, I am or shall be nothing able
"to do your Grace service here to your honour. Al-
"mighty God be my judge, I desire it for none other
"cause, but the doing your Grace service in these parties;
"it may be to your honour. Whereunto, with the help
"of Almighty God, enduring my life, most faithfully I
"endeavour myself: and rather than I should otherwise
"do your Grace service, refusing clearly the world, I
"would suffer as poor a living as any creature might do.
"Extreme necessity, Sir, causeth me to use this boldness
"of words to your Grace; unless that for poverty I should
"be little able to do your Grace other any good service in
"these parties, profitable or honourable. For in doing
"your Grace service here, I must meddle with some great

" personages, and daily with such, as if I were not in your " Grace's service, passeth my poor degree. Wherefore if " that I be not like in other things as your Grace's servant " in that room, it should not be to your Grace's honour. " And little shall they accept or regard my doings with " them, *cum in hac nostra ætate, inopia, egestate, humili-* " *tate, nihil contemptius.* So long as I may think to do " such service to your Grace, that may be to your Grace's " honour, there be no labours of body or mind that I shall " esteem, or avoid reasonable danger or peril. But by po- " verty, when I shall be otherwise enforced, rather I shall " suffer to myself a wilful poverty, enduring my life, than " by a necessary poverty do any such thing as should not " be to your Grace's honour. Wherefore, Sir, in my most " humble wise, I submit my wealth or misery only to your " most gracious goodness. The which I beseech Almighty " God preserve to his pleasure, and your increase of ho- " nour and virtue. At Tournay, the 21st day of August.

" Subscribing, Your most humble servant
" and chaplain,
" Richard Sampson."

Anno 1515.

Nor was this moving argument of Sampson unsuccessful; namely, of advancing the Cardinal's greater honour by his Chaplain's preferment and titles. For he soon procured him to be the King's Chaplain, and Dean of St. Stephen's: and which was a foundation laid for many other dignities and places, as well as a bishopric; which he obtained afterwards, as our Church histories shew: and among the rest, he was one of King Henry's Privy Council. More perhaps will be said of him in the current of these Memorials. 19

Sampson made Dean of St. Stephen's.

Further; I find this Chaplain of the Cardinal endeavouring, besides his services, to ingratiate himself with him by curious presents sent him from those parts: one was a choice piece of tapestry, made in those countries, famous for that manufacture: in which was woven an exquisite figure and resemblance of St. George, the English saint. And it proved very acceptable to the Cardinal; as one To-

Sampson sends the Cardinal a piece of tapestry.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1515.

neis (who seemed to be the bringer of the present) had signified to him: at which the Chaplain shewed himself highly pleased. And on this occasion he thus expressed his gladness and satisfaction in one of his letters to his great patron; whom he styled, *The father of his country.*

Retulit item mihi suis literis idem Tonesius peristroma, et quod nuper ad tuam amplissimam dignitatem, non inelegans meo judicio tapetum illud divi Georgii, velut statua, perornatum, tradidi, non injocundum esse tuæ magnificentiæ. Quo certè nuntio potuit mihi nuntiare, vel lætius vel fœlicius, nihil. Quippe qui præter omnia, nihil prorsus tam cupiam, quàm id aliquando aut reperire, aut efficere possem, quo valeam aliquâ re grata eximiam tuam benignitatem afficere. Cum igitur intelligam tuæ reverendissimæ paternitati hujuscemodi tapetum non vulgare, neque plebeium nunc videris, quam humillimè tuam excellentissimam bonitatem rogo atque obtestor, *à me tui et deditissimo et obsequiosissimo hanc rem dono acceptare, ut velis. Id certè quod prius ante omnia solicitassem, si fidens meomet judicio tuam adeousque sublimitatem delectatum iri existimassem. Hoc si à tuâ quidem optimâ bonitate impetraverim, me inter fœlicissimos, non quidem trepidè, sed audaciâ quadam lætissimâ, connumerare arbitrabor. Cum nihil mihi tam ex animo accidere possit, quàm si hanc rem tuæ magnificentiæ non injocundam ab animo erga tuam præstantissimam dignitatem benevolentissimo accipere haud spreveris. Vale, pater patriæ colendissime. Tornaci, 19. die Aprilis.*

Incomes of the bishopric of Tournay.

The last account I find given in by Sampson to the Cardinal, of the receipts of the incomes of that bishopric, was as follows, in his letter writ anno 1517. whence may be guessed at the value of it; *viz.* that he had received the rents of De Sellier, father and son, (who were farmers of the revenues thereof under his Grace,) in the years 1514, 1515, 1516, whereof he paid by the Cardinal's commandment to Mr. Toneis, (a servant of the Cardinal's,) 50*l.* and the rest, to the sum of 100 mark, received by the said Toneis, and of such little money more as should have come into his hands.

" Moreover, Sire, there was paid by the said De Sellier, " to him of whom your Grace had tapestry here in Tour- " nay, 50 mark, and more money. And now by these ac- Anno 1517. " counts, within these three or four days, they have pro- " vided the payment of the rest, to accomplish the said " three years; which shall amount to the sum of 300 " mark sterling, and more; as I think, fifty or three score 20 " mark.

" And now beginning the payment of the year seventeen. " Wherein, like as I have done in the other, with God's " grace, I shall endeavour myself, to your Grace's honour " and profit, to the best of my little power and discretion, " as Almighty God be my judge; who preserve your Grace " in most prosperous estate. At Tournay, the 17th of De- " cember.

" Your most humble chaplain and servant,

" Richard Sampson."

The King and Cardinal seemed by this time to be quite weary of Tournay, by reason of the continual trouble and expense of keeping it: so that in the year 1518. motions were made on both sides, by King Henry, and Francis, the French King, for an accommodation, and for the restoring of that place, upon certain terms and satisfaction to be made on the English side. Which the French King shewed the greatest forwardness to perform: which the Lord Chamberlain, and others of the King's Ambassadors at that Court, shewed the Cardinal. And King Francis sent a gentleman of his chamber, when these matters were to be transacted, with a letter of his own hand to the King, full of obliging expressions. Which being short, I will here transcribe it word for word from the original.

The French King's letter to King Henry.

Le long tans, mon myeulx eme [*aymé*] *frere, et plus perfet amy, que jay demeure a vous fere* [*faire*] *savoir de mes novelles, sera syl vous plest escuse sur les raysons que jay commande a Langes l'ung de gentilhommes de ma chambre, vous aller declerer, et fere entendre de par moy: de quelles*

CHAP. I.

Anno 1517.

ensemble de tout ce quyl vous dira de ma part, je vous prye le vouloyr tout aynsy croyre, que vous feries moymesmes: et au demeurant, estre seur, que sy ce quyl vous presentera, et que je vous envoye pour sovenance, vous est aussy agreable, comme de bon cueur yl vous est envoye, ce sera playsyr, et contantement grant [*grand*] *a*

Vre' bon frere, cousyn, compere,
et perpetuel allye,

Francoys.

And what good success the English Ambassadors had by their prudent and discreet management of their commission at the French Court, their letters to the Cardinal expressed: with which he was well pleased, commending and approving them in his own letter in answer, with further directions to them. Which will deserve to be here inserted, in order to the shewing the Cardinal's conduct, and the terms proceeded upon, with a design of an interview of both Kings.

The Cardinal to the Ambassadors in France.

" My Lords, I commend me unto you in right harty
" manner. And by the contents of your letters to me ad-
" dressed, bearing date the 28th of December, I not only
" understand the good diligence and effectual devoir that
21 " ye have done, and put you in, for the substantial soli-
" citing, and fruitful expedition of the King's cause and
" matter to you committed; but also the great conformity
" and towardness of the French King, in the furtherance of
" the same. Who, as it appeareth by the writing, is right
" appliable to the accomplishment, as well of the conven-
" tions whereunto he is bound by the treaties, as also to
" amoving of all impediments that mowght impede or let the
" perfecting thereof: manifestly declaring thereof, not only
" by the answer given to the Lord Ligny, but also by
" making his submission and oaths benevolently, as a vir-
" tuous Prince; and accounting and accepting upon him
" the restitution to be made to the King's subjects for
" despoiles done upon the sea, and taking the charge
" upon him for recovering of Mortaign. Wherein he hath

" partly declared his mind in his loving letters to the " King's Highness addressed; but not so amply as your " letters purport.

" Whereupon the King's Highness, as well for the great " honours and comfortable cheer, to you shewed and made " since your arrival to that reame, as for the towardness the " said King sheweth himself to be of, not only in the en- " tertainment of firm love and amity between the King and " him, but also to do unto his Grace such honour and plea- " sure as he can; his Highness hath now at this time, by " his right kind and loving letters, given unto him right " special and cordial thanks; like as by a copy of his said " letters here enclosed you shall perceive more at length. " And well assured you may be, the King's Highness upon " sight of these your said letters, not only much com- " mended your great diligence and provident dexterity, in " the wise conducing of these his weighty matters, whereby " ye have deserved his singular favour and thanks, but also " took great rejoicing, consolation, and comfort, in this " honourable, princely, and loving demeanour of the said " French King: having good hope and confidence, that by " this his constant dealing at the beginning, the amity and " alliance, to the great comfort of their friends, and dis- " comfort of their enemies, honourably and kindly com- " menced and begun betwixt them, shall not only proceed " from good to better, but also finally attain the desired " end, to the restfulness and universal weal of all Christen- " dom.

" And as touching the King's mind and pleasure in the " difficulties touched in your former letters, concerning the " qualities of the hostages, I doubt not, but ye have per- " fect knowledge thereof by the King's letters, to you " lately sent; containing ample instructions how to order " yourselves in so great a matter as that is; not doubting, " but that after your accustomed wise and provident man- " ner, you woll so circumspectly order your selves therein, " that the best hostages as may be possibly gotten, shall be " had: or at the least, the final resolution of the King's

CHAP. I.

Anno 1518.

" said letters shall be attained. Wherein as hartily as I " can, I require, and instantly desire you to apply your " selves with all effect. For to this point all other princes " take special regard; whereupon, and only, dependeth the " surety of the conventions, but also the stopping of disho- " nourable bruits, which by acceptation of insufficient hos- " tages might be spread over all; which is more to be pon- " dered than the importance of Tournay, or any other thing " thereupon depending.

22 " And as unto the *personal* meeting of both Princes, the " viewing of the place, and appointment of the number to " come with the said Princes, in mine opinion ye have taken " a right substantial and discrete way; praying you ef- " fectually to follow the same, always foreseeing that the " number be not too great, in advoiding sundry incommodes " and inconveniencies that might follow thereof; as I doubt " not ye can right well consider.

" Finally, as touching the monthly wages appointed to " the soldiers of Tournay, after their discharge, to be paid " at their arrival in Dover; forasmuch as ye, my Lord " Chamberlain, for sundry causes and considerations, and " especially for payment of such debts as be owing by " many of the said soldiers in Tournay"——Here the letter breaks off abruptly.

Summary of Chron.

For the delivery up of Tournay, the French King was to pay (as one of our historians writes) 600,000 crowns, and for the citadel that the King had built there, another great sum. And the Cardinal also, for his resignation of that bishopric, was to have a good consideration.

The Cardinal's instructions to the King's officers at Tournay, upon the surrender.

Tournay then being to be surrendered, the Cardinal now (as he had done always in every step before) gave his instructions to the King's officers there, that they should play the good husbands for the King, by turning, as much as they could, all the provisions and materials there for his buildings into money, and to make sale of them. For which purpose he, with the Council, gave letters to the King's Deputy, Jernegan, brought from England to him by Sir Richard Whettill, Knt. the King's Marshal there: importing, " that

"it was the King's pleasure that he not only should, by "politic manner, use the means that all such provision of "victuals that had been provided for the storing and vic- Anno 1518. "tualling of that his citadel; but also, that all such timber, "lime, stone, and other lumber, ordained for the building "of the citadel, should be uttered and sold to the best pro- "fit and advantage. And also to put all such things in so "good and substantial a readiness and order there, that at "the return of the ambassadors from the French King, "the city and citadel might be delivered peaceably, with- "out any difficult rumour; according to the league, con- "sideration, and amity, taken and concluded between him "and France: and also, to avoid all vagabonds and others "forth of the town, that might be spared: and to see that "every man paid his debts. To the end, that at the Lord "Chamberlain's coming, there might be no rumour or let, "as little as might be."

The Cardinal leaves the bishopric.

And as the city, so also the bishopric, consequently, was to be parted withal. Therefore the Cardinal's great Official, Sampson, was to use all his diligence to gather up the revenues and arrearages thereof for his Grace; and particularly what sum was to be paid by the succeeding Bishop for quiet possession. For I find the said Sampson now informing the Cardinal, his Lord, about these money matters. As, how he had paid, or was ready to pay, the money by him received, unto the King's Treasurer at Tournay, for the King's use there; the Cardinal to receive the like value in England. And for the doing of which he gave his reason; *viz.* "That "it might please his Grace, saving his Grace's pleasure 23 "otherwise, that in his poor opinion it should not be only "more profit, that the said money be spent in the King's "use by his Deputy and Treasurer, but also that such other "money, that hereafter he should receive for his Grace, "might be in like manner delivered to them, to be em- "ployed in the same use. And at the return of the same "Deputy into England, it should appear such money be- "longing to his Grace, to have been received and employed

CHAP. I.

Anno 1518.

" to the King's use: wherefore his Grace might receive " again good money in England. For by the money there " [in Tournay] received, to be brought into England, with- " out fail should be very great loss: shewing him, that there " was there none other payment but in pence; whereof the " one half was not current in England: and that if he should " change it into gold, it was of such price, that in every piece " there should be also great diminution of the sum."

And then he proceeded to give the Cardinal intelligence of monies payable from the farmers of the Bishop's lands and revenues, and likewise from the new Bishop, by an arbitration: *viz.* " That he should not fail to endeavour him- " self, with all diligence, to the receiving of so much money " as he might have. Notwithstanding, Sir, (added he,) by " convention express, the farmers there were bound to no " payment before the Purification: and that yet after the " term, they were as slack and dull in their payment as " might be. Yet he promised the Cardinal, that he would " use all the means that he might to his Grace's most ho- " nour and profit.

Agreement on terms with the French Bishop.

" That as for the French Bishop, he had lately written " unto him, that he intended to come to Tournay with the " King's ambassadors; and then he promised his faith to " accomplish the arbement of the King's ambassadors, in " all things concerning his Grace. But that in the mean " time (as he adds) he should gather and receive as much " as he might; which he feared should be right little."

Then he concludes his letter in some Latin lines; importing, " how inclinable they would be to make them- " selves acceptable to the present Bishop; since they had " before so little kindness towards them of the English " nation: nor that he could compel them to pay before the " day of payment. That there was a coadjutor to the Ab- " bot of St. Martin's; which Abbot was a man void of all " good manners and honesty; and was worthy to be expelled " the monastery, rather than to be continued in with a coad- " jutor, &c." But take the words themselves:

The ill character of the French Abbot of St. Martin's.

Modò percupiunt omnes, ut in rerum mutatione fieri solet, eidem futuro gratos affore Episcopo. Haud igitur dubium est, sese difficiliores nunc reddituros, in quibus antea inerat minimum benevolentiæ. Neque ante solutionis diem, præscriptæ justitiæ nervos, ut cogantur, in eos intendere possumus. Qui futurus est coadjutor Divi Martini Tornac. Abbati, (viro planè à bonis moribus et ab honestate alienissimo, ut qui radicibus à monasterio extirpetur, quàm dignissimus est, magis quam cui detur coadjutor,) huc suum procuratorem brevi missurus est: qui ejus nomine possessionem nasciscatur: nunc tam Regiæ Majestati quàm reverendissimæ tuæ paternitati, ut fertur, gratissimus. Id quod utriusque literis ampliter significabit. Vale, (quod de 24 *eximia tua prudentia verissimè dici potest,) optime pater, tum pacis optatissimæ, tum ipsius patriæ, quæ talem sibi alumnum educavit, fœlicissimæ. Tornaci,* viii. *idus Decembris.*

Tuæ reverendiss. paternitatis quàm deditissimus,

Richardus Sampson.

In which last clause of the letter we may observe the high veneration and esteem was then had of the Cardinal; and what a great instrument he was of the peace now made between the two Kings: where the writer takes his leave of him in the style of, *The best father,* (*as he might most truly be called for his excellent prudence,*) *as well of the most wished for peace, as also of the country itself, most happy which had brought up such a child for itself.*

This letter was superscribed,

To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, Legate of England.

What I have writ in the pages before, concerning Tournay, is somewhat long. But since there is so little appearing in our historians concerning the King's possession and rule of that great city, and divers memorable matters in those five or six years, while it remained in the English hands, it may not be amiss to have recorded the memory of

CHAP. I.

some of them; especially wherein that great Counsellor and Churchman was concerned: in order to the adding some further knowledge of this King's reign; and reviving the memory of some persons of quality and eminence then, not unacceptable doubtless to some of their surviving posterity.

Anno 1518.

CHAP. II.

25

An interview proposed between the two Kings. The obstructing thereof endeavoured by some foreign ambassadors. The Cardinal's answer to their jealousies. The King suspicious of France's amity. The Cardinal the King's Lieutenant at Calais, sends his advice to the King about it: and for the English merchants' ships trading thither. His letters to the King. The King's book against Luther: printed in London by Pynson. The Pope gives the King the title of Defender of the Faith, *for writing this book. The King becomes zealous for the Pope. The Cardinal instrumental therein. The English Court noted abroad for learning. A commission from the Cardinal to all Bishops, to have Luther's books delivered up. Luther's errors condemned by the Pope; ordered by the Cardinal to be fixed upon the doors of all cathedrals and other churches.*

Anno 1520.

An interview of the two Kings purposed, gives umbrage to a third.

WE have the Cardinal again, in the year 1520, overruling a great cause concerning an *interview*, purposed between King Henry and the French King Francis. For as peace had been made lately between them, so now an interview somewhere near Calais was concluded to be made, for the more confirmation of mutual friendship. But this gave umbrage to the King of Castile: and certain ambassadors of Flanders, lately at Calais, now in England, endeavoured mightily to obstruct it; suggesting divers reasons of state against it: and like as it might create a jealousy in the French King, should the King of England give an interview to the King of Castile. This, Sir Richard Wyng-

field, Deputy of Calais, signified to the Cardinal; who was much for the interview, as tending to beget and confirm a good friendship and understanding, lately begun between them. And those ambassadors did labour to impeach and disappoint this purpose with many dalliances, and sundry opinions about the same. Which made such an impression upon the King's Admiral then at Calais, that he thought fit to send the contents thereof to Court; which caused the Cardinal to answer him roundly, in order to the amoving of such suspicions and jealousies. And in his letter to him, declared the entire and whole truth, as well of this business and practice, as had been made and set forth in England also by the said ambassadors of Flanders, as also the King's resolution and demeanour in all and singular the same: so that in reason and honour, the Cardinal said, they ought to have been contented therewith. This the Cardinal also signified in another letter to the said Deputy of Calais, to whom he inclosed the copy of his letter to the Admiral: adding in this to the Deputy, (I transcribe from the minutes drawn up by the Cardinal's own hand,) "that thereunto, 26 "he supposed, the Admiral and some others were not only "sufficiently answered, but also should have cause to forbear "in giving sudden credence hereafter to semblable untrue "bruits, studied and conceived to set divisions, diffidences, "and discourse between the King our master and his bro- "ther of France.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1520.

The Cardinal's letter about it to the Deputy of Calais.

"For (as he went on) it stood not with honour nor rea- "son, that a Prince should be restrained to treat with the "ambassadors of his ancient friends and confederates, or "that for any such treaties, any jealousies or suspicions "should be taken: considering by ingratitude and strange "dealing, a Prince might soon lose and abandon his best "friends. And to be plain unto you, if the King of Castile "should offer to descend at Sandwich, or about those parts, "as he hath done, to see and visit the King and the Queen, his "unkle and aunt; the King being in journeying toward the "sea, and next thereunto; it were too mervailous ingrati- "tude to refuse the same. For by such dealing, the King

CHAP. II.

Anno 1520.

" mowght well judge and think, that the King our master " neither esteemed, loved, ne favoured him. Which " mowght be the mean clearly to lose him for ever. And, " I suppose, if the French King be so good a friend to the " King's Grace, as I think he is, he would not advise his " Highness so to do. Insomuch, therefore, as by refusal of " this offer, the King mowght have lost the King of Castile " for ever: and that by yeving loving answer thereunto, " no prejudice ne dishonour can ensue to the French King " thereby, (though it succede, as it is not likely to do,) there " is no cause why the French King should take a suspicion " or jealousy therein. Specially, when the King mindeth " intyrely to accomplish all conventions between them. " And if the French King should refuse the second meet- " ing, for that the King our master hath entertained his " ancient friend, by giving to him comfortable answer, it " may be counted that he more mindeth to dissolve the said " ancient amity, than to continue or consolidate the same. " Howbeit neither the King, ne I, ne yet any of his Coun- " cil can believe, that the said French King mindeth any " such thing, the firm peace, alliance, and amity, with other " demonstrations of fraternal love and kindness betwixt " them, groundly considered."

And accordingly the meeting of both Kings was celebrated at a camp near Ardes, with great splendour and triumph.

Anno 1521. The Cardinal at Calais, to observe the French King.

But the peace between the two Kings, whatever mutual dearnesses there had appeared, was but short. The Cardinal was now, anno 1521, at Calais, to be nearer to take his observations in France, and to do the King's business, and serve his interests there; there being now a diet held there also, between Commissioners sent from the French King and the Emperor. From hence he wrote frequently to the King of what passed in those parts, and likewise the King to him. Sir William Fitzwilliams was now Ambassador at the French Court, who writ word how the French King had declared to him, *upon his honour*, that he would give battle to the Emperor; between whom and King Henry

was a good correspondence. This was signified to the Cardinal: also how counsels were now taken for security against the jealousies the King had of France. The merchants of England were ready to send their ships and vessels to Bourdeaux this vintage, for wines, as they were wont to do: and care was taken at this suspicious juncture, for the preserving them from violence and damage, if the French should attempt it by sea; and that the King's navy might suffer no loss. Of all this the King, by his Secretary, sent intelligence to the Cardinal; requiring his advice and counsel in these and the like points. He knew how to please the King: and in his answer, directed to the King's Highness, he applauds him for his good government, and his great care of his subjects' welfare, and for his careful consultation for the peace and safety of his kingdom. He extols his provident foresight, and princely zeal, and substantial regard to his own honour and surety, in foreseeing politicly beforehand dangers abroad; believing, that none could more providently consider the politic government of his realm. And that therefore, though he [the King] of his goodness had desired his poor advice, yet he was sure that his Majesty could much better provide remedies for the same, than he on his part could devise. All this more at large, with his advice at length, remains in his letters (which were two) to the King. Which highly deserve to be preserved and read; as both shewing the notable wisdom and sharpness of the Cardinal, as also the great deference that was given to his judgment. They follow, as I transcribed them from his own minutes:

27

The King requires his advice.

" Sir, I perceived by such writings as lately came to my " hand from your Secretary, that your Grace hath received " three or four letters from me of sundrie datys. And far- " asmuch as in some of them nothing was contained but " only news, it is not thought requisite any special answer " to be made thereunto, but only your gracious thanks to " me to be given. Which I would be right glad to deserve, " by all the industry, labour, and policy that I can use.

The Cardinal to the King, with respect to the French King.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

" And, Sir, as touching those news, which at that time " were written by your Ambassador, Sir William Fitz-Wil- " liams, touching the promise made by the French King, on " his honour, that he would give battail to the Emperor's " army within brief time; I think verily, that as your said " Ambassador, as a faithful gentleman, reported no less " than the French King spake; howbeit, by the contents, " as well of such other letters as I have received this day " from your said Ambassador, as by the news comen from " the Emperor to his heir, enclosed, your Grace shall well " perceive, that nother the French King is in such a readi- " ness within so brief time to give battel, though he pro- " mised *on his honour* so to do; ne yet, that the news writ- " ten on either party, be so true, that firm credence oweth " at all times to be given unto them. Nevertheless, by pro- " vident foresight, more credence is to be geven to writings " of such as most commonly make true reports, than of others, " which accustomably use to contrive news upon untrue " grounds, for the advancement of their own affairs. " Whereunto your Grace having good experience, as well " in times past, as by the experience now occurrent, can " best judge: especially when the loss and damages of the " French King be by him causeless to your Grace arrected. " So that I suppose, neither this cruel battle is so neer
28 " hand, ne yet such reports, though they be spoken *upon* " *his honour*, be always to be believed.

" Over this, Sir, whereas your Grace, foreseeing the daun- " gers, damages, losses, and prejudice, that might ensue to " your navy, and the subjects of your realm, if, in this sus- " pect and casual time, they should resort to Burdeaux for " this vintage, like as they have been accustomably used to " do heretofore; desired and commanded me to declare " unto you my poor advice and opinion, what was most ex- " pedient to be done therein; I calling unto me the whole " number of such your Counsillors as be here with me, " after long reasoning and debating of the said matter, finally " concluded by one assent, that such remedies as were ex-

" pressed in my letter then to your Grace sent, were most " covenable provisions, to remedy the said daunger, loss, and " damage. And surely, Sir, if by our wits and intend- " ments better remedies could have been foreseen, the same " should have been notified and intimated unto you. But " inasmuch as your Grace so much pondereth the daunger " and casualties that may ensue, by reparing of your navy " and subjects to Burdeaux, that you count none assurance " by treaties, plakards, proclamations, or articles, to be con- " firmed by the Princes on all parties, to suffice for that in- " dempnity, and presuppose such writings and promises to " be fraudulent and evasive allectives, to bring your said " navy and subjects in daunger. Thinking also, that the " sending of a convenient number of your small ships to " Burdeaux, or Livorna, to be given for bringing Gascoin " wines into your realms, should raise a murmur among " your subjects," &c. The minutes of this letter break off here.

The Cardinal's other letter to the King, concerning the ships of the merchants, and his own, going into France, was more full, having conferred with the French King's Chancellor, then at Calais, about these matters: prefacing his letter with great observance towards his Majesty: and thus he addressed:

Another letter of the Cardinal to the King, about the danger of his ships.

" Sir, Whereas your Grace, most prudently and provi- " dently considering the imminent dangers that may issue, " as well by taking of your navy and subjects, with such " goods and substance as they have, and shall bring with " them to Burdeux, if they should thither repair this year " for vintage, as they have been heretofore accustomably " used to do; as also pondering the suspicion that might " be imprest in the French King's mind, by the abstaining " of your said navy and subjects from thence: which jea- " lousy might percase cause him to restrain and stop your " pension, payable unto you within brief time; yee not only " desire me maturely to debate and consider what is best to " be done therein, but also to advertise your Grace with " diligence of my poor advice and opinion upon the same,

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

" like as in your Secretary's letters by your commandments " unto me addressed, it is contained more at length.

" Sir, when I groundly considered your provident fore- " cast, as well for the conservation of your navy from da- " mage, as the princely zele that yee bear to preserve your " subjects and their goods, with the substantial regard that " yee take to your honour and surety, in foreseeing politickly
29 " before hand the daunger and damages that in this suspect " time may ensue to your Highness, your realm, and sub- " jects; it is unto me one of the singular consolations and " comforts that ever I had: whereby I evidently perceive, " that no man can more groundly consider the politick go- " vernance of your said realm, ne more assuredly look to " the preservation thereof, than yee your self. And there- " fore, though your Grace of your goodness require my " poor advice, yet well assured I am, ye can better provide " remedy for the same, than I can imagine or devise.

" Nevertheless, to accomplish your noble pleasure and " commandment, I shall declare my poor opinion, though " remitting always the same to your reformation and cor- " rection.

" And first, Sir, albeit I suppose and think, that the " French King, troubled and infested with so many [enemies] " and armies on every side, as well within his own realm, as " in the duchy of Milain, and upon the [borders] of Na- " varr, will be well ware how he attempt any thing, either " by land or sea, whereby he should give occasion to pro- " voke you to break with him, and join with any of his " enemies: by means whereof he might fall to many daun- " gers: yet upon that ground will I not take my foundation: " though this day the Chancellor of France, after he had " dined with me alone, without any of his collegues, de- " clared expressly, that not only the King his master hath " in you his most alliance, before all other princes, but also " plainly shewed, that though such advice and counsel, as " I in your name, and as your Lieutenant, should shew unto " him, for the firm entertainment of the good amity be- " tween your Grace and him, he had commandment to be

" conformable; and that both his said master and he " was as good English as any of your subjects; like as it " should be well known, by his favourable entertaining of " your subjects, repairing to any of the dominions under " the obeisance of his said master. Whereby it appear- " eth, that as yet, for any bruits, they have no maner " suspicion.

" Nevertheless, for the assured remedying of the doubt- " ful daungers by your Grace foreseen and remembred, I " thought not most surety to lean only to words, unless the " same were corroborate by available bands and writings. " Wherefore, besides other remedies, which I shall here- " after particularly declare in this my letter, I have taken " this order with the said Chancellor of France.

" First, Forasmuch as complaints be here daily made by " your subjects, of such depredations as be committed upon " them by the French men, which is manifestly proved be- " fore the said Chancellor, and not only no redress made to " some of your subjects upon the same, but also divers " ships have been rescued from them; whereof one, with " certain French men apprized thereof, arrived here in your " haven this day; I have therefore upon those grounds, " without speaking of the matter of Burdeux, caused the " said Chancellor to determine, that proclamations be made " throughout the realm of France and Britain, upon the " sea-coasts, that no man, under pain of death, shall enter- " prize to take any English ships, or English mens goods; " but that all English, both by land, sea, and fresh water, " shall have as free course in surety to pass, remain, and " return at their liberty, as ever they had heretofore in the " dominions of the said French King.

" I have also moved the said Chancellor to write to the " King his master, that over and beside the said proclama- " tions, an open placard, signed and sealed by the said " French King, shall be made, and delivered to your Grace; " making assurance to all and singular your subjects, repair- " ing to Burdeux, or any other his dominions under his " obeisance by sea or land, that they, and every of them,

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

" shall not only be favourably entertained, but also suffered " safely to return with their ships, goods, and merchandizes, " according to the treaties, without any trouble or vexation " to any your said subjects. To the granting and expedi- " tion of which open placard, I find the said Chancellor " right agreeable. And albeit the French King be bound " hereunto by treaty, yet, if contrary to the same treaty, " proclamations, and placards, they shall attempt any thing " against your subjects, it may be more grievously arrected " unto the said French King's charge, when ye shall make " your declaration against him.

" And, Sir, during our abode at this diet, having the " Chancellor of France here, they shall not dare to enter- " prize any thing at Burdeux against the goods or ships of " any subject of your realm. And a treux or abstinence of " war being taken by [the Commissioners] of this diet, as I " trust it shall be, then hostility shall cease on all parts " during the treux. Whereby your navy and ships shall " be in surety.

Ways devised by the Cardinal, for safety of merchants' ships in France.

" And yet, Sir, for an habundaunt cautele for the safe- " guard of your ships and navy, repairing this year to Bur- " deux, I have devised three ways. Whereof the first is, " that provision by your Grace should be made in your " ports, that no ship above the portage of an hundred, or " six score, should pass to Burdeaux this year, and that no " multitude of ships should consort there together, and at " once; but such a convenient number as ye shall think " good; suffering them first to return, for knowledge, how " they have sped, before any mo ships be sent forth. By which " means, not only the great ships of your realm shall be in " safety, but also the most part of your navy conserved " from danger.

" The second remedy is this, that in case it may like " your Grace, not only to licence your subjects to bring " their wines upon strangers bottoms, but also give liberty " to the French men and Britons to bring Gascoin wines to " your realms upon their proper ships; ye should not only " have right great plenty of wines at better prizes than it

" hath been accustomed to be sold heretofore, with the aug- Anno 1521.
" mentation of your customs, but also relieve Flanders and
" the Emperor's countries with wines; whereby during the
" wars they shall be destitute, if they be not relieved by
" your means. And besides that, Sir, there shall so many
" French and Britons ships resort to your realm, under co-
" lour of your said licence and liberty, that ye shall always
" have a good country security and paine, to take their
" ships, if they wol any thing enterprize against you.

" Finally, Sir, among other devices and capitulations
" that we be now in making for the [safety] and surety of
" the fishers, as well of Flanders as of France, during this
" herring time, [I do intend,] beside the foresaid provisions 31
" for the safeguard of the navy, to devise the articles to be
" concluded by the mutual consent of both parties; that not
" only your subjects, with their ships, goods, and mer-
" chandizes, shall surely and safly pass and repass through
" all harbours under the dominion of the Emperor and
" French King; but also, that no maner ships, strangers,
" or others, shall be taken within their streamys. By which
" articles, the liberty of your streamys and territories of the
" sea shall be more largely extended and amplified, as well
" by the Emperor's as the French King's express consents,
" by special articles, than ever it was before. Which ar-
" ticles also shall be a high remedy for the preservation
" of your navy, and free liberty to be given thereby unto
" them, freely to pass and repass to all coasts and countries
" under the dominions and obeisances of the said Princes,
" without damage."

Some English ships taken by the French.

But soon after this letter of the Cardinal's to the King, wherein he laid down such a politic scheme to be had with the Commissioners of the other King, to preserve the King's and merchants' ships, and the trade to Bourdeaux; there were letters sent from Court to him, of great spoil notwithstanding done by the French to some English ships: which occasioned another letter from the Cardinal to the King, who now much required and depended upon his judgment. Therein also he gave his Majesty his thoughts about the

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

seizing these ships; and also about entering into another truce with the French King, when as yet no open rupture of the amity was made, though there appeared too much tending thereto; and the King's ambassadors at the French Court were not well used. And whereas advice was taken, about deferring the sending of ships to Bourdeaux for some time longer, till the latter vintage, when there might be a likelihood of safer sailing, the Cardinal shewed his reason why he was against it. Because, in all probability, there would more jealousies arise upon the Emperor's coming into England, which was intended to be about that time. Of all these matters, thus the Cardinal shewed his mind in his next letter; after some lines, thus proceeding:

The Cardinal to the King on this occasion.

"And whereas your Grace doubteth not, but that I, "with your Council here [at Calais] had had so large "knowledge of the damage of your subjects, being daily "despoiled on sea, as ye have advertised me, since both I "and they would have agreed with your Grace in one "opinion; Sir, truth it is, that I had certain knowledge of "sundry despoils done upon the sea by French men, be- "fore I advertised your Grace of my said poor answer and "opinion for this Burdeux voiage. Which, upon their "complaints, had good redress and restitution: whereby I "was moved to have the better trust. And since that time, "I received another letter from your Secretary; wherein "he writeth, that two hulks, wherein certain goods apper- "taining to English men, were lately taken by French "men; the one being conveyed to Boleyn, and the other "to Frith in Scotland.

"And as touching the hulk conveyed to Boleyn, sur- "mised to appertain to Birch, wherein one Roch of London "pretendeth to have goods; I have caused some of your "Council here, to hear the complaints of the said Roch. "And albeit the said Roch neither can ne will justify the "said hulk to appertain to Birch, yet he chalengeth certain
32 "goods in her, whereof I doubt not he shall have restitu- "tion, if he can duely prove them to be his. And as unto "the other hulk carried into Scotland, I see no remedy,

" but letters to be devised and sped by your Grace, to be " sent to the Council of Scotland, by the parties dampnified " there, to pursue for restitution. And if they be French " men that have taken the goods, then a certificate to me " made of their names and dwelling places, with a specialty " of the goods taken, I shall endeavour my self, with the " Chancellor of France, for restitution to be made accord- " ing to justice. And this, in effect, be all the despoils that " I know newly done. Howbeit some other pursuits have " been made here, for redress of depredations done upon the " sea about Midsummer, and before: which shall be also " remedied in the countries where the offendors dwell. For " which purpose, letters be delivered by the Chancellor to " the parties complainants. Anno 1521.

" This, Sir, like as we heretofore conformed our opinions " and mind touching the voiage of Burdeux, to your high " plesure, so we eftsones remit the same to your great " wisdom.

" And, Sir, to enquire of the French men, why they take " the Easterlings hulks, it appertaineth not to me as your " Lieutenant. For if they will pretend inimity to be be- " twixt the merchants of Danske and them, your Grace " may not conveniently let the same: howbeit to restore " your subjects goods being in them, I have and woll speak " accordingly.

" And whereas your Secretary further writeth, that this " first vintage may be further respited and deferred, upon " good grounds, without distrust or jealousy, by declara- " tion of this manifold despoylys and cruel intreaty of your " subjects upon the sea, as well by French men as Span- " iards; by reason whereof it may be said, they abstain " from the said venture; like as to good policy it apper- " taineth, for the servation of themselves, and surety of their " goods; I think the same full good and reasonable consi- " derations, if they take it well: howbeit to defer that voy- " age till the latter vintage at Candlemas, so that by vertue " of a treux to be taken here, they may then resort thidder " in surety; Sir, under your favour and correction, your

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

" said subjects shall be in more danger, going, than now:
" for if some suspicion and distrust be taken now by the
" French King, as your Grace judgeth by the strange en-
" treaty of your Ambassador, it is to be supposed, that by that
" time it shall be further spread and encreased. And so I
" say, that if the treaty, not yet declared broken, the pla-
" card, safe conduct, and all the other remedies before
" touched, cannot now stand in stead; then the abstention
" of war, which may be as soon broken, if there be no truse,
" as all the other assurance, cannot then prevail; especially
" considering this amity standing yet unbroken betwixt you
" and the French King, no treux can be taken betwixt you
" and him. For taking of a treux presupposeth rupture
" of amity. And therefore this treux must be only taken
" betwixt the Emperor and the French King, for the in-
" demnity of their subjects: which cannot help your sub-
" jects. In consideration whereof, these remedies now pro-
33 " vided may better serve at this time, than the abstinence
" of war then, and especially the safe conduct, comprized
" in the placard for all your subjects resorting to France.
" Which is an aboundant cautele; tho' the same, standing
" the amity, needed not.

" Sir, if Princes accustomably observed their safe con-
" ducts to their enemies in time of open war, it is to be
" supposed they will not break it, standing the colour of
" peace and amity.

" And on the other side, the second vintage is commonly
" in February, about the Purification of our Lady: in which
" month it is included by treaty, that the Emperor shall be
" with you in England: and then the distrust and jealousy
" shall be more largly imprest in the French mens minds
" than it is now. And albeit your subjects might then go
" surely without impeachment, yet it were not possible to
" bring wine of the second vintage to serve the Emperor at
" his coming into your realms.

" And whereas it is further written, that by this treaty
" taken with the Emperor, it is sufficiently provided for the
" indempnity in the pension of France to be paid by the

" Emperor, if the French King refuse to pay the same: " Sir, the matter dependeth upon your declaration. And " therefore, good it were to save the next payment to be " made by the French King, if it might conveniently be.

" And whereas it is alledged, that my doubt is solved " by mine own writing; whereas, I suppose, the French " King shall not provoke your enemity, but conserve your " amity: Sir, if my letter be well regarded, I writ that only " conditionally, unless he be driven thereunto by distrust " and diffidence; and so that doubt remaineth not un- " absolved."

The King's book against Luther presented to the Pope:

About the year 1521. did King Henry shew himself a man of letters as well as arms, by a book which he owned himself the author of: wherein both his learning, and his zeal for the Pope's cause and religion, appeared: being written in confutation of Martin Luther's late books against Indulgences, granted by Popes, and other errors of the Church of Rome. This book the King, by the Cardinal's advice, thought fit to have presented to Pope Leo: which was done by Dr. Clark, then the King's Ambassador at Rome; and was delivered by him into his own hands, in a solemn assembly of Cardinals; and at the same time he made a speech to the Pope. To whom the Pope presently made an answer, shewing his most grateful acceptance of it. And in testimony thereof, he gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith;* and so always to be styled whensoever he was named. And the book thus presented, richly bound, was laid up in the Vatican, as a rarity: where the Lord Herbert of Cherbury saith he afterwards saw it.

Chiefly by the means of Wolsey.

This was brought about by the means of Cardinal Wolsey; who procured some copies of the book to be written in a very fair and beautiful character; and one of them to be bound up splendidly, namely, that that was to be sent to the Pope: and the said Cardinal sent that especially to the King, for his liking of it, before it went.

Matters contained in this book, when printed.

This book was soon printed here in England, by Pynson, for the honour of the King. For it stood in the title page, *Printed* 1521. *Londini in Ædibus Pynsonianis.* Which I

CHAP. II. Anno 1521. 34

once saw in that exquisite library of ancient books, belonging sometime to Dr. Moore, when Bishop of Norwich. In this book were these several things contained. I. The Oration of John Clark, Dean of Windsor, to the Pope, upon his exhibiting the King's work to him. II. The Answer of the Pope to the same, *extempore*. III. The Pope's Bull to the King's Majesty, for the confirmation of his work. IV. Then the book itself, *Contra Martinum Lutherum Hæresiarchon*. V. The King's Epistle, *Ad Illustrissimos*, &c. *viz.* the Duke of Saxony, and other German princes; *piè admonitoria*, piously admonishing them to beware of Luther and his heresies. VI. The Pope's Bull of *Indulgences*, to encourage the reading of the King's book: which was thus prefaced: *Librum hunc Henrici VIII. Angliæ et Franciæ Regis Pontentiss. contra Martinum Lutherum, legentibus*, 10 *annorum, et totidem quadragenarum Indulgentia apostolicâ authoritate concessa est.*

The clause of the bull, (which bore date in October,) conferring that glorious title upon him, was, *Habitâ super his, cum eisdem fratribus nostris* [*viz. Cardinalibus et Prælatis*] *maturâ deliberatione, de eorum unanimi consilio et assensu, Majestati tuæ titulum hunc, viz.* Fidei Defensorem, *donare decrevimus, ... mandantes omnibus Christi Fidelibus, ut Majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent: et cum ad eum scribent, post dictionem* Regi, *adjungant* Fidei Defensori.

England noted abroad for learning and learned men.

This royal piece of learning gives occasion to relate, for the honour of this nation, how it was noted abroad for the learning and learned men it was replenished with; nay, and the Court also, and the King too, renowned, not only for that accomplishment, but for his sharp wit and parts likewise: which must be attributed chiefly to the Cardinal's influence and encouragement, and furtherance of good studies. This the great learned man, Erasmus, that lived in those times, and held a correspondence here in England, well knew, and often applauded this land for. Thus, in an epistle of his to one Banisius, dated anno 1519, from Brussels. "Learning would triumph, had we such a Prince

"at home as England hath. That King not unlearned, "as well as of a very sharp wit. He openly shews himself "a patron of good letters. He silenceth all brawling con- Anno 1521. "tenders. All studies are restored for the better by the "Cardinal of York; and by his kindness to many, inviteth "every body to the love of studies, &c. And even the "King's Court abounds with greater numbers of the learn- "ed, than any University[a]."

And in another epistle of his to a learned Englishman, Sir Henry Guildeford, Master of the King's Horse, writ the same year, he hath these words: "What school, what "monastery any where is there, that hath so many per- "sons endowed with probity and learning, as your Court "hath[b]?"

And again in another epistle he particularly noted the excellent abilities of one particularly, of the English nation; namely, Pace[c], then the King's Ambassador in Germany; and bade Banisius (to whom he wrote) to get acquainted with him, giving this character of him: "That nothing "was finer than his wit, and one most accomplished in both "parts of literature; and for his virtues, to the King, the "Cardinals, and even to the Roman Pontiff himself, most "acceptable[d]."

To all which let me subjoin the lamentation the same great scholar made, how learning and sobriety was then gone from religious houses, where formerly they most flourished, and was removed to the courts of princes, now there rather to be found. *O! miras rerum humanarum*

[a] Triumpharent bonæ literæ, si Principem haberemus domi qualem habet Anglia. Rex ipse non indoctus, tum ingenio acerrimo. Palam tuetur bonas literas: rabulis omnibus silentium indixit. Cardinalis Eboracensis omnia studia in melius restituit, suâque benignitate passim omnes invitat ad amorem studiorum, &c. Aula Regis plus habet hominum eruditione præstantium, quàm ulla Academia. *Erasm. Epist. ad Banisium.*

[b] Quæ schola, quod monasterium usquam tam multos habet insigni probitate doctrinaque præditos, quàm vestra habet aula? *Erasm. Ep.* p. 369.

[c] Erasmus's character of Pace.

[d] Nihil ejus ingenio candidius; utriusque literaturæ peritissimus; pro suis virtutibus Regi, Cardinalibusque, atque adeo Romano Pontifici, gratissimus est.

CHAP. II. Anno 1521.

vicissitudines, &c. "O! the strange vicissitudes of human affairs! heretofore the heat of learning was among such as professed religion; now, while they, for the most part, give up themselves *ventri, luxui, pecuniæque, i. e.* to the belly, luxury, and money, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court, and the nobility. May we not justly be ashamed of ourselves? The feasts of Priests and Divines are drowned in too much wine, are filled with scurrilous jests, sound with intemperate noise and tumult, flow with spiteful slanders and defamations of others: while, in the mean time, at princes' tables, modest disputations are had concerning such things as make for learning and piety[e]."

And then he goes on to prophesy of the rise of good learning and religion, after the fatal decay of it for divers ages past, in his address to the abovesaid Sir Henry Guyldford. "Indeed I see a certain golden age ready to arise: which perhaps will not be my lot to partake of, [being now drawing near to the end of his life,] yet I congratulate the world, and the younger sort I congratulate, in whose minds, howsoever Erasmus shall live and remain, by reason of the remembrance of the good offices he hath done[f]."

I go not out of my way in relating these passages, being historical of these times we are now in: wherein learning began in this part of the world to shew itself; and the Monks and Friars here noted for their degeneracy into ignorance and vice; while the King, and his Court, at least many of them, and his servants and ministers of state, were brightened with learning and knowledge; and the Cardinal none of the least.

The King seemed to boast much of this titulary honour bestowed upon him so solemnly by the Pope and Cardinals, and the high praises accompanying the same, in such words

[e] Madent vinolentia, scurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum sobrio perstrepunt, virulentis obtrectationibus scatent.

[f] Equidem aureum quoddam sæculum exoriri video: quo mihi fortassis non continget frui, &c.

Anno 1521. The Pope highly extols the King's learning and piety.

as these: "That he [the Pope] had diligently and accurately looked into the doctrine of that book, naming it, "*A certain admirable doctrine, sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace:* and he gave thanks to the omnipotent God, from whom every the best and perfect gifts do come; who had vouchsafed to inspire the King's excellent mind, inclined to every good thing, to write such things for the defence of the holy faith, against the new stirrers up of damnable heresies; and whereby he might invite other kings and Christian princes, by his example, to give all their aid and favour to the orthodox faith and evangelical truth, then brought into great danger and hazard. And therefore he thought it meet and just, that they, who undertook such pious labour, in defence of the faith of Christ, deserved all praise and honour. And accordingly, he [the Pope] not only extolled and magnified with deserved praise, what his Majesty had wrote against the said Martin Luther, with most absolute learning, nor less eloquence, but did approve and confirm it by his authority, and would adorn and grace his Majesty with such honour and title, that all the faithful people of Christ in that, and in perpetual time to come, might understand how grateful this gift, presented to him, was, especially at this time. And therefore he, the true successor of St. Peter, in that holy see, whence all dignities and titles flowed, and consulting with the rest of his brethren, after mature deliberation, had decreed to give to your Majesty this title," &c. 36

This matter was contrived by the Cardinal, to engage the King the more against Lutheranism, which now began to spread in the kingdom, and such books and writings to be brought over. And being backed with the title granted to the King, the Cardinal used his diligence effectually to suppress the same, by a strict commission from himself, invested with the legantine power, to all the Bishops in England, by a general visitation, to take order, that any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's errors and heresies,

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521. A commission from the Cardinal to bring in all Luther's books.

should be brought in to the Bishop of each respective diocese. And that every such Bishop receiving such books and writings, should send them up to him. And in order to this, notice was to be given in every church at *mass-time*, before the people present, that whosoever had such books in their houses or possessions, should forthwith deliver them up to the Bishop, or his Commissary, or other officer, within fifteen days. And this upon pain of incurring the greater excommunication; and being esteemed concealers and favourers of heretical pravity; and so reputed and judged as heretics, and liable to be punished as such. And that all Abbots, Priors, and Governors of religious houses, all Deans, Presidents, &c. of cathedral churches, all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, &c. of parochial churches, be by the Bishop admonished and enjoined to bring in and deliver up to him any such books, composed or set forth by the said Martin, under his name. And to do the same under the penalties abovesaid. It was dated from his house near Westminster, the 14th of May, 1521.

It began with a pompous enumeration of all his titles; and was directed first to the King, and then to the universal kingdom of England, and all and singular provinces, cities, places, &c. of the said kingdom. And therein he required, that the Bishops should do their parts, "before those damnable and pestiferous errors and heresies
37 "broached by Luther took place in this kingdom, lest "they should take root as a noxious briar here; and that "by the express will and command of the most potent and "illustrious Prince, (whom the most Holy Father, namely, "*The Defender of the Faith*, called *the Catholic faith*,) re-"required him [the Cardinal] with all possible endeavour "to root out and abolish this heresy from this his noble "kingdom: which resolution was accompanied with a dili-"gent treaty, and exact deliberation with William, Arch-"bishop of Canterbury, and other his reverend brethren, "Prelates of the kingdom: and by his [the said Cardinal's] "apostolical authority, commanded all Bishops, &c." But

this remarkable commission I recommend to be read at large in the Appendix. CHAP. II.

In the foresaid commission, the Cardinal enjoined every Bishop to set up, upon the folding doors of their cathedral churches, (as likewise they were to order it to be done upon the doors of the churches of the regulars and parish churches,) a list of some of Luther's pestiferous errors, for all persons to read and avoid, according as they were expressed in a bull of the Pope's, (set out in the year 1520, damning Luther and his writings,) being forty-two in number. And they are these that follow, taken exactly as they stand in the end of the Cardinal's said commission; only I put them into our English language out of the Latin. But whether the Pope, and the Cardinal from him, have represented all Luther's doctrines aright, or strained or perverted the sense of any of them, I leave to those that have read his books. Anno 1521. Numb. IX.

1. It is an heretical opinion, but common, that the sacraments of the new law give justifying grace to them who do not *ponere obicem*. Luther's pretended errors, damned by the Pope. Reg. Ep. Heref.

2. To deny sin remaining in a child after baptism, is to trample upon Paul and Christ.

3. *Fomes peccati*, *i. e.* the fuel of sin, although no actual sin be present, *moratur exeuntem è corpore animam ab ingressu cœli*; *i. e.* stayeth the soul going out of the body from entrance into heaven.

4. The imperfect love of him that is dying, carrieth necessarily with it great fear, (*qui*, *se solo*, *satis est facere pœnam purgatorii*; *i. e.* which alone is sufficient to make the pain of purgatory,) and hindereth entrance into the kingdom.

5. That there be three parts of repentance, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, is not founded in the sacred Scripture, nor in the ancient holy Christian Doctors.

6. Contrition; which is begotten by discussion, collection, and detestation of sins: whereby one looks back upon the year [past] in the bitterness of his soul, by weighing

CHAP. II. Anno 1521.

the weight of his sins, the foulness of them, the loss of eternal happiness, and the procuring of eternal damnation: this contrition makes a hypocrite, yea rather a sinner.

7. It is a most true proverb, and better than all the doctrines of contrition hitherto given, *De cætero non facere*; *i. e.* To do so no more.

38 8. *Summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia, nova vita*; *i. e.* The chiefest penance, the best penance, is a new life.

9. By no means presume to confess *venial* sins, neither all your *mortal* ones. Because it is impossible you should know all your mortal sins. Whence in the primitive Church they only confessed their manifest mortal sins.

10. While we confess all purely, we do nought else but leave nothing to the mercy of God to pardon.

11. Sins are not pardoned to any, unless, the Priest remitting them, he believe they are remitted to him. Yea, sin would remain, unless he believed it remitted. For the remission of sins, and the giving of grace, is not sufficient; but it is needful also to believe they are remitted.

12. Do not by any means believe thereby to be absolved, because of your contrition, but because of the words of Christ, *Whatsoever ye bind*, &c. Here, I say, trust; if you obtain the Priest's absolution, and believe strongly, you are absolved, and thou shalt be truly absolved, whatsoever become of contrition.

13. If by reason of some impossibility, the *contrite* be not confessed, or the Priest absolve him, not in earnest, but in jest; yet if he believe that he is absolved, he is most truly absolved.

14. In the sacrament of *penance*, and the remission of a fault, the Pope or Bishop doth not more than the lowest Priest; yea, where there is not a Priest, then any Christian as well; yea, if it were a woman or a child.

15. None ought to answer the Priest, that he is contrite; nor the Priest to ask it.

16. It is a great error of them who come to the sacrament of the Eucharist; trusting on it, because they have

confessed, that they are not conscious to themselves of any mortal sin, because they have premised their prayers and preparations. They all eat and drink *ad judicium sibi*, *i. e.* judgment to themselves. But if they believe and trust that they shall obtain grace there, this faith alone makes them pure and worthy.

17. *Consultum videtur*; *i. e.* It seemeth adviseable, that the Church in a common council should decree the laics to be communicated under both kinds. Nor are the Bohemians, that communicate under both kinds, heretics, but schismatics.

18. The treasures of the Church, whence the Pope giveth *indulgences*, are not the merits of Christ and the saints.

19. *Indulgences* are the pious frauds of the faithful, and the remissions of good works. And are of the number of those things which are lawful, but not of the number of those things which are expedient.

20. *Indulgences* to them, who do indeed obtain them, are of no avail for the remission of punishment due for actual sins from divine justice.

21. They are seduced, that believe indulgences are *salutares*; *i. e.* saving and profitable to the fruit of the Spirit.

22. *Indulgences* are necessary only for public crimes, and are properly granted only *duris et impenitentibus*, *i. e.* to the hard and impenitent.

23. To six kinds of men indulgences are neither necessary nor profitable; *viz.* to the dead, or those that are dying; the sick; *legitimè impeditis*, *i. e.* those that are lawfully hindered; those that have not committed crimes; those that have committed crimes, but not public; and them that do better things. 39

24. *Excommunications* are of external punishment; nor do they deprive a man of the common spiritual prayers of the Church.

25. Christians are to be taught rather to love *excommunication* than to fear it.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1521.

26. The Pope, the successor of Peter, is not Christ's Vicar above all the Churches of the whole world; so appointed by Christ himself in blessed Peter.

27. The order to Peter, *Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth*, &c. is extended only to those things that are bound by Peter himself.

28. It is certain, it is not at all in the hand of the Church or the Pope, to decree articles of faith; no, nor to decree the laws of manners or of good works.

29. If the Pope, with a great part of the Church, should think so or so, and should not err; yet it is not sin or heresy to think the contrary; especially in a thing not necessary to salvation, until it be by a general council, the one rejected, the other approved.

30. A way is made us *enarrandi*, *i. e.* of explaining the authority of councils, and freely contradicting their actions, and judging their decrees; and confidently confessing whatsoever seems true, whether it be approved or not approved by any council.

31. Some articles of John Huss, that were condemned in the Council of Constance, are most christian, most true and evangelical: which neither the universal Church can condemn.

32. In every good work the just man sinneth.

33. A good work, done best, is a venial sin.

34. To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Spirit.

35. To war against the Turks is to impugn God's visiting our sins by them.

36. None is certain that he doth not always sin mortally, by reason of the hidden vice of pride.

37. Free will, after sin, is a thing *de solo titulo*: and while it doth what in it is, it sinneth mortally.

38. *Purgatory* cannot be proved from the sacred Scripture which is in the canon: [that is, excluding the Apocrypha.]

39. Souls in *purgatory* are not secure of their salvation,

at least all. Nor is it proved by any, either reasons or Scriptures, that they are without the state of meriting or of increasing charity.

40. Souls in *purgatory* sin without intermission, as long as they seek rest and abhor punishments.

41. Some souls delivered out of *purgatory* are less blessed by the suffrages of the living, than if they had of themselves satisfied.

42. The Prelates of the Church, and secular princes, would not do ill, if they would destroy *omnes saccos mendicitatis;* [that is, all the habits of the begging Friars.]

And then follows, in the Cardinal's said commission, 40

Qui quidem errores, &c. "Which errors respectively, "how infectious they are, how scandalous, how seducing of "pious and simple minds; how, lastly, they are against all "charity, and the reverence due to the holy Roman mo- "ther Church, and all the faithful and the faith, and "against the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline, *viz.* obedi- "ence: which is the fountain and source of all virtues; "without which every man is convinced to be an infidel; "there is none of a sound mind is ignorant."

CHAP. III.

Bishop Fisher's book against Luther. The King grants his privilege for printing it; with his commendation of it. A note of the change of the King's mind from the Pope afterwards; looked on as a wonder. He shews his zeal for the Pope, in an embassy to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Sends him the Garter. The ceremonies thereof. The Cardinal's instructions to the King's Ambassadors there. He appointeth a reformation of the Clergy throughout both dioceses. Fox, Bishop of Winton, his excellent letter to the Cardinal thereupon. Stafford reads lectures out of the holy Scriptures, and St. Paul's Epistles, in Cambridge. Paynel and Thixtel, learned Divines there. The Cardinal removeth the Convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster. The dispute thereupon arising. He summons a new Convocation throughout England.

Anno 1523. Bishop Fisher's book against Luther, privileged by the King.

KING Henry's zeal continued against Luther and his doctrine; and so much the more from his title, which the Pope had lately, by the formal solemnity of his bull, conferred on him: which on occasion he loved to remember and publish. In the year 1523, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, set forth a book against that German Friar. As the Cardinal, a year or two before, had called in all his books throughout the realm, (as was shewn above,) so now it was thought fit to confute him by a learned English Bishop's pen. To this book, and the printer, the King gave his countenance, by his letters patents. It was printed at Antwerp, and entitled, *Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio.* And round about this title, within a border of pictures, was written in Latin, *Væ Prophetis insipientibus*, &c. and also the same in Greek and Hebrew: that is, *Wo to the foolish prophets, which follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing.* Then, on the next page, is King Henry VIII.'s privilege to John Addison, B. D. that none
41 should print this book within three years but himself: "That so you may not suffer any loss in your pious

" endeavour in furthering this work;" as it ran. And in this charter, the King valueth himself for his said title in these words: *Nos igitur hujusmodi fraudibus occurrere* ..... *in iis præsertim promovendis operibus, quæ pro ecclesiâ Catholicâ et fide Christianâ militant. Cujus nos* defensionem *suscepimus, quemadmodum ex cognomento nobis à summo pontifice piæ memoriæ Leone decimo nuper indito, tenemur. Ideoque religionis et ecclesiæ susceptum esse gaudemus patrocinium ab antistite Roffensi.* That is, " That he gave him his privilege to hinder the frauds of " printing upon him, especially in works that fought for the " Catholic Church and Christian faith: whereof he had " taken upon him the *defence*, as he was bound to do by " the name put upon him by Pope Leo, of pious memory. " And that therefore he was glad, that the patronage of re- " ligion and the Church was undertaken by that Bishop." CHAP. III. Anno 1523.

Insomuch that King Henry's altering his mind some years after from the Roman see was looked upon as a wonder. Which was thus expressed by a learned writer and ambassador near that time, in these words: " Of the ni- " racles and wonders of our times, I take the change of our " Sovereign Lord's opinion, in matters concerning religion, " to be even the greatest. There was no prince in Christ- " endom, but he was far liker to have changed than our " Sovereign Lord. He was their pillar, and bare them up a " great while. They gave him fair titles for his so doing, " and honoured his name in all their writings. Was it not " a *wonderful* work of God, to get his grace from them to " him? To make him their overthrow, whom they had " chosen for their *defender*? I have oft bidden my coun- " trymen to mark the proceedings of God, sithence this " change with Henry VIII. his chosen Lieutenant in Eng- " land, and our only lord and head under Christ and his " Father. I still say, as I have said, whoso marketh how " tenderly God preserveth his Highness; he is either ex- " ceedingly blind, or else he well perceiveth God to be " enemy to all them that love not his grace. Where before " he was called King, and yet had, against all right and The King's change from the Roman see. Moryson. Invect.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1523.

"equity, a ruler above him: which always enforced himself to keep his and all the rest of his subjects in servitude, error, and idolatry, God hath made him, as all his noble progenitors of right ought to have been, a full King; that is, a *ruler*, and not *ruled*, in his own kingdom, as others were. God hath delivered his Highness from the bondage of the Bishop of Rome, his subjects from error, and his realm from the foul sin of idolatry," &c.

These are the words of Sir Richard Morison; a man of note in this King's reign, and sometime his Ambassador to the Emperor; in a book of his, called *An Invective against Treason*.

The King excites Archduke Ferdinand against the Lutheran heresy.

But we return back to the King in the time when he was this zealous servant of the Pope. Another mark thereof, and of his abhorrence of Luther, he shewed in an embassy he sent this same year, *viz.* 1523, to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria; in the oration made to him by Lee, the King's Almoner, and one of the four ambassadors now sent. A part of which oration was "highly to commend his zeal "against those detestable and damnable heresies of Friar "Martin Luther; saying, that nothing could be more ac- "ceptable to the King, (who, as well with his sword as "with his pen, had always endeavoured himself to the tu- "ition and defence of Christen faith,) than to hear and un- "derstand, that his good cousin and nephew shall persist "in this his godly and meritorious purpose; considering "how largely, by little and little, the said heresies have "pullute, grown, and infected a great part of Almayne: "which, remaining the present discourse, divisions, and "werris among Christen Princes, is right daungerous to "the hoole Catholic faith; in case the good Princes, with "their temporal assistance, as the heads of the Church, "with their spiritual power do not briefly see for the cor- "rection, suppression, and reformation thereof. Wherein, "like as the King's Grace had, doth, and woll, for his partie, "apply his intyre mind and study; so he doth instantly "desire the Archduke to do his semblable: not doubting,

42

" but besides the eternal peace that he shall thereby de- CHAP. III.
" serve of Almighty God, many notable good effects, as
" well general as particular, shall thereof ensue, to the Anno 1523.
" quiet, tranquillity, and unity of all Christendome."

This embassy of the King to the Archduke was very splendid, as he affected pomp and magnificence in all his business and transactions abroad, and with foreign princes: and withal sending now the order of the Garter to that Prince; that it might be done with a high veneration towards that English saint, St. George. Lighting upon this original commission of the King to his Ambassadors sent to the said Ferdinand, and his instructions to them, I think it worthy entering; containing things of curious remark, especially as to the ceremonies of admitting that Archduke to the order; and our historians taking little notice of this embassy. It therefore follows:

Instructions geven by the King's Highness, to his right trusty Counsillors, the Lord Morley, Sir William Hussey, Knight, and Master Edward Lee, Archdeacon of Colchester, and Almoner to his Highness: touching such order, form, and maner, as they with the principal King of Armes, named Garter, shall observe, in presenting and delivering of the Gartier and habit of that noble order, with the other ornaments thereunto belonging; unto his dearest cousin and nephew, Don Fernando, Archduke of Austrice, Earl of Tirol, &c.

" HENRY R.

" First, after most cordial and effectual recommenda- The King's instructions to his Ambassadors to Archduke Ferdinand. MSS. Joh. D. Episc. Ely.
" tions, with presentation of the King's letters unto the said
" Archduke, the said Master Edward Lee, for and in the
" name of his collegys and himself, shall make a convenient
" oration in as compendious maner as he can devise.
" Wherein, after lawds given unto the said noble order of
" the Garter, and mention of the manifold excellent ver-
" tues and merits of the King's Highness, being head and
" sovereign of the same; he shall say, that the King's
" Grace having in continual and fresh remembrance the

CHAP. III.

Anno 1523. 43

" auncient amities, intelligences, and confederations of long " time, formerly rooted and established betwene the house " of Englond, and the house of Spaine, Austria, and Bur- " goyn: whereof the Archduke is lineally descended; and " remembring also, that by sondrie ways the fast conjunc- " tion betwene the same houses is of late days more and " more increased and augmented with indissoluble knots of " love, as well by proximity of bloud, affiance and alliance " contracted on either side, as also by most necessary " bonds, treaties, and conventions past in that behalf:

" Considering furthermore, the vertuous, princely, and " honourable qualities, wherewith Almighty God hath en- " dued the said Archduke, largely reported to the King's " Highness by many ways to his great renowne, and the " King's singular joy and gladness;

" Hath of long time studied and devised, how or by " what means his Grace might not only shew some mani- " fest demonstration of gratuity and kindness, in compro- " bation of the great love, singular and tender affection, " which his Highness beareth to his seid dearest cousin and " nephew, but also attribute and give unto him some in- " crease and furtherance of honour and reputation: and " forasmuch as the ancient and noble order of the Garter, " which of old time hath been founded and established " within this realm, with many lawdable, vertuous, and ho- " nourable constitutions, in the honour of Almighty God, " our Lady St. Mary, and the blessed martyr St. George; " hath been and is conferred by the Sovereign and compa- " nions of the same, to many great Emperors, Kings, and " Princes, and also to other noble, active, and valiant per- " sons; whereby hath ensued unto them great increase and " exaltation of honour and glory: the King's Highness " could not ne can imagine or devise a thing of higher or " greater estimation, wherewith at this present time his " Grace might honour his seid good cousin and nephew, " than with the said order.

" And for that cause, by the common consent, concord, " and agreement of the said companions, his Grace, in a

" chapitre of the said noble order, lately celebrate and CHAP. III.
" holden, hath elected, chosen, admitted, and taken the
" said Archduke, to be oon of the companions of the same: Anno 1523.
" and hath at this time depeched towards him his said
" Counsillors, not only to visit and salute him on his
" Grace's behalf, but also to present and deliver unto him all
" such habit and ornaments as belong unto the said order;
" and further to ripe, inform, and instruct him in the spe-
" cialities and particularities of all such goodly and notable
" ordinances, provisions, and statutes, as be to be observed
" by the companions of the same: according to a book,
" containing the verray true copie and tenor of the said or-
" dinances. And albeit this usage and custom is, after such
" election past, first, to intimate and notify the same unto
" the Prince, or other person elect, for knowledge of his
" mind and pleasure, whether he can be content to receive
" and accept it or not: yet, nevertheless, forasmuch as
" both from the Emperor, as from the Lady Margaret, and
" otherwise, the King's Grace hath been many times ad-
" vertised, that the said Archduke hath been and is desir-
" ous to be accompanied, associate, and taken into the said
" noble order: his Highness therefore, without other inti-
" mation preceding, hath frankly, liberally, and lovingly 44
" sent unto him at oon time, as well knowledge of the said
" election, as also the habits and ornaments aforesaid.
" Trusting undoubtedly, that like as this election hath
" proceeded of intyre, perfect, and singular love, favour,
" and special affection, which the King's Highness, and all
" the said companions, have and do bear to the said Arch-
" duke; so he will thankfully receive, admit, and accept
" the same. Wherein, or any other thing, the King's Grace
" may do to his honour, surety, or exaltation, his Highness
" wol be always ready and joyous, as may be devised: of-
" fering unto him, that if in this realm, or other the King's
" dominions, there be any thing which may be to the con-
" tentation and pleasure of the said Duke, the King's
" Highness being advertised thereof, shall and wol see the

CHAP. III.

" same his pleasure, to be furnished with glad and good " hert.

Anno 1523.

" And in the latter end of his oration, the said Master " Lee shall largely and amply extend the great lawd, " praise, and estimation, which the said Duke doth attain, " in that he, like a good Catholick and vertuous Prince, " doth with all effect impugn the detestable dampnable he- " resies of Freer Martin Luther: saying, that nothing can " be more joyous or acceptable to the King's Highness, " who, as well with his sword as with his pen," &c. as before.

Then the King's instructions proceeded after this manner: " That upon a time convenient being assigned, either " at the same open audience or apart, the King's said Am- " bassadors shall perceive to stond with the pleasure of the " said Duke, for due solempnities to be observed, and he " first made privy to the tenor, as well of the oath, as of " the statutes of the said order, as to reason it doth apper- " tain, there shall follow in his investiture the ceremonies " hereafter following:

The manner of the investiture.

" First, they shall present their commission, causing the " same to be openly redd: and that don, the said Master " Edward Lee shall exhibit unto him the copy of the othe, " appertaining to the companions of the said order; re- " quiring him, after the same seen and perused, to make " his corporal othe, for the inviolable observance of all such " ordinances and statutes as appertain to the same; like as " by the tenor of the statutes every companion of that or- " der is used to do; in form following:

The oath taken.

" *Ego Fernandus Dei Gra. Archidux Austrie, Comes Ti-* " *roli, et honorificentissimi atque approbatissimi ordinis* " *Garterii Miles, et confrater electus, juro ad hec sancta* " *Dei Evangelia, per me corporaliter tacta, quòd omnia et* " *singula statuta, leges et ordinationes ipsius dignissimæ,* " *benè, sincerè et inviolabiliter observabo. Ita me Deus ad-* " *juvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.*

" Th' othe taken, the Lord Morley shall deliver the

" Garter unto him, and cause the same in good and ho-
" nourable manner to be put about his legg: the seid
" Master Lee saying these words, *Ad laudem et honorem* Anno 1523.
" *summi ac omnipotentis Dei, intemerate Virginis, et Ma-* The Garter.
" *tris sue Marie, ac gloriosissimi martyris Georgii hujus*
" *ordinis patroni, circum cingo tibiam tuam hoc Garterio;*
" *ut posses in justo bello firmiter stare, ac fortiter vincere,*
" *in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.*

" That done, the said Lord Morley shall deliver unto The gown.
" the said Archduke the gown of purple colour; causing
" him to apparel himself with the same; the said Master
" Lee saying these words following at the doing on of the
" same, *Accipe vestem hanc purpuream: qua semper mu-*
" *nitus non verearis pro fide Christi, libertate Ecclesiæ, et*
" *oppressorum tuitione, fortiter dimicare, et sanguinem*
" *effundere, in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui ho-*
" *noris.*

" Followingly, the said Lord Morley shall cause the said The mantle; with the shield of the cross.
" Archduke to do unto him the mantle of blew velvet, with
" the scute of the cross of St. George, environed with a
" garter: the seid Master Lee saying these words, *Accipe*
" *chlamydem celestis coloris, clypeo crucis insignitam: cu-*
" *jus virtute atque vigore, semper protectus hostes supe-*
" *rare, et preclarissimis tuis meritis gaudia tandem ce-*
" *lestia promereri valeas, in signum ordinis, et augmen-*
" *tum tui honoris.*

" And when the said Duke shall be so appareled, the said The image of St. George.
" Lord Morley shall put the image of St. George about his
" neck: the said Master Lee saying these words: *Imagi-*
" *nem gloriosissimi martyris Georgii hujus ordinis pa-*
" *troni, in collo tuo deferas. Cujus fultus presidio hujus*
" *mundi prospera et adversa sic pertranseas, ut hostibus*
" *corporis et anime devictis, non modo temporalis militie*
" *gloriam, sed perhennis victorie palmam recipere valeas,*
" *in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.*

" And after solempnities done and performed, the King's
" said Ambassadors, among other devices with the said
" Dukes, shall, on the King's behalf, give unto him lawds

CHAP. III.

Anno 1528.

" and thanks for his good conformity, in sending his consent and commission for the treaty with the Venetians: " which after long tracts of time, thanked be God, is now " comen to good, perfet, and final effect. Whereby un- " doubtedly shall ensue grete advantage and ferdele to the " common affairs of the Emperor, the King's Grace, and " other their friends, confederates, and allies. Praying him " from time to time to incline, herken, and lean to such " things as may be to the benefit of the seid common " causes, and to the mitigation of the insatiable pride and " obstinacy of the French King. By whose means the con- " tentious discords and werres be raised and continued in " Christendom. So as by his good assistance, and joyning " effectually, as is aforesaid, the seid French King may be " the rather enforsed and compelled to know himself; and " to come to such reasonable and honourable conditions of " peace, as may be to the pleasure of God, the reasonable " satisfaction of other Princes grieved, and the quiet of all " the states of Christ's Church and religion.

The pride and obstinacy of the French King.

" Finally, the King's seid Ambassadors shall omit no " good and kind demonstration, which they can make in " confirmation of the sincere love which the King's Grace " berith to the seid Archduke. And in all their communi- " cations and devices, so to use themselfe, that he may " perceive what good favour, mind, and affection, the " King's Grace bereth unto him. So as by their good dex- " terity and wisdom, good love, integrity, and amity, now " much more necessary to be advanced among Princes, 46 " may the more perfectly and assuredly be increased be- " tween them both. And their seid affairs and business " spedily don and honorably executed, they shall, at a " time convenient, take their leave, and so return."

To which the Cardinal subjoined his own letter to the said Ambassadors, being still the great director of all state affairs.

" To my loving friends, the Lord Morley, Master Ed- " ward Lee, the King's Almoner; Sir William Huse, Knight; " and Master Garter, King at Arms.

"Right well beloved, this shall be oonly to advertise, "that albeit the King's commission made unto you for pre- "sentment of the order of the Garter unto Don Fernando, "and his investiture with the same, there is no special "mention made in what articles yee shall now dispense "with the said Archduke: yet nevertheless, by a general "clause in the latter end in the seid commission, yee be "amply authorized to do as much in all things that may "concern that matier, as though the King's Grace were "present himself: by authority of which general words, "the King's pleasure is, that if there shall be reasonable "exception made by the seid Don Fernando at any of the "articles and statutes of the said order, bicause he percase "may think the same to be somewhat strait; yee shall, by "your discretion, moder and qualify, and dispense with "the same, as by your wisdomes shall be thought conve- "nient. Foreseeing always, that the principal and material "points of the order be not omitted or forborn. And the "semblable may ye, Master Almoner, and Sir William "Huse, do with the Duke of Ferrare, in case ye, being ad- "vertised that he wol receive the same order, shall procede "and pass unto him for that purpose. And fare yee hertily "well. At Hampton Court, the 26th day of August.

"Your loving friend,

"T. Carlis Ebor."

Anno 1523. The Cardinal to the abovesaid ambassadors, in case of an exception of the Archduke.

Complaints now abounded against the manners of the Clergy, their oppressions, extortions, and vexations of the Laity, as well as against their corrupt and loose lives; the Cardinal, to shew his resentment of these crimes, as well as the exercise and shew of his *legantine* authority, did, about the year 1523 or 1524, resolve upon a remedy, by a general visitation. And for that purpose summoned the Clergy of both provinces in the kingdom, *ad tractand. de reformatione tum laicorum, tum ecclesiasticorum*, 22. Apr. to appear before him in the church of Westminster.

The Cardinal institutes a visitation for reformation of Clergy and Laity.

Regist. York.

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to whom Wolsey had been

CHAP. III.

Anno 1523.

Chaplain, and who had preferred him at first to Court, took this opportunity to excite the Cardinal to this good work of reformation, so much needed; the Cardinal having before signified the same to him. In answer to which he wrote the Cardinal a large letter, which coming from such a person, could not but bear a sway with him. It began very endearingly, *Reverendissime Pater, et Domine mihi unicè semper observande, saltem. plurimam et optatum votorum omnium successum.* The sum of his letter to him consisted "in shewing him the great pleasure and comfort "he took in his [the Cardinal's] letter that he had sent "him; understanding thereby his purpose of entering "upon a reformation of the whole body of the Clergy, and "had resolved upon a particular day to proceed upon it; and "given notice to him, and others concerned, accordingly. "And that such a happy day, he [the Bishop] had now "a long time as earnestly desired to see, as Simeon in the "Gospel looked for the Messias's coming. And that since "he had received the Cardinal's letters, he seemed to taste "and feel a reformation of the whole ecclesiastical hierar-"chy of England, more full and exact than he could be-"fore in that age have divined, much less hoped for. That "he [the Bishop] for his part, according to his power, had "endeavoured to do it, in that peculiar and small jurisdic-"tion of his, which his excellent Lordship had resolved to "do in both provinces of the kingdom: and that for al-"most three whole years he had diligently set himself to "do, and placed all his study, labour, vigilancy, and pains, "about. Wherein he came to understand, (which he could "not so much as have thought before,) that all that be-"longed to the ancient integrity of the Clergy, and espe-"cially of the Monks, were so depraved by licences and "corruptions, or by the malignancy and length of time "quite abolished, that it increased both labour and pains "to him, now spent with age, and took away all hope ever "of seeing a perfect and absolute reformation in that his "private diocese.

Excited thereto by Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Cott. Libr. Faustina. C. 7.

47 His letter to the Cardinal hereupon.

CHAP. III.

" But now, by his Lordship's letters, he was arrived to " an assured hope and expectation, shortly to see an uni- " versal and public reformation; since it was well known, " and evidently perceived, by many experiments, that what- " soever his Lordship attempted and took in hand, he did " most prudently and constantly, without interruption or " delay, despatch and most happily finish. That there was " in him an incomparable knowledge, both of divine and " human things; and was in special favour and authority, " both with the King and his Holiness the Pope: which he " had hitherto made use of with such circumspection, that " he had obtained throughout the world the greatest praise " and the most ample fame. And that now from his most " renowned legation, wherein by his sole pains were now " made and confirmed the leagues between the most Christ- " ian Princes, he determined to turn to the reforming and " composing of the state and order ecclesiastical: whence " he would carry away solid and immortal glory, both with " God and all posterity; and was so much more prefer- " able to all others, who, in people's memory, had been " sent any whither, from the Pope *a latere*, as peace was " more desirable than war, and the Clergy more holy and " venerable than the Laity, &c.

Anno 1523. He praiseth the Cardinal for his conduct.

" He doubted not (as he proceeded) but that he would " make and establish many good laws, for the regulation " and government of both Clergy and Regulars, so much " the more easily and happily, since the King, he believed, " had exhorted and given him encouragement to undertake " it; and would impart to him all that his authority and " assistance that he should desire; as also all the Prelates, " the Bishops especially, (unless he were much deceived,) " would cheerfully give their assents and endeavours there- " to. And that for his part, his mind was most gladly for- " ward to do the same. And by this means of a reform- " ation of the Clergy, he thought the common people would " be pacified, that were always crying out against them; " and would give a lustre afterwards to them, and reconcile " the King himself and all the nobility to them: and so

48

CHAP. III.

Anno 1523.

"being more pleasing to Almighty God than all sacrifices, "whatsoever remained of his course of life, he would willingly lay it out to compass the same." He dated this letter from Marwells: which is now a fine manor belonging to Corpus Christi college, Oxon; of which that good Bishop was Founder. This excellent letter in Latin must be preserved.

Numb. X.

This good resolution of the Cardinal, and this letter of Bishop Fox, gives a better representation of his virtues than is commonly received and taken up of him. And that no more good came of this commendable purpose of his, to reform the ignorance and vices of the Priests and Monks, may probably be attributed to their craft in diverting this reformation from themselves, towards those that favoured Luther and his doctrines.

Stafford reads lectures out of the holy Scriptures in Cambridge.

Something at this time looked towards reformation of corrupt religion. For the holy Scriptures came into some request by occasion of the readings of Stavord, or Stafford, a learned man of Pembroke hall in Cambridge: who read public lectures in divinity out of the sacred books of Scripture. A thing so much taken notice of, that in a MS. kept in that college, concerning the Masters and Fellows of that house, George Stavert, alias Stafford, of Durham, B. A. anno 1515, and chosen Fellow of Pembroke hall; and made Deacon at Ely, anno 1517, is noted to be the first who publicly read lectures out of the Scriptures, when before they read only the *Sentences*. He was Reader of Divinity, 1524, for four years; and about the same time B. D. And anno 1530. his books were brought into their library, as it seems, being his gift; and had this epigraph written on them, in memory of him and his lectures:

De Custod. et Sociis Pembrochian. T. Baker, B. D.

Augustini opera oia', Testamentum et utrumque
Hebraicè et Græcè, huc contulit ille Stavert.
Contulit ille Stavert, nostris studiis promovendis;
Qui Paulum explicuit ritè, et Evangelium.

The false quantities in the verses must be excused to that age, or to some young versifier; but the sense of them is,

that this Stafford, or Staverd, bestowed on them all St. Augustin's works, and the whole Old and New Testament in Hebrew and Greek: and as he gave them these books, so, for the furthering their studies, he explained and gave the right sense of St. Paul and the Gospel. Anno 1524.

He was Proctor of that University, 1523; and University Preacher. A reverend and worthy member of St. John's college, added in the margin a passage of great remark, shewing one of his auditors to have been afterwards a Bishop and martyr, *viz.* Latymer. Who, in his seventh sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, thus speaks: "When I was "at Cambridge, Mr. George Stafford read a lecture there. "I heard him. And in expounding the Epistle to the Ro- "mans, where he came to that place where St. Paul saith, "that *we shall overcome our enemy with well doing*, &c. it 49 "was even at that time, when Dean Colet was in trouble, "and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the "King's heart to the contrary." Rev. T. Baker.

Contemporary with Stafford were also two of the same college, great Scripture-men, *viz.* Nic. Paynel, of Yorkshire, elected Fellow 1515, Public Mathematic Lecturer. One of this surname set forth a little book in the year 1550; containing only remarkable sentences taken out of the holy Scriptures, suitable to the Christian on all occasions; and dedicated it to the Lady Mary's Grace. The other was John Thixtel, of the diocese of Norwich, University Preacher, 1522. This man was reported to be of authority in divinity; and that the disputants used publicly (and he present) to say, *Thixtel dixit.* And Caius said, *Thixtel homo singularis eruditionis nostrâ memoriâ.* Paynel and Thixtel, his contemporaries.

A Parliament now sat, anno 1524; and a Convocation also was summoned at the same time by the Archbishop of Canterbury: and the Clergy of the province, as customary, sat at St. Paul's. The chief business the King had with his Parliament now was money: which he was in such need of, that a very extraordinary subsidy was required; greater than had been ever known to be laid upon the subject at once. This occasioned mighty opposition in the House; The Convocation sits at Paul's: called by the Cardinal to Westminster.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1524.

such only as depended upon the Court favouring this bill. But at last, by means of the Court party, it passed. And the King's necessities requiring ready money, the Cardinal took it upon him, and swore to get a loan soon; and that with the good-will and thanks too, from certain, by such methods as he should take.

The Convocation also, that he might probably shew his superior power to the Archbishop, but chiefly to have the Clergy nearer to him, to compass his ends upon them, he cited the very next day after their first session, from Paul's to Westminster, to sit and transact business there. In obedience to him they did so. But a few days after, better considering what they had done, or were to do, some of the Priests shewed at that Convocation, that that removal was irregular; and that all that they should do there would be of no force. So that the Cardinal was fain to institute and call anew another Convocation of all the Clergy universally.

But to take a larger and a more particular view of this remarkable occurrence, both in Parliament and Convocation, take it in a secret letter, written by some member of Parliament, without name, to the Earl of Surrey, then the King's chief Lieutenant of his army in the north parts.

Opposition to a money bill in Parliament. Titus, B. 1.

"Pleasith your good Lordship to understand, that si-
"thence the beginning of the Parliament, there hath been
"the greatest and sorest hold in the Lower House for the
"payment of two shillings of the pound that ever was seen, I
"think, in any Parliament. This matter hath been debated
"and beaten fifteen or sixteen days together. The highest
"necessity alledged on the King's behalf to us that ever
"was heard of: and, on the contrary, the highest poverty
"confessed, as well by knights, esquires, and gentlemen, of
"every quarter; as by the commoners, citizens, and bur-
"gesses, there hath been such hold, that the House was like
"to have been dissevered. That is to say, the knights being
"of the King's Council, the King's servants and gentlemen
"of the one party; which in so long time were spoken with,
"and made to see, yea, it may fortune, contrary to their heart,
"will, and conscience. Thus hanging this matter yester-

" day, the more part being the King's servants, gentlemen, " were there assembled: and so they, being the more part, " willed and gave to the King two shillings of the pound " of goods or lands, the best, to be taken for the King. All " lands to pay two shillings of the pound, fro the laity to " the highest. The goods to pay two shillings of the pound, " fro twenty pound upward: and from forty shillings of " goods to twenty pound, to [pay] sixteen pence of the pound. " And under forty shillings, any person to pay eight pence. " This to be paid in two years. I have heard no man in " my life that can remember, that ever there was given to " any one of the King's auncestors half so much at one " graunt. Nor, I think, there was never such a president " seen before this time. I beseeke Almighty God, it may " be well and peaceably levied; and surely passed unto the " King's grace without grudge; and especially, without " loosing the good-will and true hearts of his subjects: " which I reckon as far greater treasure for the King than " gold and silver. And the gentlemen that must take pains " to levy this money among the King's subjects, I think, " shall have no little business about the same."

Anno 1524.

This gentleman's conjecture proved true in the parts of Suffolk; where there was an insurrection of four thousand people against the Duke and other Commissioners, upon their collection of this tax; but appeased by the Duke of Norfolk: as there was a murmuring about it in other places of the realm. But to go on with the letter.

Summary of Chron. fol. 318. b.

" My Lord Cardinal hath promised on his faith, that the " two shillings of the pound of loan money shall be paid " with a good-will and with thanks. But no day is ap- " pointed thereof, &c.

" Also, the Convocation among the Priests, the day of " their appearance, as soon as Mass of the Holy Ghost at " Paul's was done, my Lord Cardinal acited also them to " appear before his Convocation at Westminster: which so " did; and there was another Mass of the Holy Ghost. " And within six or seven days the Priests proved, that all " that my Lord Cardinal's Convocation should do, it should

The Cardinal's Convocation at Westminster.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1524.

" be void; because that their summons was to appear be-
" fore my Lord of Canterbury. Which thing so espied,
" my Lord Cardinal hath addressed a new citation into
" every country, commaunding the Priests to appear before
" him eight days after the Ascension. And then I think
" they shall have the third Mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray
" God, the Holy Ghost be among them and us both.

" I do tremble to remember the end of all these high
" and new enterprizes. For oftentimes it hath been seen,
" that to a new enterprize, there followeth a new maner
" and strange sequel. God of his mercy send his grace
" unto such fashion, that it may be for the best. Written
" on Ascension-day, by him that, during his life, shall be
" glad to be at your commaundment with his service."

No name subscribed.

51

CHAP. IV.

The King assisteth the Emperor against France. He consulteth with the Cardinal about forces to be sent to him to Italy. Six thousand archers. The Cardinal's book drawn up for that purpose: and his letters thereupon to the King. The King's Ambassadors at Rome. The Cardinal's letters of instruction to them, concerning the affairs then in hand. To Clark, Bishop of Bath: to Pace, Ambassador to the Venetians: and to Dr. Knight, Ambassador with the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries. His instructions to him concerning the King of Denmark, beaten out of his kingdom.

The Cardinal obliged on the Pope and Emperor's side. And why.

IN this year 1524, King Henry the VIIIth, and the Emperor, were in league against Francis, the French King: who was now with a very potent army in Italy, laying siege to Pavia; and had before attempted the taking Milan and Naples. This awakened all Italy, and put both Pope and Emperor under great apprehensions. Now it was certain

the vigorous interposing of the King of England in these affairs would tend much to the stopping of Francis's successes. From the Emperor, Wolsey was in expectation of his interest for the papacy, when it should become void. By several Popes he had been greatly obliged before: having been made a Cardinal by Leo in the year 1515; invested by the next Pope, Adrian, in the legantine power, from five years to five years. Pope Clement, anno 1524, upon the application of Secretary Pace unto him in that behalf, confirmed the said power to him during his life, (a thing never done before,) and besides, gave him a bull to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxon, in order to the building of a college of learning there. He therefore for these causes, partly out of gratitude, and partly out of further expectation, was very industrious in aiding the Emperor and Pope against the French King, and in keeping King Henry warm in the quarrel.

Anno 1524.

The King prepares to assist the Emperor: consults the Cardinal.

The King was now hastening his preparation of forces for the assistance of the Emperor, being in league with him; and the French King having lost his friendship by divers fractions of the peace with England. And here the Cardinal (being now, as it seems, in Calais) was again by the King required to give his advice in divers respects; as what supplies were fit to be sent, and under what commanders, and for the raising them. For all which purposes he sent the King a book by him devised. And therein he had concluded upon providing six thousand archers: (in which warlike skill the English nation were renowned:) sending the names of such captains as should have the command over them: and that he had appointed Sir William Sandes their chief. The King liked all the Cardinal had done: only making some inquiries and scruples in some particulars. In all which he gave the King his reasons and considera- 52
tions in matter of policy and foresight; but with great deference ever to the King's wisdom and pleasure. All which will appear at large by the Cardinal's own letter to the King, which I set down from his own minutes.

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1524. The Cardinal to the King, concerning forces to be sent to the Emperor.

"That by letters from his Secretary, bearing date at "Windsor, the 4th day of that instant month, he perceived "that his Grace had thoroughly viewed, perused, and seen "the book by him [the Cardinal] devised, for putting the "number of six thousand archers in a readiness. And "that albeit his Highness allowed the most part of the said "book; yet, as touching the deputing of Sir William Sandes "to be chieftain, he [the King] thought it not expedient, "as well for such cause and considerations as in other let-"ters heretofore sent to him by his commandment were "expressed; as also for the sure keeping of his town of "Calais. Shewing furthermore, that in the lieu and place "of the said Sir William Sandes, he had named the Earl "of Essex, for his hardiness to be right meet for that pur-"pose, having sad counsellors adjoining to him."

Concerning which he thus bespake the King: "Sir, "when I devised the said book, though I had little leisure "in journeying by the way, to permit a matter of so mighty "importance; yet after my best intendment, I applied my "self in such wise to direct and order the same, as should "be to the contentation of your pleasure. And albeit, "some business was in foreseeing and devising where the "said archers mowght be found, yet I fear me it shall be "more difficulty to compleat the number, when certificates "shall be made. And inasmuch as in my last letters I have "declared unto your Grace the cause and reasons moving "me to name said Sir William Sandes to be chieftain, "rather then any of the other Lords by your Grace before "named, therefore I can no more say, but conform my mind "to your gracious pleasure; and, like as your Grace think-"eth the Earl of Essex to be covenable and proper for "that room, so am I of semblable opinion. Though the de-"gree of the person considered, he should be more costly "to your Grace than the other. And as to any danger "that should ensue to this your town of Calais, [over which "Sandes was the King's Deputy,] by the absence of the said "Sir William Sandes, I see no such imminent peril by siege

" or otherwise. For when your archers shall be joined with " the Emperor's puissaunce, the army of France shall be in " such wise occupied, that they shall have little leisure, either " to mind or accept the siege of Calais, but rather enforced " to look to the defence of themselves, their own towns and " holds. And for that cause, the knights of Kent being " neer hand, and soonest in a readiness, were thought right " meet, when they, with the Emperor's puissance, proceed- " ing in war against France, should not need to be sent to " Calais, as above.

" Yet nevertheless, (as the Cardinal proceeded submis- " sively to the King,) as it should stand with his pleasure, " so he must and would be contented: thinking Sir Ran- " dalph Brereton, with the other knights by his Grace ap- " pointed, to be convenient in the lieu and places of the " knights of Kent.

" And that whereas his Grace supposed, that after the " aid of six thousand archers were sent to the Emperor, he " [the King] should soon after be driven to pay another 53 " army to be sent after; Sir, (said he,) I consider the time " of the year so far gone, that after the expiring of two or " three months, the war for this year must of necessity cease. " And therefore, if more speedy provision be not made for " putting the archers in a readiness, I suppose that two " months shall expire before yee may send them to the " sea-side; and so their coming thither to give assistance " wol be too late. And thus, finally, the time of the year " would be then passed, to prepare any other army to be " sent after.

" And whereas his Grace thought that so few halbardiers, " with so many archers, did not well agree; he replied, Sir, " if the halbardiers had been by me appointed to back your " archers, verily, it had been a proportion full unmeet, and " not equal. But in as much as your archers shall be " backed and defended with the horsemen of the Emperor's " army, this small number of halbardiers were appointed, " not only to establish every captain of your archers, but

CHAP. IV. Anno 1524.

" also to conduct and keep the carriage and baggages. And " therefore the cause, why the same halbardiers were ap- " pointed, was well considered to the proportion of the " number [of archers,] and is convenient.

" And whereas his Grace [the King], knowing, by expe- " rience of his last wareys, that so many archers could not " shoot together, unless one should slee another, thought " therefore the number to be very large, though hee was " minded fully to furnish the same, (which was another " scruple of the King's to the Cardinal.)" Hereupon he again gave this reply: " Sir, as to that, I confess your " opinion to be true. Howbeit, taking respect to the sundry " and many wards and armies that the Emperor intendeth " to set forth, your archers shall be lotted and appointed in " good number to every part. So that they shall have room " inow to bestow their shot, without such damage to kill " each another. And, Sir, sory I am, that your Grace " doth defer sending forth of your letters, for putting your " archers in a readiness, till the receipt of this my answer. " For albeit yee mowght have respited the directing of your " letters to such as yee mind shall not pass this voyage, yet " to all others it had been expedient to address the said let- " ters with all diligence. For the time so passeth away, " that your said archers can scant be ready to pass the sea " within the space of these two months. And then percase " it wol be too late to send them. For remembring the " time of sending forth your letters, with the season that " the parties must have to elect and put the archers in order, " considering the respit that they must have to make their " certificate, and the tract of time that is requisite to con- " ceive and send forth your other letters unto them, and " every of them, for declaration of your pleasure, sending " up such number of archers as they have prepared; the " time of two months wol be soon spent, and pass. Where- " fore, Sir, diligence would be used therein.

" And though more number than six thousand were put " in a readiness, it were none inconvenient. For percase

" every man to whom your letters be addressed shall not " completely furnish their numbers; and though they do " so, yet, when musters shall be taken of them, they may " be found insufficient, and not able to be sent forth. Be- 54 " sides other casualties by death, or otherwise, whereby " they should lack of the six thousand. And therefore it " were right expedient to provide above your number, to " serve for any purpose by sea or land, when the case shall " require.

" Finally, whereas his Grace had reserved Sir Richard " Sacheverill for such a consideration as was touched in his " Secretaries letters: to this he answered in these words: " I signify unto your Grace, that one cause moving me to " set him in the book, was, for his discrete wisdom to be " treasurer of your warrys; and the other, for that betwixt " the Lord Hastings and him a good number of archers " might be provided. The order whereof I now commit " to your high wisdom and pleasure."

His letters to the King's ambassadors in Rome, viz. Numb. XI.

There were now at Rome, in quality of ambassadors from the King of England, Clark, Bishop of Bath; Richard Pace, the King's Secretary; and Thomas Annibal, Master of the Rolls. I have inserted in the Appendix a letter of Pace to the King, from the Emperor's camp, concerning the state of his army in Italy. In this juncture, to the two former the Cardinal wrote his letters. Wherein may appear his great dexterity in the managery of public affairs, the fineness of his politics, and what a great overruling hand he had in the English state. And by all these we may collect, what a great figure he made in the Christian world at that time.

To the Bishop of Bath. The contents of his letter to him.

To the Bishop of Bath he wrote, how, considering the great intricacy of the matters of Italy, and the fear of the French's overpowering the Emperor, and of his gaining those two important places of Naples and Milan, the best means that the King and he could invent for the remedy of the same consisted in these three devices. One, the giving the French King battle; and to suffer the Duke

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1524.

of Albany to pass into Naples, whither he was sent by the French King, but had been under difficulty of arriving there, by the adverse army lying in the way thither. Secondly, that an enterprise should be made upon the Duke of Albany, and his company, in his passage toward Naples. Thirdly, a compromission to be made on such parties, as either the Emperor or the French King have in the duchy of Milan, into the Pope's hand *per viam depositi*. These English counsels were by the said Bishop of Bath to be communicated to the Pope. And withal he was to be told, that Pace should be despatched to the Venetian, to solicit the speedy setting forth their army to join the Emperor.

And to Pace. The contents of his letter to him, anno 1524.

By the same post he writ also to Pace, signifying how the King was informed by sundry ways, and particularly afterward by letters sent from the Duke of Milan unto his ambassador resident in England, dated December the 22d, how affairs stood between the French and Emperor, and what methods and stratagems were in hand by each. The French for the gaining of Milan and Naples, and the other for the preventing of him. Then he writ of what great importance this matter was: upon the success whereof, as he said, depended many things in Christendom, and particularly in the King of England's affairs. That if the French should conquer Naples and Milan, it would excessively elate him, and remove him further from inclination to peace, than ever he was before. That on the other hand, if the Emperor and the allies in Italy were successful, and that the allies were not neglectful in doing their endeavours, according to the pact and league between them made, it might bring the French to great extremity. But that if the Imperialists (as he seemed to fear) should not be strong enough to withstand the French, and that those in alliance with him should, by their remissness and negligence in putting their hand to the remedy, be instrumental to further the French designs, then it were convenient some politic means should be taken and entered into in time, rather than to put those

two places to extreme hazard. And for these measures he referred himself to the King's letters, and his to the Bishop of Bath.

And particularly, the Cardinal gives directions to Pace, concerning his management of his embassy to Venice.

And then, as to that point of his being appointed by the King to resort to Venice, to oblige that state not to aid and assist the French King, as it seems they had done before, against the imperial army in Italy; but, on the contrary, to declare themselves enemies to him, according to certain articles of treaty between the King and that state at London; the Cardinal advised him to take pains in the bringing this to a good effect. And the rather, because he knew the Venetian now had no great stomach to assist the Emperor, as having suspicion of him; as the Lord Herbert mentioneth in his history.

Then he went on to furnish him with arguments, to use to the Venetian: as, the great and imminent danger that would ensue unto all Christendom, and particularly unto their own state, if it should so happen the French should become masters of Naples and Milan; that they might be sure he would be no good neighbour unto them. And as an evidence thereof, that the ambassador should mind them, how the late French King brought about a very formidable league against them, of the Pope, the Emperor, himself, and the King of Spain, and other great Princes. And then, to take off that, which the Cardinal knew was the great matter, which would make them cold in this affair; namely, their jealousy that the Emperor would take Milan to himself, and deprive the Duke thereof; and that they, knowing how inhumanly the Spaniards had carried themselves in Italy, they might therefore be more willing to suffer the French men there, they not being so cruel: therefore the ambassador was to say secretly to the Duke and the Council, that if the present matter well proceeded, that King trusted to deal so with the Emperor, that he should give the investiture of the duchy of Milan unto the Duke thereof. Whereby Italy should be delivered both from French and Spaniard. Lastly, that if, by their breaking their pacts and conventions with the Emperor, they should hereby give

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1524.

the French King advantage to obtain Naples, the King of England must be forced to esteem them the Emperor's enemies, and not his friends. Whereby might ensue cause of enmity between the King and them. That he should be tender how he mentioned this, treating them in dulce and gentle manner: mentioning the good intelligence that had long continued between the realm and that seignory: but not to mention at all a breach with them, unless the ambassador should see a despair of prevailing on them by any other means. And, lastly, that at some convenient time he should, as from himself, persuade the Duke of Venice how expedient it would be, that the state should have an ambas-
56 sador in the English Court, as well for the continuance of a good understanding between the King and them, as for the forwarding of important matters concerning the seignory.

This letter was dated January the 16th, from his place besides Westminster: which, together with the King's instructions to the said ambassador, may be met with in the Appendix.

Numb. XII. XIII.

His letter to Dr. Knight, the ambassador with the Lady Margaret. The contents thereof. Concerning the King's gunpowder in Antwerp.

Near the same time, *viz.* in March following, the Cardinal wrote a letter to Dr. Knight, who was afterward Bishop of Bath and Wells, the King's ambassador with the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries. The contents of which letter were, first, to give resolution to the Burghmasters of Antwerp, who had complained to that ambassador of gunpowder, which the English merchants had procured for the King, and laid up in the English house. The dangers that were apprehended thence unto the whole town made them unwilling it should any longer continue there. They offered also to bear the charges of removing thereof; and to assign a sufficient strong tower for the safety of the same. To which the ambassador had advised the said merchants to condescend and agree. The Cardinal writ, "That his advice the King was well pleased with, and "was willing that the said powder should be removed unto "the said tower; so that good regard were had to the surety "thereof, and a watch assigned at the King's charges. That "he, the ambassador, should write unto the Burghmasters,

" and acquaint the Lady Margaret, that were it not to have " the powder in more readiness, whensoever the common " enterprizes should require it, it should have been brought " unto Calais before that time. And that it was done, as " well for the advancement of the Emperor's affairs as the " King's. And that the said Burghmasters would take care, " that the powder be not in danger by any suspect person.

Anno 1524.

" That whereas some of the officers in those parts had " propounded to the ambassador, that certain English men " should be sent over to lye in garrison on those frontiers, " he advised, that that should be passed over in silence by " him. Because it were only to draw a charge and expence " on the King, for the conservation of those countries; " thinking, by such ways and inventions, to burthen the " King, and spare themselves.

Concerning English men to be sent over to lie in garrison there.

" That the Provost of Utrecht was a man always inclined " to the French faction, and therefore not safe that he " should be participant of the secret affairs and counsels " of the King's Grace and the Emperor's. That therefore " it was dangerous to delay the time of outing him out of " the Council, until such season as the Lady Margaret " might send information to the Emperor against him, and " receive his answer thereunto. That therefore it was the " King's plesure the ambassador should reherse unto the " Lady Margaret the great danger wherein the common " affairs may be, in case a person so vehemently suspected " should either be present in the counsils there, or have " commodity, by such familiarity as he had with any of the " Council, to hear and understand the secrets of the said " common causes. That therefore she should be urged, " speedily to expel and remove him out of the said Council. " And that she should admonish or compel him to retreat " to some place where he might have no opportunity of " coming to the knowledge of any of those affairs. That " if he [the ambassador] perceived, this man might be so " favoured by any, as that they would not be minded to do " this, that then he should assure them, that thenceforth the " King would forbear to make them privy to any part of

To dismiss the Provost of Utrecht out of her Council, being of the French faction.

57

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1524.

" his mind, touching the said common causes: nor would " communicate his affairs with the said Lady Margaret and " her Council, till such time as the said Provost were re- " moved. And that the Emperor's Ambassador, resident in " England, had wrote to the Lady Margaret effectually to " the same intent.

Concerning buying a great ship of the King of Denmark.

" That whereas he had informed him, that the King was " about sending William Gonson, to treat with the King " of Denmark's Chancellor, for the buying of a great ship " belonging to the said King; the King being since in- " formed, that the ship was very old and naught, he had " changed his mind, and would not intermeddle with it. " That therefore he should, by some good policy and de- " vice, put off that matter; giving the Chancellor notice " thereof, that he might dispose of the ship where he " pleased."

The Cardinal's courtly message to the Lady Margaret, upon some reflecting words she had spoke concerning him.

The Lord Hoghstrate, one of the Lady Margaret's Court or Council, and herself, had spoken some reflecting words upon the Cardinal, and upon the King, on his account. Which coming to the Cardinal's ears, he had stomached. The Lady understanding this, probably from Dr. Knight, intreated to have the Cardinal himself rehearse what words it was reported she and the said Lord should have spoken against him. This, Dr. Knight having, according to her desire, mentioned to the Cardinal, he (according to his smooth and courtly temper, namely, to be outwardly very complaisant, whatsoever grudge lay secretly within) instructed the Ambassador to make this reply to the Lady Margaret: " That he was not minded to renew or report " things of displeasure, nor to have any more rehersal of " those words, spoken lately at plesure by the said Lady " and Lord: but that he, the Ambassador, should say, " that howsoever they were spoken in one way or the other, " she and the said Hoghstrate made other interpretation " then needed, or that they had cause to do. And that the " King and he, for the singular affection which they bore " to her, knew her of such vertue and wisdom, that what- " soever they might speak in passion or otherwise, there

" was no lack of her cordial mind towards his Grace, nor " of her good will toward him; and so could well pass " over. And that whatsoever had been spoken, that she " would assuredly persuade herself, that she should find " of the King's Highness a fast, constant, and perfect " friend; and him to be her kind, faithful, and loving son, " glad to do her honour and service. And so leaving such " rehersals of words, it should be expedient to think, and " attend, and speak of things that concerned the benefit of " the common causes. Wherein he should employ his la- " bour, travail, and study, to the best of his power, as he " had always done hitherto."

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1524.

58 That the Ambassador should solicit concerning two English ships taken by Flemings, before Calais haven.

Another instruction he gave the Ambassador was concerning two ships coming out of France toward England, which were taken by certain men of war of Flanders. There being now wars between the Emperor (to whom Flanders belonged) and the French King. But these ships had the safe conduct of the King, the Emperor, and the French King. They were taken before Calais haven, and carried into Zealand, or some parts thereabouts. In one of these ships were wines for the Cardinal's provision, and for divers other noblemen. He instructed him " to make en- " quiry into this matter; and if he found they were ships " coming hither, and had such safe conduit, it was then " far disagreable, he said, to right order and reason, that " they should be thus taken for prizes; or that Flemings " should lay wait for prizes before Calais haven. That he " should diligently solicite, that such ships should be rede- " livered incontinently, and the goods intyrely preserved; " and to suffer them to repair hither, according to the safe " conduit; as the King's Highness daily did permit ships " quietly to pass to and from Flanders, by like safe con- " duit: and that recompence be made for the damage " sustained." And to this purpose the said Cardinal had wrote his letters, as he said, to the Lady Margaret.

His instructions in reference to the King of

The last matter of this letter concerned the King of Denmark, who had been beaten out of his kingdom by his people. The King had married the Emperor Charles's

CHAP. IV.

sister, and had a son by her. A diet was appointed at Hamburgh, to treat about the reduction of the said King; to be kept the tenth day of April, anno 1525. The matter between this King and the realm of Denmark was to be laid before the Emperor, and the King of England, and some other Princes, as honourable umpires. The Lady Margaret judged it expedient, that the ambassadors of those Princes, arbitrators, should resort to her Court first, for knowledge of the certainty of all things that might be requisite for them to be instructed in concerning this affair. Accordingly, the Cardinal gave the Ambassador intelligence, "that the King had appointed his ambassadors "for this matter, the Bishop of S. Asse, whose name was "Henry Standish, and Sir John Baker, to be present at "the said diet on his behalf: and that they were ready, "only desiring to be enformed who were the Emperor's "ambassadors, and those of the other Princes; and in what "place they should meet with them; in what manner and "form they should order themselves in their journey: "whether the Emperor's ambassadors should treat with "any estates or commissioners to be deputed from the "realm of Denmark: whether the Emperor's ambassadors, "if need be, should pass into Denmark or not. Because, "as he said, the determination of the King of England "was and is, that his ambassadors should be sent into the "said realm, to procure, labour, and solicit such things "as might concern the said King's reduction. Wherein "the specialties would be known, with the articles and "points necessary for them to treat upon. And so praying "him to advertise him of all these things, he concluded "from his place besides Westminster; dated March 2."

Anno 1524. Denmark, beaten out of his kingdom.

59 But this embassy had no success; the Danes utterly refusing either to readmit the King, or his son to succeed his father. Such a prejudice had they conceived against the father for his former cruelties; and such a jealousy of the son, lest he might either imitate his father or revenge him.

CHAP. V.

The King's letter to Luther upon his book; and Luther's former letter to the King. The French King taken prisoner by the Emperor. By the Cardinal's policy, King Henry enters into a league with that King. Dr. Knight, and Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, Ambassadors to France. Their instructions from the Cardinal. Form of the peace drawn up by the Cardinal between the two Kings. The King's letter to the Emperor drawn up by the Cardinal.

Anno 1525. The King's letter to Luther, in answer to his. MSS. D. J. Ep. Elien.

IN the year 1525. came forth a royal book, being a second letter of King Henry against Luther. Luther had taken notice of the King's work with too much freedom, and not with that respect that was due to his crown: so that the King held himself bound in point of honour, as well as in vindication of the Catholic religion, to answer it: and that he thought fit to do by way of letter again to Luther. And to which was added Luther's former letter to the King.

This book, being in Latin, bore this title: *Literarum, quibus invictissimus Princeps Henricus Octavus, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, respondit ad quandam Epistolam Martini Lutheri ad se missam; et ipsius Lutheranæ quoque Epistolæ, Exemplum.* Upon this book (which I once saw in the late Bishop of Ely's exquisite library) was written, *Rex Anglorum regi hærcticorum scribit.* It hath a preface *pio lectori.* Therein is given the occasion of this letter of the King to Luther; *viz.* "That when Luther began so foolishly to get himself "into the King's favour, [by his letter to him,] whereby he "might abuse his name, the better to commend his fac-"tion; the King thought it necessary to signify to all men, "that he was not so light to be ensnared by the flatteries "of a [*fatui fraterculi*] foolish Friar; nor so inconstant, "to be driven away by any means from that which he "knew to be right, and what had been writ by him. And "therefore he had answered to all the parts of Luther's

See L. Herb. Hist. p. 237.

CHAP. V.

" letter; that he might shew Luther, not only to Luther " himself, but to every one else."

Anno 1525.

And then the King's letter began; *Quas tu, Luthere, prima Septemb. A. D.* 1525, *ad nos mittendas curasti, eas nescio ubinam terrarum diu peregrinatas, tandem aliquando accepimus*, &c.

60 Luther's said letter to the King began,

Luther's letter to the King.

Gratiam et pacem in Christo Jesu, Domino et Salvatore nostro, Amen.

Quanquam vereri meritò debuerim, serenissime Rex, illustrissimeque Princeps, literis Majestatem tuam tentare; ut qui mihi conscius maximè sum, gravissimè offensam esse Majestatem tuam libello *meo, quem non meo genio, sed incitantibus iis, qui Majestati tuæ parum favebant, stultus et præceps edidi: tamen*, &c.

Then he goes on to excuse his writing against the King's book; and that for this reason: " Because from good wit- " nesses he had learnt, that that book, set forth against " him under the King's name, was not indeed the King of " England's book, as cunning sophisters would pretend, " abusing the name of his Majesty. But he now was " ashamed, he said, to lift up his eyes to his Majesty; " who had suffered himself by that credulity to be moved " against so great a King, by means of those evil workers; " especially since he himself was but *fæx et vermis, i. e.* " dregs and a worm, in comparison to so great a King," &c.

It was dated from Wittenbergh, the first of September, 1525.

But however this his exaltation of the King, and humbling himself to him, might tend to the appeasing of the King towards him; yet his attempt to deprive him of the glory of that book could not but provoke him: and especially, that he had reflected with ill words upon the King's great favourite, the Cardinal: calling him in this his letter, *monstrum, et publicum odium Dei et hominum*; and again, *pestis illa regni tui*; *i. e.* a monster, and the public hate of God and men; and, that plague of your kingdom.

But we turn to the King's great transactions with his

neighbour potentates, and the Cardinal's considerable influence and pains taken therein. CHAP. V.

This year there happened a mighty change in the scene of public affairs, when the prosperous Francis was taken prisoner at Pavia by the Emperor. The King of England, how zealous soever he had been, but a little before, against him, joining with the Emperor to pull down Francis, yet now grew cold with the Emperor; and even whilst Francis was a captive, entered into a treaty with Louize his mother, the Regent of France, in the year after. Such a sudden alteration in the King's mind seemed strange: but it was done by the instigation of the Cardinal; who had lately conceived a secret displeasure against the Emperor, because he found him not so cordial for his advancement to the popedom, and bare him not so great favour as he expected. Anno 1525. The King suddenly estranged from the Emperor by the Cardinal's means.

There was a secret overture made by the Cardinal to the French King, that he would procure King Henry to break with the Emperor, and make peace with him. This the Cardinal did: and so both revenged himself upon the Emperor, and got 400,000 crowns from France for his pains. This was ordinarily spoke of in France in those times.

The Cardinal suppressed his private malice, and insisted, 61
before the King, upon those more specious causes, of the growing greatness of the Emperor, and the danger of the union of two such great Princes. Especially, since the captive King had lately at Madril, by a treaty betwixt him and the Emperor, commonly called *the concord of Madril*, agreed to divers things very advantageous to the Emperor's affairs. It was thought advisable therefore by King Henry and his great minister, first, to break that *concord;* and, secondly, to enter into a strict league with King Francis; though the King were moved by some reasons, and the Cardinal by others. And this was the more vigorously attempted by our King, because his jealousy grew high, that the Emperor Charles was driving at the universal monarchy; he saw the Princes of Italy had entered into a mutual league against him, into which they agreed, that the King

CHAP. V.

Anno 1525.

of England might, if he pleased, come in. And lastly, the articles between the Emperor and Francis, made at Madril, whereupon that King was to enjoy his liberty, were reckoned very hard and unreasonable in the judgment of the neighbouring princes.

The Cardinal strains his policy in setting on foot a league with King Francis, and dissolving that lately made between that King and the Emperor.

Herein therefore our Cardinal shewed all his skill and the fineness of his policy. The first step, which he advised to be taken, was, that our King should use all the obligingness and civility possible, to possess the French King with an opinion of the King's hearty friendship and love. And for that purpose, first, order was sent to Dr. Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham, and the King's ambassador then in France, to hasten to the place where the French King should first enter into his own realm, after his deliverance, to congratulate his liberty in the most obliging manner possible.

His instructions to the Ambassador.

Soon after, Sir Thomas Cheney, one of the six gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, was despatched in embassy into France, there to join with Dr. Taylor, already resident there. Here Sir Thomas was instructed to sweeten Francis after this manner. "That he should mention first "the mutual interview that was between the two Kings in "the year 1520; and that he should tell him, that the "hearty kindness established then between them took "such impression upon the King, that no storms or clouds "since happening could quench the sparks or dry the "roots. That the King did often revolve that fast-rooted "friendship; and could not be satisfied, after he had heard "of his delivery, until he had sent to see him. That his "Ambassador could not visit him before, because of his "straiter keeping. That as he [the King] lamented with "him a great time, so now he rejoiced. And that he, the "Ambassador, with his colleague Taylor, had in command "to offer him any stead, pleasure, honour."

And he was moreover instructed by the Cardinal, "that "this, or the like in effect, would be well couched, not as "an oration, but as a familiar, friendly, and kind message: "with addition of such other loving and kind words as

" should be then thought meet and accommodate for the " company present, and for that purpose." CHAP. V.

And this was to serve for the first audience; being the whole of the first part of the charge committed to him. Anno 1525.

The second and main part, which was to tend to the breaking of the peace betwixt the Emperor and King Francis, was next to be managed. And this, they both were instructed, should be handled and done with great dexterity, policy, and wisdom. 62

And, first, " The estate of the affairs in France must " by them, as far as they could attain to, be well and " throughly inquired into, searched out, and understood. " What were the conditions of the peace. Whether they " were such matters, for the most part, as had been bruited " and divulged, or not. How they found the King, the " Regent, the Council, Nobles, and Commons, affected and " contented with them. Whether any grudge or contradic- " tion were risen about the performance, or difficulty. Whe- " ther they thought or devised any thing, how the same " might be infringed or qualified. Or whether they were " totally and with effect inclined, disposed, determined, in- " violably to observe the conditions passed and promised."

Then they were instructed to search, " what apparence " there was of sincere proceeding and faithful dealing be- " tween the Emperor and the King: and whether the " intelligence between them were suspected, doubtful, " strange, uncertain."

Next; " After they had well pondered, foreseen, and " ensearched into these things; that they, by mutual con- " sultation and conference, should facily perceive how they " might best order themselves; and proceed in the second " article and point of their charge. And that they should " so deal herein, that their speech might rather be thought " to be occasioned by something said by the King and the " Regent, than of themselves; and might serve as an in- " troduction into the matter. That as they found the King, " and found commodity, they should always fall into de- " vises, as secretly as might be, as time and place offered

CHAP. V.

Anno 1525.

" convenience, touching the things that sounded to the dis-
" herison of the crown of France, its rights and patrimo-
" nies, and the renunciation of his title to the realm of
" Naples, or any thing else, whereupon any good ground
" or foundation might be taken. In which devises they
" should, as of themselves, soberly, and in manner with
" stupefaction and mervail, say, that these be great and
" high conditions, the like whereof had not been heard
" of; and, as wise men had thought, were either not agreed
" upon, or were not meant to be performed. And that by
" such words, the ambassadors might perceive easily, whe-
" ther the King, the Regent, and the Council, should open
" themselves against them; making any reasons for the
" justification of them: which should be a convenient lead-
" ing to them, [the ambassadors,] how they should proceed
" or stay, for that time, till a more fit season.

" That they should extend, and speak at large, what
" great honour, profit, and high renown the Emperor should
" attain thereby, if in all parts it were observed. That this
" would be the ready way to bring him to the monarchy of
" Christendom, or at least to the possession of the greatest
" part thereof.

" That they should always so order their speech, that it
" might seem rather a demonstration of their opinion and
" reason, falling out by chance in discourse and conference,
" than spoken of purpose; until they should assuredly per-
63 " ceive the King or his mother, [the Regent,] and other
" Lords' minds adverse, and studying how the same might
" be avoided.

" And so proceeding, they [the ambassadors] might re-
" count what great regions and countries and dominions
" the Emperor then had in Europe, and should have by the
" performance of this treaty, beside those he had without.
" And so they should begin with the realm of Naples, the
" realm of Sicily, the duchy of Milan, the seignory of
" Jeames, the county of Ast, and other possessions in Italy.
" Which, united to the crown imperial, would not be unlike
" to bring to him the whole monarchy of Italy: whereunto

" joineth the whole country of Germany, being the greatest " part of Christendome. Which was either totally in his " possession, or would easily be at his commandment; Anno 1525. " having on the lower part, Artois, Flanders, Zealand, " Holland, Brabant, Hainalt, and other provinces. From " the which is direct passage to the dutchy and county of " Burgoign, bounding upon Bourbonois, and so to Averne: " which, by means of the Duke of Burbon, could not but " be at the Emperor's commandment.

" On the other side are the realms of Castile, Aragon, " Granat, Gallicia, Asturia, and other parts of Spain. So " that the realm of France should be environed in three " parts; and situate, as it were, in the midst of the Empe- " ror's countries, power, and dominions. So that when the " Emperor should make war upon France, the King must " defend three parts; and so likewise the sea on the fourth " part. So they were instructed to say, that, in their opi- " nion, a realm so situated seemed rather to be in servi- " tude and perpetual captivity, with the prince thereof pri- " soner at continual commandment, and in danger always " to be oppressed. All which, as the instructions ran, might " be so spoken, as nothing should sound to the derogation " of the Emperor, but breed miscontentment of the French " party.

" But then, as the Cardinal's instructions proceed; that, " if after all this, they should find the French King's mind " doubtful, and not perceive an express determination to " approve and observe the conditions, and the minds of the " King's Council remaining in suspense, and incertain; then " they should, by way of demand or question, ask the King " or the Regent, whether they were minded duely and " throughly to fulfil their conditions? or whether they " thought themselves in conscience, honour, law, and rea- " son, bound and astringed so to do? Whereunto they " should suffer them to make answer. And then Mr. " Cheney was to ask Dr. Taylor what he thought therein, " by such learning as he had in the law? Whereto he " might answer, of what small effect a promise, bond, or

CHAP. V. Anno 1526.

" convention, made in captivity, is; which he should extend " [that is, enlarge upon] for that purpose. Inforcing ther- " by the hearers to shew their opinions the more openly " and frankly."

This, I confess, is but an exscript from the original instructions, taken thence by Sir Michael Hicks, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. But it is easy to see who drew them up. They are the very style and subtilty of Wolsey; laying a train to bring the French King to violate the terms and conditions of his deliverance from captivity, to which he had solemnly sworn.

His letter to Dr. Taylor, to the same purpose.

64 After the King's Ambassadors had, by Wolsey's policy, succeeded well thus far, the next step was to enter into a league reciprocal with France: which was left to the management of Dr. Taylor. For which purpose, the Cardinal, in the year 1526, and not long after the former instructions, shewed all his skill and diligence in a large letter; giving directions to the said Taylor for his proceeding in the King's business at this juncture. He was, it seems, a very able person; and had hitherto dexterously acquitted his office. Which the Cardinal took notice of, and so had the King: telling him, " that he had shewn his letters from " time to time to the King's Highness; and that he was " right glad, that he did so discreetly and substantially " please and content the King's Grace, and him also; " which, no doubt, would be to his weal and furtherance " hereafter."

And thus having whet his future diligence by commendation and promise, he proceeded to tell him, " that the " King's Highness and he took great consolation to hear " the good success of the French King's affairs, and to per- " ceive daily evident demonstrations of his hearty and un- " feigned affection and kindness he bore to him," [the Cardinal.]

For the French King knew, that was the way to come to the better terms with the King of England; he being his chief favourite: and well knowing also, that the said King's alienation from the Emperor was owing chiefly to the Em-

peror's neglect of the Cardinal. This was the cause the French King had told Taylor, the English Ambassador, and which he accordingly had signified to the Cardinal, what a sincere affection and kindness he bore to him; and likewise of the great confidence he reposed in our King. "For both which, as the Cardinal wrote to Taylor, he "should not fail to have like correspondence. That no "Prince did more desire his honour and weal; and meant "to pretermit nothing that might sound to the advance- "ment of his causes; but, like a fast and stedfast friend, to "join and concur with him, knit in an assured perfect love "and sincere amity. And bad the Ambassador shew this to "the French King, with the King his master's most cor- "dial and affectionate recommendations. That he [the "Cardinal] also meant to bend himself to the nourishing of "amitie established."

CHAP. V.

Anno 1526.

The Cardinal insinuates himself into the French King.

Then he proceeded to discourse of matters tending to a mutual peace, and to the corroboration of it. The Cardinal advised the Ambassador, that he had made an overture to the Chancellor (who was some person, as it seems, sent from Louize or the French King, as their Ambassador) of the conventions and pacts, passed, (already, I suppose, at a former treaty,) and to be passed by virtue of the said treaty: which, he said, was but a porch unto a succeeding peace and friendship. Upon this motion of the Cardinal before the French King's Ambassadors, and the King of England's Commissioners, appointed to treat with them, he started, that an obligation reciprocous, between both Kings, should highly answer to the advancement of both their affairs. And the rest were of semblable opinion with him in that matter.

Acquaints the Ambassador what progress had been made in concerting a peace between both Kings.

See L. Herb. Hist. H. VIII. p. 194.

Then he descended to the consideration of the treaty at Madril, made between the Emperor and the captive King there; of which, he wrote, "that it was very hard that it "should be thought to stand good, notwithstanding any "former treaties: and that it bound the French King, and "left the Emperor at large. To be sure, when the Empe- "ror had Francis his prisoner, he would make the terms as

65

His judgment of the captive King's treaty with the Emperor.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1526.

" advantageous to himself as might be. There had been a " form of articles drawn up, and now laying before the " French King's Ambassadors and the King of England's " Commissioners." Therein were some terms that seemed hard; as, not to treat or conclude any thing without the King's knowledge or consent. For the removing of which imparity, the Cardinal acquainted Taylor, " that he had " devised to make the band reciprocous and legal: and " that there should be inserted a special article to promise " not to take any advantage: that this clause added was " thought sufficient, both by the Chancellor (that is, the " Chancellor of France) and him. But that this being sent " into France, out of design to have particular resolution of " their liking or disliking, no fruitful answer to the same " was sent, but letters of instruction and commission, au- " thorizing the French Ambassador to conclude an obliga- " tion reciprocous, after such force as the instructions pur- " ported: which was of another sort and nature then he " [the Cardinal] had proponed. Yet however, that upon the " receipt thereof, he [the Cardinal] had made overture to " the Lords, and moved the King: and so had conduced " the matter with him." The effect of which (such was the Cardinal's great interest with the King) was, " that to re- " move all scruples and doubts, and to do the French King " honour and pleasure, the King of England was contented " to allow the mutual obligation to go according to the in- " structions sent to the French Ambassador, though of an- " other nature than the Cardinal had propounded. Which " were as large and ample, and as beneficial to the King " and his affairs in every point, though it were under other " terms and words. That the King of England articled to " make war upon the Emperor for recovery of his hostages; " (namely, Francis's two sons, that were delivered to the " Emperor when Francis was dismissed into France.) That " this should be upon reasonable recompense of money. " That he should resist his army coming into Italy, with a " power and puissance formidable, and to expulse his army " out." Some other matters propounded by the form

brought by the French Commissioners for our King to yield to, as to be bound to others out of the contract, the Cardinal disproved, saying, "that if the articles had so "passed, it had been a great disparity, and contrary to all "reason.

Sends the Ambassador the copies of two forms of a peace, which he had drawn up, and delivered to the French Ambassador.

"That after such debating of this matter, there were two "forms devised, the copies whereof he sent unto Dr. Tay- "lor. These forms were drawn up by the Cardinal, and "delivered unto the French King's Ambassador, who was "Seigneur De Vaulx, Maitre d'Hostel to Louize, the Re- "gent, and mother of Francis; who had been one of her "Commissioners, despatched into England for concluding "of the treaty between King Henry and the French King. "These forms being delivered to him, he desired to send "them into France, and promised, within eight days, to 66 "return an answer concerning them to the King's Com- "missioners. Although he in his own judgment did know, "perceive, and would not deny, but that these forms, be- "ing so conveyed and devised, were as effectual and bene- "ficial to the French King, for his content and purpose, as "that which had been sent out of France to the Ambassa- "dor here. Yet he dared not, nor would conclude, until "the French King were first advertised, and his pleasure "known. Affirming expressly, that that his refusal pro- "ceeded of no manner of compass or intent, to protract "time for any sinister purpose: but only for fear to trans- "gress the limits by him in his instructions assigned. And "that, as the Cardinal wrote, our Ambassador might be "fully riped in the specialities thereof, he sent him copies: "upon the substantial perusal and reading whereof he "might make himself fully master of the contents thereof. "That the French King and his Council should find, and "that he, the Ambassador, should affirm, that whichsoever "form he should consent unto should be found as bene- "ficial. And that concerning this, he, the Ambassador, "should desire to be speedily advertised of the King's plea- "sure, to the intent the same might be with all diligence "notified hither."

CHAP. V.

Anno 1526. Certifies him of letters despatched to the King's Ambassador with the Emperor, in the French King's behalf. Herbert's Hen. VIII. p. 177.

Then he proceeded to another matter, namely, concerning the Emperor's restoring back the French King's sons, then hostages for the King their father. About this, the Cardinal advised Dr. Tayler to shew, "that the King's "Highness minded and intended to have sent an honourable personage on ambassiate to the Emperor, for requisition first to be made unto him, for delivery of them "upon reasonable recompense of money, without demanding lands or towns." Next, for speedy contentation of the money the Emperor owed to the King of England. The occasion of this debt was thus; the Emperor Charles, for the better drawing of King Henry to his party, against Francis, had promised to pay unto the said Henry the sum of three hundred thirty-three thousand, three hundred and five crowns yearly, in lieu of those pensions and rents which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry. "That "it was thought expedient for the accelerating the matter," (that is, to force the Emperor to return the hostages, and to demand some reasonable sum of money for the restoring of them, or to make war upon him: for which purpose the army in Italy was now in good readiness,) "to "send letters with substantial instructions to the King's "Ambassador resident there, in the Emperor's Court. "Which were appointed to be carried in post by a gentleman of his house, [*viz.* of the English Ambassador "with the Emperor,] named Osborn Ichingham, who had "knowledge of the country, and good language to pass. "And who was ordered in his way, to call upon him, the "Ambassador in France.

Sends him a copy of the letter sent by the King to the Emperor.

"And because the French King might perceive after "what good manner and fashion the King's Grace had "in a letter exhorted the Emperor, allecting him first by "doulce and pleasant introductions, adding afterward matter sounding perfectly to sharpness and commination, to "descend to the King's desire; the Cardinal had sent him "therewith a copy of the said letter to the Emperor: and that "in declaration thereof, he [the Ambassador] might vary
67 "and digress in no point from the King's meaning. That

" he should substantially consider and digest the said letter " addrest to the Emperor. That he [the Cardinal] hoped " the Emperor would have that respect and regard, as to " beware how he did rashly refuse or deny the same. " That the words being well marked, in many points were " no less then a summonition and warning, that if the Em- " peror condescended not to the King's request, he would " enter the league with Italy." (Which could not but have an impression upon the Emperor, it being a strong league, not only of the French King, but the Pope, the Venetian, the Florentines, and Sforza, against the Emperor.) " That " he should shew this letter to the King and Council, but " in no wise to leave the copy with them, or suffer any " doubt thereof. That, if they should desire it, he should " say, as of himself, that it was not convenient to give a " copy of the King's letters sent to another Prince, nor " that he had any such commission, but that as to the " suffering them to read it in his presence, in that he should " let them take their pleasure. And that this might suffice " for their knowledge, how and in what good sort the " King did proceed in that behalf. That if they should " demand, if the King had written any other matter be- " sides, more then was in that letter, he should say, that " over and beside the effect thereof, his Highness had given " other secret charge to his Ambassador, how to use him- " self for the conducing of every thing to the desired pur- " pose. Which was matter not to be communicated abroad. " That the King had hopes to train the Emperor to rea- " son by doulce methods: which failing, he would go on to " more angry courses."

And instructs him to shew it to the French King.

Moreover the Cardinal instructed him, " that after he " had made these declarations aforesaid, and finding the " French King fully determined to accept one of the two " forms for conclusion of the league between him and the " King of England, Dr. Tayler should, with all diligence, " dispatch Ichingham, in his way to the Emperor. But " that, if the French King should say, he would shortly " send order to his Ambassador here, to conclude, then he

Directs him concerning the despatch of Ichingham to Spain.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1526.

" should accelerate the expedition thereof as much as con-
" veniently he could: taking order with Ichingham, that
" he depart to some place on his way by soft journeys, un-
" til such time as it may be thought the French King's
" commandment were brought to England. For it were
" not convenient, he said, if he should arrive in Spain with
" letters and intimations to be made by the King's Ambas-
" sador to the Emperor, until the obligation reciprocous
" were concluded here. That therefore he should take spe-
" cial regard by his wisdom, to order Ichingham's depar-
" ture from him, as he might well think the obligation past,
" or in good likelihood to be past, a good season before his
" arrival in Spain." [And indeed this league was finished soon after this letter, which was writ July the 15th, and the league was concluded August the 8th following.]

Sends him word that my Lord of Bath was ready to set forth for France.

The Cardinal gave him moreover to understand, " that
" my Lord of Bath had all his instructions and other mat-
" ters in readiness, and had taken his leave of the King,
" intending within two days to depart, and set on his voy-
" age toward the French King. He advertised him also,
" that forasmuch as divers errors were deprehended in the
68 " treaty, prejudicial to, and something also omitted, which
" might concern the King, in case he should hereafter en-
" ter [the Italian confederacy against the Emperor,] that
" therefore it was thought convenient, that commissions
" should be sent hither, as well from the French King, as
" the Pope's Holiness, and the Venetians, to their orators

Sends him a form of a commission, to be sent by Francis, the Pope, and Venetians, to their agents here.

" and agents here resident. And that he had devised a
" form of such a commission, which he had sent unto him,
" [the Ambassador,] which he should shew unto the French
" King and his Council. So as if they should call upon
" the King to enter the league, [of Italy,] the same might
" be qualified in such points as was necessary. Letting
" him to wit, that such forms were likewise sent to the
" Pope and Venetians, and the point sufficiently declared
" to the French King's Ambassador here resident: and a
" copy delivered to the Bishop of Bath. And that there-
" fore, if they should call upon entering the league, he

" should accelerate the sending the commission. So dating CHAP. V.
" his letter from his place beside Westminster, he sub-
" scribed himself, Anno 1526.

" Your loving friend,
" T. Carlis Ebor."

This is a brief and epitomized extract, taken by Sir Michael Hickes, before mentioned, out of the original letter of the Cardinal. Wherein, if some things be met with, not so full and intelligible as might be wished, it must be attributed to that cause. The Lord Herbert tells us, that the contents in short of this league reciprocous, which the Cardinal gave all these instructions about to Doctor Tayler, were, " that both Kings did oblige themselves not to treat " or agree apart, or separately, with the Emperor, concern- " ing the restitution of the two children of France, nor " concerning the money due from the Emperor, but jointly " and together. And for all other businesses they should " pass without derogation or prejudice to their former " treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And " that neither of the said Kings should in any kind assist " the Emperor whensoever he were invaded by the other." Which brief relation of the historian the former letter doth more expatiate upon and explain. Hen. VIII. p. 194.

CHAP. VI. 69

The Pope imprisoned by the Emperor. The Cardinal draws up a requisition to him in favour of the Pope. Goes himself Ambassador to France. Made Vicar General by the Pope. The Cardinal's Legantine Courts. His Court for wills and testaments. The Archbishop's contests with the Cardinal about his Courts. Complains to the King.

In the year 1527, the Emperor had entered into Rome, and seized the Pope, and made him his prisoner. This, as Anno 1527. He draws up the re-

CHAP. VI.

it made a great noise in the world, so it served as a good pretence for some further revenges to be taken by the Cardinal upon him. This, by the Cardinal's blowing the coals, begat new counsels between the two Kings. For this purpose, the Cardinal had devised an instrument, called a requisition, that was to be offered to the Emperor, by the English and French Ambassadors in the Court of Spain. It related to the injuries he had done to the Pope and the see of Rome. This requisition was made on purpose, the better to justify that war that they were bringing upon him in Italy. A copy of this requisition being framed by the Cardinal, was sent by him to Louize, the Lady Regent, who liked it well; and added words to this effect, to the Bishop of Bath and Sir Anthony Brown, our Ambassadors, "that Christian Princes could not in honour suffer "their head, Christ's Vicar, to be kept a captive: and, "that no Prince of his own authority could keep a Pope "in prison, or demand a ransom for him; and, that Princes "should no longer obey a Pope detained contrary to his "will." Which propositions were left to the Cardinal, to improve and dress for their purpose.

Anno 1527.

quisition in favour of the Pope, then a prisoner.

He goes Ambassador into France.

There were several strict treaties made of late betwixt the two Kings, in prejudice of the Emperor, in which the Cardinal still had the great hand, covering over his malice against him by his specious shew of devotion to the papal see: and now to establish all, he himself resolved upon a journey into France, in the quality of an extraordinary Ambassador from the King. His coming he signified unto the Lady Regent and King Francis, and that he would meet him at Amiens, or further, if she, and the King her son, thought good; and if a journey so far might not be prejudicial to the King, having lately been ill of a fever. But she heartily thanking the Cardinal, signified to him there would be no danger, and appointed the time and place for the congress. So he entering on his journey about the beginning of July 1527, in very extraordinary state and splendor, and accompanied with a mighty train, (the account whereof I leave to Cavendish, the writer of his Life, to re-

Cavendish's Life of the Cardinal.

late,) he arrived at Calais, and at the time appointed met Francis at Amiens. Where he tarried with that King fourteen days, feasting, and being feasted, and concerting matters for a firmer league between the two Kings, and for a more vigorous opposition of the Emperor. I have put into the Appendix the letter of the English Ambassador's, wrote the day before his departure from the Court, which relates to these affairs. CHAP. VI. Anno 1527. 70 No. XIV.

In this year he was at the top of all his earthly glory. His dignities may be understood by the style and title that was then ordinarily ascribed him, viz. *The most reverend Father in God, Lord Thomas, of the title of St. Cicile, Priest Cardinal, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, Chancellor of the same, of the See Apostolic Legat de Latere.* To all these titles he received one more from Pope Clement this year, namely, that of *Vicar General.* Whereby he was empowered to perform all that the Pope might have done himself. For when he was now under restraint, after the sacking of Rome by the Spaniard, the Cardinal, by a bull sent him by the Pope, was made Vicar General throughout all the King's dominions during the Pope's captivity. So that whatsoever was determined concerning the administration of ecclesiastical affairs by the Cardinal, assisted by the Prelates of England, who should be assembled by the King's authority, that should be decreed and observed, the consent of the said King being first had: and so it was in France. This was brought about by the Cardinal: who in a conference with certain other Cardinals at Compeign, 1527, being then Ambassador Extraordinary from King Henry to the French King, resolved, that the foresaid order of the government of the Church was at this time requisite. And so he took on him the supreme charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the realm. Where, as the historian makes the observation, began the taste the King took of governing the Clergy in chief; and I may add, of constituting a Vicar General immediately next under the King, over all matters of the Church, throughout the nation. And the King having much to do in the Church, and The Cardinal made Vicar General by the Pope. L. Herbert's Hist. p. 209.

CHAP. VI.

among churchmen, some years after, substituted Cromwel under him with that title.

Anno 1527. His legantine Courts.

By virtue of this overtopping legantine authority, he drew into his own Courts all matters whatsoever cognizable in the ecclesiastical Courts, belonging either to Archbishop or Bishops. So that even the Bishops were his Commissaries in their own dioceses. An instance of this, I find, fell out this year. For one Forster, of the diocese of London, appeared for heretical pravity at Westminster Abbey, before the Cardinal's Commissaries sitting there; whereof Tonstal, the Bishop of London, was one. The copy of the abjuration from the original I will here set down, to shew the manner of the Cardinal's Courts, who were his Commissaries, and what a strict hand the Cardinal held over poor men, that there might be no starting in the least from the old superstitions.

Int. Foxii, MSS.

Forster's abjuration in the Cardinal's Court.

" In the name of God, *Amen.* I Richard Forster, of the
" diocese and jurisdiction of London, before yow, reverend
" Father in God, Lord Cuthbert, Bishop of London, my
" Ordinary and Diocesan, and Commissary to the most
" reverend Father in God, Lord Thomas, of the title of
" Saynct Cecile, Priest, Cardinal, &c. together with yow,
" reverend Fathers in God, Lords Nicholas, Bishop of Ely,
" Henry, Bishop of Saynct Asse, John, Bishop of Lincoln,
" and John, Bishop of Bathe and Wellys, likewise Com-
71 " missaryes lawfully deputed, opynly confesse and know-
" ledge, that I dampnably have erred in the holy Sacra-
" ment of the Aulter, sayng, belevyng, and affirmyng, that
" a priest could not consecrate the body of Crist. Also, that
" I, accompanyed with certayn of the maner of lyvying of
" Martyn Luther, and his sect, dyd eate flesh on the Sa-
" turday. The which myn heresy, error, and dampnable
" opinyon, in especyal with all other heresies agenst the
" faith of Crist, and our holy moder the Churche in gene-
" ral, here before Almighty God, and you myne Ordinary
" in this honorable audience, I voluntary and gladly, as a
" true penytent person, utterly renounce, forsake, and ab-

"jure. Promytting, and I promyse faithfully unto Al-
"mighty God, our foresaid mother, the holy Church, and
"to you my foresaid Ordinary, and swere by these holy
"Evangelies, and contents of thies book, here by me bo-
"dyly touched, that from henceforth I shall never retorn
"agen to the said heresies and dampnable opinions, or
"any other heresies and dampnable opinions: and never
"more reherse, believe, or affirme the contrary, to the de-
"termination of our holy mother, the Churche: nor hide,
"conceyl, or kepe close, any such heresies and dampnable
"opinions, nor their auctors, or fawtors in tyme to come:
"nor be conversant, or famyliar wytyngly with any person
"or persons suspect of heresy. But as soon as I shall
"know any such persons, or their fautors, I shall truly and
"faithfully detect them and their opinions to their Ordi-
"nary, for the tyme being, without any delay. Submyt-
"tyng my self mekely, lowly, and penytently, to our holy
"mother, the Church, and your correction; beyng contrite
"and sorry, and desiryng penance for my said offences and
"trespasses in this behalf, which I promyse, by the vertue
"of myne othe surely to do, observe, and fullfyl. In wit-
"ness whereof, to this my present abjuration, I have sub-
"scribed my name with my hand, and set to the signe of
"the cross under the same.

"*per me* Ricardum Forster, *supradict.*"

✠

"*Lecta per dictum Richardum Forster, quinto die De-*
"*cembris, anno Dom.* 1527, *in domo capituli monast.*
"*Westmonaster. coram reverendo in Christo Patre*
"*Cuthberto London. Episcopo, ac aliis presentibus, ut*
"*in actis, in presentia mei,*

"*Mathei Grafton.*"

The Cardinal's Court for wills.

And as the Cardinal had this Court at Westminster, to make inquisition about heresy, so, by virtue of his legantine power, he had another Court in his own house at York-place, for matters testamentary, and peculiar officers deputed thereunto. This was a new encroachment upon the

CHAP. VI.

Bishops of Canterbury, before whom, or their officers, wills and testaments were constantly used to be proved. During this innovation, one Jane Roper, executrix to her late husband, John Roper, was called before the Commissaries of the Prerogative Court. And soon after, the Cardinal's Commissaries cited her before them, in the chapel at York-place, to prove the will, or else to be repelled as no executrice, and the will of the said John Roper to be reputed as no will. Hereupon she, and some other of her counsel, wrote to Bishop Warham, complaining hereof. Others also spake to him, and other writ what the issue of this would be: and that the jurisdiction of his Courts was like to be extinguished, and that all testamentary causes would come to that pass, to be made depend upon the Cardinal's mere will and pleasure. This made a great clamour against the Cardinal all Kent and London over. The Archbishop's officers also seeing their office and benefit so invaded, plied the Bishop with their complaints. He likewise was sensible how this new Court was like to be prejudicial to his other Courts. These complaints and considerations made him resolve to stir, as much as he might, to put a stop hereunto.

Anno 1527. Clamoured against.

72

Prejudicial to his Prerogative Court.

For it is here to be noted, that before this, the Archbishop had made a composition with the Cardinal, to which they had mutually set their hands and seals, being an agreement upon certain articles, that their respective Courts might not interfere with one another, and for the people's peace and quietness that should have any causes depending. And by this composition the prerogative was to remain entire to the Archbishop, only the Cardinal was to have his Commissaries in this Court to be joined with those of the Archbishop. Which was condescension enough. Insomuch that some of the Archbishop's friends charged it upon him as an oversight.

A composition between the Cardinal and the Archbishop.

The Archbishop was now at his house at Charing. Whence he wrote of this matter to the Cardinal. "Taking "God to judge, that he wrote no otherwise then it had "been shewed to his face, or written to him by letters.

CHAP. VI.

" Beseeching him, that this business might have a stop till " after Easter: at which time he would wait upon him. " Assuring himself, that his Grace would do nothing con- Anno 1527. " trary to the composition sealed with his Grace's seal, and " subscribed with his Grace's hand, concerning the prero- " gative which his Church of Canterbury, time out of mind, " had been possessed of." This was dated February the 24th. But it doth not appear in what year: but, as I suppose, about this time, or not much before.

The Archbishop writes to the Cardinal against his Court.

But the Cardinal, notwithstanding the Archbishop's letters, gave no orders to his Commissioners to cease any further dealing in this office of the probate of wills. For, but in the month after, the Archbishop from Croydon sent another letter to the Cardinal, complaining to him of the same abuse, of interrupting him in the use of the prerogative. He urged, " that hereby his officers of the Courts of the " Arches and the Audience, and his Commissaries of the " diocese of Kent, and he himself in matters of suit of in- " stance of parties, and in all cases of correction depending " before him and them, if they should be thus continually " inhibited by the Cardinal's officers, they should have no- " thing left to do; but that he should be as a shadow and " image of an Archbishop and Legate. Which would be to " his perpetual reproach, and to his Church a perpetual " prejudice. He prayed the Cardinal therefore to defer " this matter a little, till he might have some communica- " tion with him therein; and that he would give credence " to his Chaplain, whom he had sent, the bearer of his pre- 73 " sent letter." Both these letters of Archbishop Warham are in the Appendix most deservedly preserved. Numb. XV. XVI.

But upon no redress, complains to the King.

But it seems, after all, Warham found little redress at Wolsey's hand. When therefore the matter could not be otherwise remedied, and the Cardinal had been guilty of unjust encroachments upon all ecclesiastical affairs, the Archbishop repaired unto the King, acquainting him, and complaining of these things. The King took his coming in good part, and bade him go to the Cardinal, and as he saw him doing things amiss, not to spare to tell him thereof. He

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1527.

did so, gravely admonishing him concerning several matters, and particularly his meddling with wills and testaments, wherein he claimed a power, not so much as claimed by the Pope himself: and in disposing of benefices in the gift of the nobility, or others, he told him he usurped too much upon them. The Cardinal hated the Archbishop before, because he would not truckle to him, but would upon occasion oppose him; but this last reproof made him hate him more. It ended thus at last: the King finding all that Warham said to be true, and that Alan, Judge of the Cardinal's Court, had appeared to be a very corrupt, ill man, by the accusation of John London, (a man made use of in these times,) he very severely reproved the Cardinal. Which had some good effect upon him, to make him more wary, if not more just.

The Lord Cromwel followed the Cardinal in this. Hist. Reform. P. I. p. 181.

I do suppose the Cardinal assumed such power in the Prerogative office, by virtue of his commission from the Pope, as afterwards Cromwel had there the like, by virtue of his commission to be Vicar General, from the King. Whereby all wills, where the estate was two hundred pounds and upwards, were not to be proved in the Bishops' Courts, but in the Court of the Vicar General. And the Vicar General accordingly deputed Dr. Petre his officer, for receiving these probates of wills. Which thing seems to be but copied from the Cardinal's practice, as the original.

The excessive charges of proving wills.

Thus between the Archbishop's officers, and those of the Cardinal, besides the delays, and dancing attendance, before matters could be despatched, the fees and expenses were excessive. In the year 1528, Sir William Compton died of the sweating sickness. By whose last will Sir Henry Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's house, and certain others, were constituted his executors. But before they could obtain a probate from the Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury, it cost them a thousand marks; the Cardinal, by his legantine power, had so disordered wills and testaments.

Complained of in Parliament.

So that these matters became public grievances. For the burdens upon the laity, whensoever they had occasion to

prove any wills, were so heavy, and so intolerably expensive, that the thing was brought before the Parliament in the year 1529 or 1530. when six grievances were complained of, wherein the clergy oppressed the laity: and this of wills was the first. Then Sir Henry Guilford, aforesaid, protested, in open Parliament, on his fidelity, that he and the other executors were fain to pay that great sum, before they could prove Sir William Compton's will.

Anno 1527.

CHAP. VII. 74

Persecution in the diocese of London for religion. Visitation of the diocese of London. Divers detected for heresy in Essex, London, &c. Their confessions; and penances.

BUT by occasion of the abjuration above mentioned, let us a little interrupt the continuation of the Cardinal's story, and look into the state of religion in these days.

The Popish errors disclaimed by many.

Heresy, as it was then called, that is, the Gospel, had already spread considerably in this diocese of London, and especially about Colchester, and other parts of Essex, as well as in the City. The New Testament in English, translated by Hotchyn, (that is, Tindal,) was in many hands, and read with great application and joy: the doctrines of the corporal presence, of worshipping images, and going on pilgrimages to saints, would not down. And they had secret meetings, wherein they instructed one another out of God's word. Now the Cardinal earnestly bestirred himself to put a stop to these things, and to reduce all declining persons to the old way again. And for the diocese of London, a strict visitation was commenced this summer, by Jeffrey Wharton, Doctor of Decrees, Bishop Tonstall's Vicar General: the Bishop himself being then in embassy in foreign parts, in company, as it seems, with the Cardinal, who was this summer in France.

A visitation in London diocese.

Some account of which visitation I shall now give, having

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1527.

the original papers thereof before me; and the rather, because John Fox, in his Martyrology, hath omitted it, and hath recorded little more than the names of them that were prosecuted; and these extant in the first edition only.

Abraham Water persecuted. MSS. Foxian.

Abraham Water, of St. Botolph's in Colchester, Dutchman, was cited before the said Vicar General, for saying, *I can make of a piece of bread the body of Almighty God, as well as the best Priest of them all.* For which he was fain to abjure, the 15th day of July, 1527; setting the sign of the holy cross to his abjuration with his own hand. Which abjuration ran in the same form mostly with that of Forster mentioned before.

Hacker: who detects,

One Hacker, or Ebbe, who was a great reader and teacher about six years past in London, and now in the parts of Essex about Colchester, Wittham, and Branktree, being discovered and taken up, was at this visitation, held in January and February, so hard set upon, that he made a discovery, by interrogatories put to him to answer upon oath, of a great many of his friends and followers, both in Essex and London. Some of them were these that ensue.

Ravens.

Christopher Ravens, of Wittham, tailor, (who had been abjured anno 1511, before Bishop Fitz-James,) was detected
75 by the said Hacker, that he had communication with him about a quarter of a year last past, at his own house in Wittham: and also that once or twice a year, by the space of four years, he had resorted to his house, and taught him the Commandments; and that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of God, but a remembrance of God that was in heaven: and that worshipping of images, and offering and going on pilgrimages, was naught: and that the one taught the other in such learnings.

Hills.

He detected also Thomas Hills, servant to the said Ravens; that he was of the same sect, and could read well, and had a book of the New Testament in English printed, which he bought at London; and was a great reader among them.

Chapman.

Farthermore, that the said Christopher had two servants,

born in Colchester, called John and Richard Chapman, brethren, which followed the reading and doctrine of them, and learned many of their opinions. CHAP. VII. Anno 1527.

To go on, as I am led by the register: the said Hacker, being interrogated upon oath to make true answer, revealed Goter, Stere, and Knight, of St. Margaret Lothbury, founders, to be of his learning and sort. And that their conversations, teachings, and readings were kept at one Russel's house, at the gate of Bird's-alley, against St. Stephen's church in Coleman-street: and said that those three continued in his company, and he with them, by the space of six years. Goter. Stere. Knight.

Also, the said Hacker discovered one Cony, clerk of St. Anthony's, and his wife, living beside the Friar Augustin's gate, about six years past to be of his sect and learning; and that he had a book of this respondent's, called *The Bayly*. Cony.

Also he said, that one Thomas Vincent, which was father-in-law to him that was brent for heresy about fourteen years past, [ann. 1513,] did teach this respondent all and singular his errors and heresies with which he was infected. And that Vincent gave him the Evangely of Matthew in English. Vincent.

Also, that the same Vincent had a daughter, which was married to Thomas Austie, which was much in company with this respondent, and followed his learning and opinions. Also, that Vincent had a book of the Ten Commandments, which he read to this respondent; and afterwards gave him the book; and he gave it afterwards to one Sime of Witney, besides Oxford. Austie.

Also he confessed, that John Pykas of Colchester had a book, part in English and part in Latin, which began, *The most excellent and glorious Lord*, &c. and another book, called, *Disputatio inter Fratrem et Clericum*: and another of this respondent's, called, *The Prick of Conscience*. Pykas. Books confessed.

Also he said, that John Stacy, of Coleman-street, bricklayer, kept a man in his house, whose name was John, to write the Apocalypse in English: and that one John Sercot, Stacy. Sercot.

CHAP. VII.

grocer, then dwelling in Coleman-street, bare the costs of the said writer. And the said Sercot had a book of this

Anno 1527.

respondent's, called *The Bayly*.

Newman.

Also, that one Elizabeth Newman, being then a maid dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle, about six years past caused this respondent to change his name, and call himself Richardson.

76

Besides all these detected by Hacker, the register makes

Rawlyn.

mention also of Thomas Rawlyn, tallowchandler, dwelling in Aldermanbury, who was of the same sect, and taught by Hacker in his own house divers and sundry times.

Tewksbury.

Also, John Tewksbury, haberdasher, dwelling nigh to St. Martin's Gate, was another of Hacker's disciples, and of the same sect. This man was afterwards burnt; if he be the same with that John Tewksbury, leatherseller, mentioned in Fox's Martyrology, under the year 1529.

Long.

Dorothy Long, of the parish of St. Giles in Colchester, was also of his conversation and learning.

Westden.

Also of the same sect was Marion Westden, wife to Thomas Matthew, of Colchester.

Russel.

Also William Russel, tailor, of Coleman-street.

Philip.

Also Thomas Philip, pointmaker, dwelling against the little conduit in Cheap, was of Hacker's sect, and a chief reader and teacher of his opinions.

The said Hacker confessed, that he and the said Philip, by the space of five or six years, met oftentimes at Russel's house, and once a quarter in his own house, and there had communications of such opinions as he used: and that Philip did sometime read in a book of Paul, and sometime

Maxwel.

in a book of the Epistles. And that he, Russel, and Maxwel, of St. Olave's in Silver-street, bricklayer, were much

Swaffer.

conversant at Lawrence Swaffer's, in Shoreditch, tailor.

Besides all these, there were divers others now detected by Hacker, as his followers about six years past: as, Thomas

Geffray. Bulley. Styes. Tyllesworth. Alice.

Geffray, of Coleman-street, tailor; and the wife of Bulley, a sadler, dwelling at the Red Cross and Bull-head in Cheapside: Mrs. Styes, at the Ball in Friday-street: Thomas Tyllesworth, tailor, in Budge-row: Alice, now married,

then dwelling at the White Hart, against the Savoy: Robert Tyllesworth, tailor, in Abchurch-lane: Mother Bristow, at the Castle in Wood-street.

She had a book of Hacker's, of the Evangelist St. Luke, in English: which book he had, as he confessed, of Thomas Blissed, in Swan-alley in Coleman-street. Which Mother Bristow did hear his doctrines and teachings, and had delectation in the same; and was of his sect and learning, and well learned in the same opinions.

Tyllesworth. Bristow. Blissed.

Moreover, he detected Stephen Carde, of Ware, weaver, and Henry Tuck, being well learned in his opinions. Likewise William Mason, tailor, dwelling in Bishopsgate-street, since at the Bell in New Fish-street. John Houshold, of the parish of Alhallows the Less, was of his sect and learning; but not since he was abjured, as far as he knew

Carde. Tuck. Mason. Houshold.

William Raylond, of Colchester, tailor, was also of Hacker's sect, and a reader and teacher of his opinions; and had a book of the Apocalypse in English. Robert Best, of St. Botolph, Colchester, weaver, or a maker of cloth, was also of Hacker's opinions, and a reader and teacher of them.

Raylond. Best.

Those in Branktree, by the said Hacker detected, were, William, Anthony, Robert Beckwyth, and Mother Beckwyth. The three former were brothers, and husbandmen. He said, they were of his sect and opinions; and that they were learned before he companied with them. And that by the space of two years he came to Branktree to them, twice or thrice a year, and had communication with them of his learning and opinions; which they learned and followed.

Beckwyth. 77

And besides these, many others were discovered by this one man. By which we may conclude, what numbers there were already in this land that dissented from the Papal errors and superstitions.

This detection created work for the Bishop and his Vicar General, as we shall see.

But to proceed with this visitation. February the 24th,

CHAP. VII.

Dr. Geffrey Wharton, aforesaid, sat judicially in the long chapel of St. Paul's church, London, near the north gate.

Anno 1527.

Herris, a Curate, absolved; having been excommunicated for heretical books.

And then appeared before him Sir Sebastian Herris, Curate of the parish church of Kensington, who confessed that he had two books, *viz.* the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn, Priest, and Friar Roy; and *Unio Dissidentium*, containing in it the Lutheran heresy. But Herris being by the said Wharton, Vicar General, absolved from the sentence of excommunication that had been by the canon passed against him, he enjoined him, by oath upon the holy Gospels, that he should not for the future keep any of the said books, or any other containing heresy in it; nor knowingly read, sell, pawn, or any other way dispose of such books; nor knowingly converse, or hold familiarity with any person suspected of heresy, nor favour them. And moreover, he enjoined the said Sir Sebastian, under pain of excommunication, that after he had obtained licence to depart, he should not tarry or abide within the city of London [being so dangerous a place to be infected with heresy] above a day and a night; but go thence elsewhere, and not approach near the City any where four miles in circuit, for the space of two years following. This was done in the presence of Matthew Grefton, Public Notary and Scribe of the Acts; and of John Darrel, Bachelor of Decrees, the Archdeacon of London's Official; and of Henry Bonsfel, Notary Public, and one of the general Proctors of the Court of Canterbury; being desired to be witnesses to the premises.

March the 2d, appeared before the abovesaid Vicar-General, Thomas Matthew, John Pykas, and Henry Raylond, men of Colchester, being cited to answer to certain articles concerning the mere health and correction of their souls: whom he assigned to appear before the reverend Father the Bishop of London, in his palace, at one of the clock afternoon the same day. Then the same Vicar General caused William Raylond to be called, to appear at the same day and place as above was specified: but being often and publicly called, and not appearing, he pro-

Raylond excommunicated for non-appearance;

nounced him contumacious; and of his special grace, and by certificatory continued, he thought fit he should be stayed for in and unto an hour assigned the next day. Which day and hour being come, the said Vicar General sat judicially, and the said Raylond being called, and not appearing, he pronounced him contumacious; and for the punishment of his contumacy excommunicated him in writing.

And absolved.

The 12th day of March the said Vicar General, in the palace of the Bishop of London, did absolve Raylond from the sentence of excommunication; giving caution *de parendo Juri*, &c. And enjoined him to say for three days together five *Pater-nosters* and five *Ave Marias*.

78

Pykas charged by the Bishop for keeping the New Testament.

March the 3d, the reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, sitting judicially in the chapel within his palace at London, ministered in word against John Pykas the articles which were ministered to John Hacker, and all things contained in the same; adding, that he had, and retained in his keeping, the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn and Friar Roy, notwithstanding the condemnation, publication, and monition made thereupon; and other books, containing in them heresy and reprobate reading. Upon the ministering of which, and other things, the same reverend Father took, *ex officio suo*, for witnesses, John Bowghton, of Colchester, and John Hacker; whom my Lord, setting aside hatred, love, and envy, burdened with an oath, in the presence of the said John Pykas.

Raylond interrogated, and dismissed by the Bishop.

March the 4th, Raylond appeared before the Bishop, sitting judicially in a certain chamber within his palace. Whom the Bishop interrogated, whether the *true body* of Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar? he answered, It was so. He interrogated him further; whether he believed pilgrimages were profitable? he answered, Yea. He asked him again, whether he had not formerly said, that the holy Virgin Mary of Ipswich was an idol? he answered, No. Then my Lord, for reasons moving him, dismissed him; and admonished him to appear before him, whensoever he

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1527.

should have notice thereof by his Commissary, and the day and place assigned him.

Present, Geffrey Wharton, Vicar General.
Robert Ridley, Th. P.
Richard Sparchford, M. A.
And, Matthew Grefton, Notary Public.

Matthew sworn a witness against Pykas.

March the 5th, the said reverend Father, sitting judicially in his chapel within his palace at London, took for a witness Thomas Matthew, of Colchester, upon certain articles ministered to John Pykas, burdening him with an oath in the presence of the said Pykas, to answer truly, all kind of corruptions being laid aside.

The same day and place, before the said reverend Father sitting judicially, appeared Thomas Matthew aforesaid. Against whom the said reverend Father ministered articles; to which he answered distinctly, as in the answers subscribed by his own hand. And then the answers to the articles being made, the said Thomas abjured, as in the abjuration by the same publicly read, and reached to my Lord, and by his hand subscribed, and signed with the sign of the cross; and submitted himself to correction. And then my Lord, touching first the sacred Gospels of God, and kissing them, absolved him in form of law. Being then present, Robert Ridley, John Royston, Professors of Divinity; Richard Sparchford, M. A.; John Tunstal, Chaplain; Nic. Tunstal, T. Dowman, Tho. Pilkington, and James Multon; all learned men.

Absolved by the Bishop.

And then my Lord enjoined him, that every week, for the five weeks of that instant Lent, he should distribute in alms six shillings and eight pence: *viz.* sixteen pence to
79 the prisoners in the castle of the town of Colchester; and eight pence to other prisoners in the prison of the same town. And the remainder of the money to the poor of the town, in bread and herrings. And that he break the loaves before they be delivered to the poor. And he enjoined him to certify him of the premises the next week after *Dominica*

in Albis, [that is, Low Sunday,] and to receive the remainder of his punishment the same time.

Anno 1527.

March the 7th, John Pykas made answer to the articles ministered to him before the said Bishop, sitting judicially in the chapel of his palace in London; there being present, Matthew Grefton, Scribe of the Acts; Tho. Forman, S.T.P.; Richard Sparchford, John Tunstal, and Tho. Chambre, Chaplains, and many others. Which answer was to this tenor:

Articles ministered to Pykas.

His confessions. MSS. Foxian.

" That about a five yeres last past, at a certayn tyme, his " mother, then dwellyng in Bury, sent for hym; and movyd " hym that he shuld not beleve in the Sacraments of the " Church, for that was not the ryght way. And then she " delyvered to this respondent one book of Powle's Epi- " stoles in English; and byd hym lyve after the maner and " way of the said Epistoles and Gospels, and not after the " way that the Church doth teche. Also, about a two yeres " last past, he bowght in Colchestre, of a Lumbard of Lon- " don, a New Testament in English, and payd for it foure " shillinges. Which New Testament he kept, and read it " thorowghly many tymes. And afterward, when he herd " that the said N. Testaments were forbaden, that no man " shuld keep them, he delyvered it and the book of Powle's " Epistoles to his mother ayen. And so in contynuance of " tyme, by the instruction of his mother, and by reading of " the said books, he fell into these errors and heresies ayenst " the Sacrament of the Altar; that he thowght that in the " Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of consecration, " was not the *very body* of Christ, but only *bred* and *wyne*.

" Which heresie he hath divers tyme spoken and tawght; " not only in the house of Thomas Matthew, in the pre- " sence of the said Matthew's wife, William Pykas, and " Maryon Westden, dawghter to Matthew's wife; but also " in the houses and presences of John Thompson, flecher; " Dorothy Lane, Robert Best, Mestress Swayn, John Gyr- " lyng; John Bradley, blacksmith, and his wife; Thomas " Parker, wever; Margaret Bowgas, the wife of Thomas " Bowgas; Mestress Cambridge, wydow, of the town of

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1527.

" Colchestre: and also in the house and presence of John " Hubbert, of Est Donylond; Robert Bate, of the same; " Richard Collins, alias Jonson, wever de Boxstede; John " Wyley, of Horkesley, wever. Which all and singular " persons, often and many tymes have had communication " of the said articles with hym, and stedfastly belevyd " them: and did affirm them to be of truth, as this re- " spondent hath herd them say.

" Also he saith, that he hath tawght, rehersed, and af- " firmed, before all the said persons, and in their houses at " sondry tymes, ayenst the sacrament of Baptism, saying, " that ther shuld be no such thyngs: for there is no bap- " tysm, but of the Holy Ghost; and that he learned in the " New Testament in English: whereas John saith, *I baptize* " *you but in water, in token of repentance; but he that shall* " *come after me is stronger than I, he shall baptize you in* " *the Holy Ghost.* Also he saith, that he hath in the places " and presence aforesaid, spoken agenst the sacrament of " confession, saying, that it was sufficient for a man that " had offended to shew his synnes pryvyly to God, without " confession made to a pryst. Yet notwithstondyng this " respondent hath yerely byn confessed, and housled, but " for no other cause, but that people shuld not wondre " uppon hym.

Bylney preaches at Ipswich.

" Also he saith, that he hath herd dyvers prechers " preche, and specially Mr. Bylney preche at Ipiswiche, " that it was but folly for a man to go on pilgrimages to " saints; for they be but stocks and stones; for they can- " not speke to a man, nor do him any good. And also, " that men should pray only to God, and to no saints. " For saints can here no man's prayer, for they are but ser- " vants. Which after this respondent herd preched, he did " publish and declare it to divers persons, and set it forward " as much as in hym was. Moreover he saith, that Mr. Byl- " ney's sermon was most goostly, and made best for his pur- " pose and opinions, as any that ever he herd in his lyef.

" Also he saith, that he hath oftentimes spoken ayenst " fastyng in places and presence aforesaid, that God never

" made no fastyng, and the Church hath no authoritie to " make it. Wherefore there shuld be none kept. And " he saith, he kept no manner of fastyng, except the *imbren* Anno 1527. " days. Also ayenst holy days, in the presence and places " afore rehersed, and many moo, this respondent hath said, " that God never made holy days, but the Sunday, and no " man else can make other.

" Also he confesseth, that he hath spoken, rehersed, and " affirmed, in the presence and places aforesaid, and dyvers " other moo, ayenst pardons, saying and affirmyng, that " pardons graunted by the Pope, or other men of the " Church, are of no effect. For they have no authoritie to " grant them. Also he saith, that all the foresaid persons " divers and many tymes hath resorted to this respondent's " company, to many sondray places, whereas they gladly " and wyllingly hath herde thies articles red, tawght, and " disputed. And he knowith certaynly, that though some " of the foresaid persons be not so well lerned as he, yet " ther is never an one of them, but that hath spoken and " affirmed the said articles to be true, and be infected with " the same.

" Farther, he saith, that he hath now in his custody a Books in his possession, confessed. " book, called *The Pryck of Conscyence*, and another of the " *Seven Wise Masters of Rome*; which he had of a fryer " of Colchestre: also a book which begynneth, *O thou most* " *glorious and excellent Lord*, &c. which he had of old " Father Hacker, alias Ebbe. Also he had the copy of a " book of communication, *inter Fratrem et Clericum*, of " his brother William Pykas, which he lost by negligence " about a twelve months past.

" Be me John Pekas, of Colchestre."

After this, Pykas and Hacker, before spoken of, the chief leaders and teachers of the rest, were thus sifted, and by imprisonment, severities, and threatenings, brought to confess all the *known men* and *women*, as they were then called, 81 even their friends, their brethren, their nearest relations, and those that themselves had brought into these opinions;

CHAP. VII. Anno 1527.

they were enjoined penances, and abjured, and sworn to be witnesses against others, and to betray all; as we have seen in part, and shall further see.

CHAP. VIII.

A continuance of the visitation and prosecution of the professors of the Gospel in the diocese of London. Many detected in Colchester, and the parts thereabouts.

Dr. Forman, of Honey-lane, suspended. MSS. Foxian.

ON Thursday the 19th of March, Cuthbert aforesaid, Bishop of London, sitting judicially in a certain inner chamber within his palace in London, Robert Forman, S. T. P. Rector of the parish church of All Saints, Honey-lane, appeared before him. Who, forasmuch as he had despised the condemnation of Martin Luther, and of his books and works, together with the publication, declaration, and monition thereof, and had kept in his possession the books and works of the said Martin, by which he was involved and entangled in the sentence of the greater excommunication, by the authority of Pope Leo X. of happy memory, and for other just and lawful causes, the said reverend Father inhibited and interdicted the said Forman, that hereafter he should not celebrate Mass, nor preach publicly before the people, until he should otherwise be dispensed with, under the pain of law.

Thompson, Pykas, &c. of Colchester, appear before the Bishop.

The same day, in a certain great chamber in the said Bishop's palace, appeared before him John Thompson, William Pykas, Robert Best, John Tyrlyng, John Bradley, and Alice Gardner of Colchester, and John Hubberd of East Donylond, being cited at that day, and detected of heretical pravity. To whom the reverend Father, by word of mouth, recited and declared the articles and errors detected against them, and every of them, and admonished and exhorted them, that they should acknowledge and reveal their heresies and errors: and then caused them, and each of them, to be separated from one another, and committed unto custody

And committed to custody.

to divers prisons. And afterwards he examined them singly: who being so examined, refused to acknowledge and reveal their heresies and errors, and did expressly deny to do so. Whereupon my Lord admonished and counselled them to consider with themselves till to morrow. Anno 1527.

On Friday the 20th of March, the Bishop ministered articles against John Thompson of Colchester; concerning which, he laid an oath upon him, touching the holy Gospels, to answer truly. And then the said reverend Father, *ex officio*, took for witnesses John Pykas, and John Hacker, alias Ebb, and William Raylond; on whom he laid an oath to depose faithfully, &c. without any kind of corruptions, in the presence of the said John Thompson. And then appeared William Pykas, whom my Lord commanded to take an oath to answer truly; but he refused. Being asked, whether it were lawful to swear, he answered, he could not tell. And being often commanded to swear, and still refusing, the Bishop commanded him to be committed to Lollard's tower, and to be thrust into the stocks, for his manifest and manifold contumacy. And then before his departure, the Bishop took the witnesses before-named against him, and gave their oath, as above, in the presence of the same William. John Thompson and William Pykas appear. 82 William Pykas committed to Lollard's tower.

The same day and place, John Bradley appeared before the Bishop sitting judicially: but refused to take an oath to answer truly. And being thereupon admonished and exhorted by the said reverend Father, he was sworn. Which thing being so done, the Bishop took for witnesses against the same John Bradley those that were brought for witnesses against Thompson; whom my Lord caused to be sworn, according to the form of law, in the presence of the said Bradley. March the 23d, in the place aforesaid, the Bishop took for witnesses William Pykas and John Thompson, whom he swore as above, in the presence of the said Bradley. John Bradley appears.

In like manner John Hubberd, of East Donilond, John Girlyng, and Robert Best, and Alice Gardiner, of Colchester, appeared the same day and place before the Bishop, and an oath according to the form being tendered them, to Hubberd, Girlyng, Best, &c. appear.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1527.

make true answer to such articles as should be propounded to them, [that is, to accuse themselves,] they at first refused; Best said he would willingly swear, if his Lordship would first declare what those articles were; which the Bishop did, and giving some exhortation to the rest, he and they took their oaths. And then were sworn against them in their presence, John Pykas, John Ebb, alias Hacker, and William Raylond. Some days after, *viz.* April the 26th, Henry Raylond was sworn also a witness against the said Alice. And March the 23d, William Pykas, that had been put in the stocks in Lollard's tower for refusing to swear, submitted, and was sworn. And the said William Pykas and John Thompson were also then sworn witnesses against Best and Hubberd. And thus brothers and friends were by oath bound, most unnaturally, to accuse one another.

Now to shew how these that were sworn against their fellows were searched and pumped, to do all the mischief possible to them, and that nothing might be concealed that might rise up in judgment against these poor men, I shall next set down John Pykas's examination; who having undergone abjuration and penance, that was not all, but this unworthy forced detection of his relations and friends was the worst penance of all; which follows:

John Pykas's examination against Best.

John Pykas, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester, baker, where he lived from his birth, being born there, of thirty-three years of age, or thereabouts, of free condition, being a witness taken, admitted, sworn, and secretly and singly examined, of and upon articles ministered against Robert Best; and first upon his knowledge of him, he said he had known him well five or six years. He said moreover, that about a twelvemonth agone, he had communication with the said Robert Best, in his own house, two times, as he now remembereth, of the Epistle of James, so beginning, *James, the true servant of God.* Also he saith, that the said Robert Best had knowledge of the Epistle of James,
83 and could say it by heart, or this deponent did company with him. Moreover he saith, that the said Robert Best hath been taken continually, by the space of a twelvemonth

last past, as a *known man*, and a *broder in Christ*, amongst them that be called *brothren in Christ*, and *known men*. By the which it is understood, that the said Robert is of the same sect and learning as this deponent was. Also this deponent saith, that the said Best, about a twelvemonth past, borrowed of this deponent a New Testament in English, which he had in his custody, by the space of a month together. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1527.

Being examined against John Girlyng, he saith, that about a two or three years last past, this deponent and John Girlyng did commune together one time, in the house of the said John Girlyng, upon the xxivth chapter of Matthew, where Christ spake of Jerusalem, and said to it, *If thou knewest, thou wouldest weep: for there shall not a stone of thee be left upon a stone; for thou shalt be destroyed:* meaning thereby, that Priests, and men of the Church, which have strong hearts, (because they do punish heretics, and be stubborn of heart,) should reign a while, and in conclusion God would strike them, and they should be destroyed for the punishment of heretics. Also, that about an half year agone, he had communication with the said Girlyng in his house, or his shop, of a chapter of James, where it appeared that God is father of light, and overshadowed all sin. And therefore we should pray only to him. For we be the beginning of his creatures, and he begat us willingly, by the words of truth: with which words the said John Girlyng was content, and did consent to them, and allow and approve the same. *Item*, he saith, that the said John Girlyng is taken and reputed among all such as be *known men*, and called *brothers in Christ*, that is to say, heretics, to be one of them, and of their sect and learning, and a favourer of the same: and for such a person, by the space of three years last past, he hath been reputed and taken, by the sure knowledge of this deponent. Against Girlyng;

And being examined as to the wife of John Girlyng, he saith, that one Robert Bishop, the natural son of the said Girlyng's wife, by another husband, about sixteen years And his wife.

CHAP. VIII.

past, told this deponent, that his mother did penance, but where, or for what cause, now he remembereth not.

Anno 1527. Against William Raylond;

Being examined against William Raylond, of the parish of the Holy Trinity in Colchester, he saith, that he knew him for a year, or thereabout, and communed with him concerning the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, in English, and of the Epistles of James and John often, in the house of the said W. R. in the presence of Henry his son; also of the eight beatitudes contained in the fifth chapter of Matthew. Also he saith, that the said William Raylond, and Henry Raylond his son, and this deponent, have divers and many times within these twelvemonths communed in the said W. R.'s house, against pilgrimages and other articles: and there they concluded amongst them, that pilgrimages were not profitable for a man's soul, and that no honour nor worship should be given to the images in churches, but only to saints that were in heaven. Also, that it was not lawful to set up any light before images in the church. And so none of the *known men* did ever set
84 up light before any images, as far as he knoweth. Also, as concerning baptism in water, W. R. said, that baptism in water was but a token of repentance; and when a man cometh to years of discretion, and keepeth himself clean, after the promise that his godfathers made for him, then he shall receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. After the which communication so had and done, Henry Raylond being present at divers times in his said father's house, did hear the same, and did consent to the same, and said, that it was very good learning.

And Marion Matthew;

Also being examined against Marion Matthew, alias Westdon, saith, that he hath heard her speak of the Epistles and Gospels, (and had them well by heart,) in her own house, divers and many times: and had heard her say to him divers times within these three years, in her house, that men should not go on pilgrimages, for they were nought, and should not be used: and that she should say to him, that she had set up as few candles to images as any woman had, for it was not leful. And he said further, that she

had been taken and reputed as a *known woman*, and of the brotherhood, that is to say, as a woman suspect of heresy, by the space of these three years of his sure knowledge, and also by the space of twelve years, as he hath heard say. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1527.

Being examined as to Dorothy Long, he saith, that he had known her for six years; and moreover said, that she was of the same sect, and infected with the same opinions and heresies with which this deponent and others above named were infected: and that he often communed with the said Dorothy concerning the said errors in her house. And Dorothy Long;

And being examined as to Katharine Swain, he saith, that he is ignorant: yet he saith that she is reputed for a *known woman*. And Katharine Swain;

Also, being examined concerning Alice Gardiner, he saith, that he hath known her for twenty years, and communed with her of the Lord's Prayer, and the Angel's Salutation, and the Apostles' Creed, and certain Epistles in the vulgar tongue. To which communication in the said Alice's house she assented, and freely gave her hearing, as he said, and further he knoweth not. And Alice Gardiner;

Being examined as to Mother Denby, he saith, he knoweth not. And Mother Denby;

Also, being examined concerning Thomas Parker, he saith, that he hath known him sixteen years, and that the said Thomas Parker and this deponent hath communed together by the space of these two years, sometime in the house of the said Thomas Parker, and oftentimes in this deponent's house, and in the presence of John Thompson, fletcher, son-in-law to the said Thomas. And in their communication so had betwixt them, the said Parker hath said and affirmed openly divers and many times, in places aforesaid, against pilgrimages, pardons, and other articles following, that pilgrimages were not profitable, and should not be used, and that we should worship God only, and no saints, &c. These, and many more, did Pykas discover. And Thomas Parker.

Then William Raylond, formerly of Trinity parish in Colchester, and afterwards of St. Botolph's there, now of Ardely, was brought under examination, and by oath forced William Raylond examined; 84

CHAP. VIII.

to betray his friends and relations. And being first examined about John Pykas, he saith, that within this twelve-

Anno 1527.

month last past, John Pykas, in this deponent's house, four

Against John Pykas:

times in the year, in the presence of this deponent and his wife, Henry his son and his wife, had said and affirmed, that in the Host was but bread, and that the body of Christ was in the Word, and not in the bread: and that God is in the Word, and the Word is in God, and God and the Word cannot be departed. And that that bread was but in remembrance of his passion. The which heresy, he saith, that he and Henry his son did gladly hear taught and read, and was content with the same, and believed it to be true.

Against Henry Raylond;

Being examined as to Henry Raylond, his son, he saith, that he hath heard the said John Pykas, and Henry Raylond his son, oftentimes say in this deponent's house, that it is missavory to go on pilgrimage to Walsingham, Ipswich, or any other place. For they be but idols; and it is idolatry for to go to them in pilgrimage; and that they cannot help themselves: therefore they cannot help another man. Also, that he hath heard John Pykas and Henry Raylond say, by the space aforesaid, in this deponent's house, and in presence aforesaid, that we should pray only to God, and to no saints. For saints in heaven have their reward. Also, that he hath oftentimes rebuked his son for the said opinions. To whom his son would say, Yea, father, set your heart at rest, and apply yourself to learn the true laws of God, as I do.

Against John Girlyng;

Being examined about John Girlyng, he saith, that he hath known him six years; and saith moreover, that he hath heard the said J. G. rehearse a certain Epistle of Paul, in this deponent's house, about four years agone, as he now remembereth, no man then being present, but the said J. G. and this deponent. Also, that the said J. G. by reason that he used the company of W. Pykas, J. Pykas, J. Thompson, and this deponent, is taken, and hath been taken and reputed, amongst the *known men*, which be those persons that be suspected of heresy, as one of them.

And his wife.

Being examined further about Girlyng's wife, he saith,

that about four or five years ago, he had heard her speak of the Gospels and Epistles, and open the Apocalypse in her own house. Also, that what time she dwelled with Sir Thomas Eyers, Curate of Ikells, of the diocese of Norwich, which was about twelve years past, she was abjured, and did bear a fagot. And at last the said Priest was burned for heresy, as he heard say. Also, that about five or six years past, this deponent asked the said John Girlyng's wife, sitting at the table in her own house, in the presence of this deponent's wife, this question, What is the Sacrament of the Altar? to whom she answered and said, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but an Host, and that the body of Almighty God was joined in the Word; and the Word of God was all one, and might not be departed. Also, that at the same time, place, and presence, he did hear her say, that images of saints were but idols.

This Raylond was also examined concerning Robert Best, Dorothy Long, Thomas Parker, Robert Bate, Thomas Bowgas, Mrs. Cowbridge, and many more; and detected them for *known men and women.*

To make thorough-work, this visitation went on vigorously in Essex the ensuing year, *viz.* 1528, partly before the Bishop himself, and partly before his Vicar General. 86

Further proceedings the next year.

Before the Bishop sitting judicially in a chapel within his palace in London, April 28, 1528, appeared John Tybal, of Steeple Bumsted, a notable leader of these *known men.* Who was so dealt with, that upon his examination he confessed all of himself, and of his party, and finally, was abjured, and did penance. May the 14th, ensuing, the said Bishop sat as Judge in the chapel within a house, called the manor of the Bishop of Norwich, near Charing Cross. Then appeared before him Thomas Bowgas, of St. Leonard's in Colchester. Who, after his Lordship had often exhorted and admonished him to submit, and confess his errors, did at last submit himself, and declared, that he was contented to abjure his errors and opinions, and to return to the unity of the Church. And then read publicly his abjuration, the holy Gospel being by him touched, and

The judicial proceedings of the Bishop,

Against Tho. Bowgas;

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1527.

signing his abjuration with his hand, and the sign of the cross. Which done, the said reverend Father absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, which he had incurred, and enjoined him by his oath, and under pain of relapse, that on the Lord's day next he should go before the cross bareheaded, in procession, in his church of St. Leonard, at Hith, near Colchester, where he was a parishioner, carrying a fagot on his shoulder: and procession being done, he should hear high mass on his knees, before the steps of the choir, from the beginning to the end of it, and then depart. He enjoined him also, that he should bear no malice or hatred against the witnesses produced in this behalf, or should molest or trouble them any ways; and that he should certify of his penance done, and that either from himself, or else by his Curate's letters, within fifteen days. And then being asked whether he would undergo the penance enjoined, he answered, he would. Present at this meeting, Geffrey Wharton, the Bishop's Chancellor, William Layton, principal Register, Mr. Thomas Chambre, Chaplain; also Mr. Skelton, Marmaduke Tunstal, Gentlemen, and divers others.

And William Bowcher;

On another day in May did William Bocher, of Steeple Bumsted, ploughwright, make his abjuration before the Bishop, in the chapel of the manor of the Bishop of Norwich.

And Robert and Thomas Hempsted.

In which day and place did Robert Hempsted, of Steeple Bumsted, husbandman, appear before the Bishop, and confessed and read divers articles, and then abjured all. And so also did Thomas Hempsted, his brother.

The Bishop's Vicar General visits in Essex.

Dr. Wharton, the Bishop's Vicar General, in June or July following, went down into Essex, the better to detect this nest of pretended heretics. For the 15th of July he sat in the chapel of St. Mary, within the monastery of St.

Colchester.

John's, of Colchester, the venerable Father, Thomas, Abbot of the said monastery, and Mr. Michael Everard, assisting.

His proceedings against divers known women.

To which session was cited Agnes Pykas, the wife of John Bradley, the wife of Thomas Parker, the wife of William Raylond, the wife of Henry Raylond, the wife of John Thompson, the wife of John Girlyng, Margaret Bowgas, Margaret Cowbridge, and John Clark, detected of heretical

pravity: also Rose, the wife of Robert Bate, the wife of John Hubbert, and Katharine Swain, appeared, and other women. Who now were sworn to answer truly: and witnesses were sworn against them, namely, John Hacker, John Pykas, and William Raylond. The 16th of July, the said Vicar General sat again in the same chapel: and again the 17th. Then Margaret Cowbridge brought for her compurgators, Thomas Burton, Bartholomew Culpack, John Sterling, Robert Dow, Emme Harkyn, Anne Christmas, Margery Draper, and Joan Norman. With which, proclamation being made for contradiction in due form of law, she purged herself, and swore that she was not guilty, or blameworthy, upon the articles objected to her, as she believed. Then the persons before named swore, that of their belief and knowledge she was not guilty in these matters. Which purgation the Vicar General admitted, and declared she was lawfully purged, and restored her to her former fame. And then did swear her, that for the time to come she should keep the Catholic faith, that she should not knowingly favour heretics, nor conceal them, nor contract familiarity with them: and that if she knew any heretics, she should denounce them with their heresies, as soon as she could, to the Ordinary. In the same day and place did Margery Bowgas also purge herself with divers compurgators. July the 20th, Dr. Wharton removed from Colchester, and came to Walden, where he sat in St. Mary's chapel, within the monastery there. Then he administered oaths to Robert Faire, Isabel Holden, and John Wiggen, to make true answer. And July the 21st, he received the confession and abjuration of Edmund Tibal, husbandman. Present, Core, Rector of Radwinter, Sir Richard, Curate of Haydon, John Golding and Thomas Turner, learned men. July the 22d, in the same place, he swore Joan Agnes, alias Smith, detected of heretical pravity, to make true answer. The same day and place appeared John Smith and Agnes Smith, of Rideswel, detected and suspected of heretical pravity: whom the said Vicar General swore to make true answer.

Anno 1527. 87

Walden.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1527.

And these were some of the doings of Bishop Tunstal, and his Chancellor, against such as presumed to read God's word, or vary in the least from the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, as they happened in the years 1527. and 1528. And so the prosecution went on with as much rigour, through the years 1529, and 1530, (when good Bilney suffered,) and 1531, even till the disgrace and fall of the Cardinal, and the King's marriage with Anne Bolen. Some account of which years is set down by Fox; whereas the years 1527. and 1528. are by him very sparingly spoke of. And therefore I have taken this notice of them, that the memory of these professors and confessors might not be wholly lost: and that I might not burden this history with the prolix examinations and abjurations of these poor men and women before mentioned, and yet to preserve them from perishing, I have put some of them into the Appendix; as the confession of John Tybal, the abjurations of T. Bowgas and William Boeher, the confessions of Robert and Thomas Hemsted, and of R. Necton: who went about the dioceses of London and Norwich, to disperse Tindal's New Testament, the greater and the smaller, and other Lutheran books, buying them of the merchants, and selling them again. All taken *verbatim* from the register of Bishop Tonstal.

Numb. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII.

88 CHAP. IX.

The Cardinal acting in the King's matrimonial cause. Ambassadors sent to the Pope to dissolve the marriage. The King's own book against it. Which was brought to the Pope.

The Cardinal shews the King his unlawful marriage.

BUT to return to the Cardinal; we will stay a little longer at this year 1527, the King's great matrimonial cause being about this time earnestly transacted; upon which such great alterations afterwards depended; and wherein our Cardinal bore so considerable a part: and that, if you will believe

his own protestations, because he judged the marriage, in which the King lived, to be unlawful: and because he thought the cause was very just. CHAP. IX. Anno 1527.

It is certain he was as earnest in this cause, as ever he was in any; as appears by his importunacy with the Pope: "begging and beseeching him, as he esteemed him a Chris- "tian, a good Cardinal, worthy of that sacred college, no "useless and unprofitable member of the apostolic see; as "he looked upon him to be a lover of right and justice, his "faithful creature, and, in a word, one that desired eternal "salvation; that he would at this time have respect unto "his counsel and intercession, and favourably grant the King "his most godly requests. Which, had he not known them "to be right, holy, and just, he would rather, he said, have "undergone all kind of punishment, than have promoted "them: nay, that he would pawn his very life and soul for "them." Hist. Ref. vol. i. Collect. viii. b. ii.

But yet, according to historians, this his zeal sprang out of a displeasure he took both against Queen Katharine and the Emperor, nearly related to her. The Emperor he hated, who had opposed his election to the popedom. And he was averse to the Queen, as it is said, because she had taken the liberty to reprove his dissolute way of living.

Now, to bring his purpose to pass, the King was first to be brought into scruples, or rather his former scruples were to be renewed, concerning the lawfulness of that matrimony; which the King at first seemed not disposed to annul. And then the Pope was to be dealt withal to dissolve it.

An embassy to the Pope for the dissolving it.

So the Cardinal, they say, first instigated Bishop Longland, the King's Confessor, to shew his Majesty in what unlawful marriage he led his life. Which the Cardinal seconded with other reasons to the King; as, the want of issue male, and the danger of discontents and tumults in his kingdom, arising thence.

When the King was resolved to send to the Pope about this matter, the embassy, by the counsel and managery of the Cardinal, was to consist in these points: *viz.*

The Ambassadors were to signify to the Pope the King's

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1527. 89

scruples concerning his marriage; and that he had thoroughly studied the matter himself, and found it unlawful *jure divino*. And they were to represent the dangerous condition of himself, his issue, and kingdom hereby. And therefore he required of the Pope a bull, that should contain,

I. A commission to two Cardinals, for hearing and determining the cause in England: hereof Cardinal Wolsey to be one.

II. A decretal, wherein the Pope should pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between Arthur, the King's brother, and Katharine.

III. A dispensation for the King to marry another.

IV. A pollicitation, that the Pope would not revoke any of these his acts.

And minutes of this instrument were drawn up by the Cardinal, and sent withal. A copy of which may be read in the History of the Reformation.

Vol. i. Coll. numb. x. b. ii.

A commission and dispensation sent from the Pope.

Two of these four, by Knight and Cassalis, the King's Ambassadors, their solicitations, and the earnest letters of Cardinal Wolsey, the Pope (by Gambara, his prothonotary) sent: *viz.* the commission and the dispensation, signed by himself, but altered from the minutes and forms drawn up here. But the Pope's messenger told the King, at the delivery of them, that if the said instruments were in any point thought insufficient, or that any thing, by the advice of learned men, were thought convenient to be added thereto, his Holiness would be ready to perform it: and withal to despatch all such breves, bulls, and rescripts, as might conduce to the effectual determination of the matter. But, as the King and Cardinal were not pleased, that the Pope had not drawn his commission and dispensation according to the minutes sent, and that the two other instruments required were not sent at all; so it mitigated their displeasure, that the Pope had offered so freely to do any thing else that should be judged convenient.

A second embassy sent to the Pope.

This caused another embassy: and Gardiner, the Cardinal's secretary, and Fox, the King's servant, Provost of King's college, Cambridge, were despatched to the Pope, to

effect this, in February 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. Of whom Gardiner was the chief, having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's Cabinet Council for this affair, and styled, in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, *Primary Secretary of the most secret counsels.* He was grown into extraordinary request with the Cardinal; insomuch that in his said letters he calleth Gardiner the *half of himself; than whom none was dearer to him.* He writ, that he should unlock his breast to the Pope; and that in hearing him speak, he might think he heard the Cardinal himself.

Anno 1527.

The Cardinal's character of Gardiner.

The particulars of this embassy, of which I have the very minutes in divers letters sent to the King and Cardinal, I will give some account of; especially of such things as the Lord Herbert, or the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.

Int. Foxii MSS.

These Ambassadors carried with them the King's pollicitation, obliging himself to stand by the Pope in his present troubles from the Emperor; and money to present the Cardinals and others the Pope's servants with, as gratuities, when the commission and other matters should be despatched.

But though the King's great matrimonial cause were the chief matter of this embassy, yet they had divers other businesses to do at this Court. They had instructions concerning the Cardinal's college, and to get certain breves from the Pope, for the better establishment of it; and for taking away, by a redemption, the firstfruits, for the ease of the Clergy; and upon some propositions made by Nix, Bishop of Norwich, for the releasing of his diocese from the said fruits. Which last business they got despatched. Likewise something was to be done by the Pope about the degradation of Priests, and for the canonization of King Henry VI. And a pardon was to be procured for Windsor college.

The instructions of it.

The Ambassadors went first to Francis, the French King, to solicit him to use his interest with the Pope, in King Henry's present cause. Thence, by post, to the Pope,

The Ambassadors arrive at the Pope's Court, at Orvieto.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1527.

Sir Gregory Cassalis.

whom they found at Orvieto, lately (*viz.* December 9.) escaped out of the castle of S. Angelo, where he was prisoner. There the Ambassadors arrived, March the 20th: where they met Sir Gregory de Cassalis, one of the King's Ambassadors sent before: who very humanely received them, leaving them his own bed, and lodging them in his own lodgings; and providing them, at his own cost and charges, all things that were necessary for them. He kept an honourable port here; and had great access of gentlemen to him, to his great cost, and the King's great honour. The Pope had him in great reputation. And he was able to do the King much service there; and so much as could be done by none other man.

The Pope hearing of their coming, by a message from them, sent Sauga (the Datary's servant) to them, to welcome them into that city in the Pope's name, telling them, that his Holiness was sorry he could not better receive them into that town, being himself destitute and unprovided of all things: offering them free access to his presence at their pleasure. The said servant advertising them also, that his Holiness's mind was, they should, all ceremonies set apart, repair to him after an homely and familiar manner. But being minded first to discourse somewhat more largely with Cassalis, according to their instructions, they excused themselves for a few days, for want of apparel. Which, however, was true and evident: for journeying by post, they were fain to leave all their clothes behind them at Calais, and had now no other coats to wear, but those they rid in; being much worn and defaced by the bad weather.

The incommodiousness of this place.

Orviet was an old decayed town: and all things here were now in great scarcity and dearth, as the like was hardly any where else; not only in victuals, (which could not be brought into the town in any quantity, by reason all things were conveyed by asses and mules,) but also in other necessaries. So as cloth, camblet, or such like merchandises, which in England might be worth twenty shillings, were there worth six pounds: and yet not to be had in any quantity neither. So that had not the Ambassadors made

provision for their gowns at Lucca, they must of necessity have gone in Spanish cloaks; such as they could have borrowed of the Pope's servants. And therein would have been difficulty; inasmuch as few of them had more garments than one. And had not Sir Gregory resided there, and, being advertised of their coming, had made preparation for their lodging, (borrowing of divers men so much as might furnish three beds,) they had been in danger of their lives at their coming into the town; being a very foul day, and they forced to pass a river on horseback within a mile of the town; wherein they rid so deep, as the water came almost to their girdlesteds, and were very wet. 91

The Pope ill accommodated here.

This town, Orvieto, was as much as to say, *urbs vetus*, an old city. And so it might well be called: for every man, at his first entrance into it, in his own tongue, would give it no other name. It was a fall, from the top of the hill, to the lowest part of the mountain. And in these respects such was the condition of the place, that our Ambassadors, in their letters to Cardinal Wolsey, said, they could not tell how the Pope could be said to be at liberty, being there, where hunger, scarcity, ill-favoured lodging, ill air, and many other incommodities, kept him and all his as straitly as he was ever captive in castle Angel: and that it was *aliqua mutatio soli, sed nulla libertatis.*

And, in effect, the Pope could not deny to Sir Gregory, but it had been better to be in captivity at Rome, than there at liberty. He lay in an old palace of the Bishop's of that city, ruinous and decayed. Where, before they came to the Pope's bedchamber, they passed three chambers, all naked and unhanged, the roofs fallen down, and, as was guessed, thirty persons, riff-raff and others, standing in the chambers for a garnishment. And as for the Pope's bedchamber, all the furniture in it was not worth twenty nobles, bed and all.

The Ambassadors first access to the Pope.

March the 22d they came into the Pope's presence, and so were for some time with him every day, three or four hours together; sometimes till midnight; consulting and debating of their business. This their first access was after this man-

CHAP. IX.

ner. Being admitted into his privy bedchamber, they found him accompanied with the Cardinal De Radulphis. After due reverence, and ceremonies accustomed, they delivered him the King's and the Cardinal's letters: which he immediately read over. And then repeated to the Ambassadors the sum of them, in very compendious and well-couched words: and without suffering them to speak a word, went on, acknowledging the great benefits the King had done him and the see apostolic; and especially in the time of his captivity: and how much he and the apostolic see were beholden and bound to the Cardinal; by whose procurement, solicitation, and mediation, such things had been always set forth, as might conduce unto the same. Adding thereunto, of what mind and intention he ever was, as well before as since his preferment to that dignity; namely, to do all things that might be to the good satisfaction and contentment of the King's Highness; and especially in this case, touching so near the quietness and tranquillity of his conscience, with the wealth and commodity of his realm. And many such words, spoken, as they might judge, as proceeding sincerely from the bottom and root of his heart and soul. Then he willed them finally, without any circumstance of words, familiarly to enter with him into communication of the essential points of their charge: wherein he promised to give such resolutions, without tract or delay, as they could reasonably desire, and as might be agreeable with law and equity, for the justification of his doings, and maintenance of his and the King's honour hereafter.

Anno 1527.

His speech to them.

92

They deliver their message.

At this point, his Holiness making a pause, Dr. Gardiner said, that it was well known to the King and the Cardinal, of the great zeal, love, and affection, that his Holiness bore towards them both, and the wealth of the realm of England: whereof of late both had advertisement, as well by sundry letters of Sir Gregory de Cassalis, as also the reports and relations of Mr. Secretary, Dr. Knight, and more amply by the mouth of the prothonotary Gambara, sent from the Pope to the King. Who, he said, had exhibited to the King a commission and dispensation, (the one

to examine the King's matter in England, and the other to allow of another marriage,) both passed by his Holiness: but that the same instruments, being altered from the minutes and forms that was by the King desired, and so not fully serving the King's purpose; their message was, that another commission and dispensation might be drawn up and granted: especially considering, that the Pope had before, by his agent Gambara, promised to supply and reform, if any thing might be thought wanting in the said instruments; and to add other bulls and breves thereunto, if required. Anno 1527.

The Pope's answer.

But the Pope, out of fear of the Emperor, was willing to make delays; and to dissemble, and keep the same secret, till all things were compounded and pacified in Italy. He pretended also, for his delay, that this, the King's matrimonial matter, was not managed, as he heard, with Cardinal Wolsey's consent or knowledge. But this coming to the Cardinal's ears, before these Ambassadors came away, he ordered them to protest to the Pope, on the Cardinal's behalf, that he was sincere in the matter. And so they did at this time; and then delivered the Cardinal's judgment, as to the merits of the cause, and likewise of the good qualities of the gentlewoman, meaning the Lady Anne, whom the King had signified his inclinations, after his divorce from Queen Katharine, to take for his royal consort, for the sake of an heir to the kingdom by her. For it had been told the Pope before by some, that the King followed some private affection in this matter; and that the Lady was already with child; and that she had no such qualities as should be worthy the King's bed. Therefore, for the taking off these false reports, the Ambassadors were thus instructed by the Cardinal.

The King's book against his marriage.

What the Pope said of it.

At this meeting they also told the Pope, that the King had writ a book of his own cause; which they had brought with them, to read to his Holiness. And herein the King's reasons were set down, for the dissolving his present marriage, and of the scruples of his conscience. Of which the Pope said, "that to his Majesty's opinion, mind, and sen-

CHAP. IX. Anno 1527. 93

"tence, he would sooner lean than any other learned "man's: and that the King's reasons must needs be of "great efficacy and sufficiency, whereby this matter might "be ruled and ordered; considering his excellent wisdom, "learning, and judgment. All which, he doubted not, had "concurred to the setting forth of this matter."

And then he appointed the Ambassadors the next day to resort to him, and to read before him the said book; and so, being informed of the reasons, consult with them, and the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, how the commission should pass.

And this was the sum of the transactions in this first meeting.

CHAP. X.

The Pope reads the King's book; and commends it. Divers conferences with the Pope about the King's matter. The Pope declares his mind in it.

The Pope reads it.

THE Ambassadors the next day, being March the 23d, exhibiting the King's book to the Pope, he began to read standing: and after a while sitting down upon a form, covered with a piece of an old coverlid, not worth twenty pence. That which he read was the Epistle, being directed by the King to the Cardinal and the Prelates, requiring their answer thereunto in the end of it; and that part of the book that related to the law: not suffering any of them to help him therein. Noting the reasons, as one succeeded another: and making his objections; which he afterward saw answered.

His questions put to the Ambassadors.

The Pope much commended the book; and said, he would keep it with him for a day, to read over, as well the first part, which he had not read, as the second part again, which he had. He asked the Ambassadors for the answer of the Cardinal and Prelates to the King's Epistle. They told him, no answer was made in writing; and of what import their answer was by word of mouth, might be per-

ceived by the letter the Cardinal had writ to his Holiness. He asked also, whether the King had broken this matter to the Queen? They answered, yes; and that she shewed herself content to stand to the judgment of the Church. Then he signified some doubt, whether the English Cardinal should be refused to be a judge in this matter, as suspected to favour one side; having already declared his mind hereupon; and so in manner giving sentence beforehand. But they said, that hindered not, but that the Pope might commit it unto his Grace's indifferent knowledge of the fact; sending a commission decretal, *in eventum veritatis facti allegati*. With which the Pope seemed satisfied.

The commission decretal; what.

In which commission it was devised, for avoiding all lets, that the clause should be put into it, *remota recusatione et appellatione*. Whereunto his Holiness assented. This commission, ready drawn up and prepared, they left at that time with the Pope, as he desired, that he might read it himself: pretending then, that he would do all things to the King's desire, with the greatest speed that could be. Which, indeed, the Ambassadors did much excite him to; urging, what danger it was to the realm to have this matter hang in suspense. His Holiness confessed the same; beginning to reckon what divers titles might be pretended by the King of Scots, and others: and granted, that without an heir male, with provision to be made by the consent of the states for the succession, the realm were like to come to dissolution. 94

The Ambassadors concert with the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor.

Then departing from the Pope, they went to concert the matter with the Cardinal, to whose trust and care the Pope had commended it; *viz.* the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Who was so just and honest, as to refuse two thousand crowns that were sent from the King to him, to be presented him by the hands of Sir Gregory and the King's Secretary, that came Ambassadors before. And all that they could do was to fasten thirty crowns on his Secretary; the Cardinal saying, that he was, and so would be reputed, the King's true servant, to do any thing that lay in his power, that he might be serviceable unto him; to whom

CHAP. X.

Anno 1528.

the see apostolic and the members of the same were so much obliged: and that he thought all that he had done, or could do, was much less than his duty towards him, who had so much merited from them, in making war for the Church's cause, and ceasing from war at the Pope's desire; and especially for procuring the Pope's deliverance; and other things done by him, for the Church, in other Popes' days. And for these causes, he said, he would shew himself diligent in expediting the King's business. And so they entered upon consideration of the commission with this Cardinal.

And at last, the Cardinal concluded, that the commission should pass under lead; but so, as the Pope's Holiness might allege, if he listed, ignorance therein, as being passed by his officers. But the Ambassadors liked not that; because such a commission, by an inhibition obtained in the like fashion, might be frustrate. In fine, they perceived, that it was only the fear of the Spaniard's victory in Italy that let the cause; and lest that army might upon this matter make a quarrel with the Pope, who was but newly got out of their hands.

Cardinal Campegius propounded to be joined with Wolsey.

Soon after they had conference with the Pope about some Cardinal, whom he should think most convenient to be sent jointly with Cardinal Wolsey, or severally, for compounding a peace between the Princes. But the Pope, at the present, refused to take upon him the province of a moderator of the peace. Though the Emperor had sent unto the Pope letters for that purpose, as Gambara had told the King. Which, when our Ambassador had mentioned to the Pope, he acknowledged faintly he had such letters, but spake little of that matter. The Ambassador then propounded the said Cardinal Campegius, as a meet person to be sent into England, to mediate in the Pope's name: and who, being here, might jointly with Wolsey proceed in the King's business. The Pope replied, that it would be hereby so divulged, that, whatsoever other cause were pretended, it would be verily thought this were the chief cause. They added, that no such thing would be judged

concerning Campegius, because he was noted somewhat to favour the Emperor's causes, and to be indifferent.

Anno 1528.

March the 26th, 1528, the Ambassadors waited again upon the Pope; who withdrew into a little study, which he used for a sleeping chamber: there seating himself against the wall, he caused the Ambassadors, and the Cardinals Sanctorum Quatuor, Ursinus, Cæsarinus, and De Cæsis, to sit round about him; and then called for Jacobus Symonet, Dean of the Rota, a man of great gravity, and substantially learned. Next, the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor began to propose the consultation and cause of the meeting. And after him spake the Dean, approving of what the Cardinal before had spoken; yet with a preface, that it was a case he had not much studied. Then the Pope willed Dr. Gardiner to speak. Who then urged what he thought good in defence of the commission: which proved to their good satisfaction. And so the Pope allowed the King's desire. For finally, the matter was reduced to this point, that such commission, although in old time it had passed, (for the Ambassadors had proved before, that it was agreeable to such as be in the decretals, and had shewed the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor this, by rehearsing to him the chapter *Venicns*, in the title *De Sponsalibus*,) and was not discrepant from justice; yet it was now a new and uncouth thing: and the Emperor might take occasion against the Pope to say, that to his injury he did an act against the custom and common style of the Court, observed from the times that the decretals were put forth. But from this the Ambassadors made a shift at length to bring the Pope.

95 The Pope, Cardinals, and Ambassadors, in consultation.

And now it rested only to know the opinions of learned men, whether the particular cases expressed in the commission might be justified to be sufficient for a divorce or not. And thereupon Symonet was wished to consult his books, and to have conference with the Ambassadors. This meeting took up four hours. Then the Pope said, that he had so much confidence in the King's conscience, as he would ground his thereupon; and did persuade himself that it was true and just, which so appeared unto the King's con-

The Pope declares his mind in this matter.

CHAP. X.

Anno 1528.

science, and would upon that ground privily pass any thing he might do by his authority. But in this case, which should come to the knowledge of the world, he said he must do, as the see apostolic be not slandered thereby. Forasmuch as in himself, his Holiness acknowledged no such profound learning as were sufficient to discuss this matter. Therefore he thought he could do no less than consult with others that were about him thereupon: that he might have them to justify his doings, whatsoever should be alleged on their parts. For upon this matter, he doubted not, the Emperor would cause divers Universities to write. And thereupon he pulled out a letter, and shewed it to Sir Gregory, which was sent secretly from a gentleman in the Emperor's Court; mentioning what answer was made by the Emperor, to the information made unto him, on the King's behalf, concerning this matter of divorce. Which added some fear to the Pope, who was of his own nature timorous. Which fear was increased by the doubtful end of the war in Naples.

Symonet and the Ambassadors argue matter of law.

96 Symonet and the Ambassadors meeting together, from seven of the clock in the morning till dinner time, and after dinner till it was night, argued matters of law in the King's matter: he taking upon him to make what objections he could against the causes alleged in the commission. But at last he descended from reasoning, to persuade the Ambassadors rather to take a general commission, in as ample form and manner as they could devise, with promise of ratification, than to stick upon that form they required, being new and out of course. And if they would be so content, he would not doubt but they should speed to-morrow. And so made his reckoning, that within three months, sentence might be given here in England, and remitted to the Pope to be confirmed. But the Ambassadors would by no means yield unto it.

Another meeting. The commission required to be despatched.

Some days after they had another meeting with the Pope, the Cardinals Sanctorum Quatuor and De Monte, and Symonet, present, in his sleeping chamber. Now Dr. Gardiner again urged the passing the commission; the

question stuck at being only, whether the Pope might do it lawfully? To which the said Ambassador said, "That he "presumed the Pope was satisfied, that he might in justice "do it, convinced by the King's book; and also by the "offer which the said two Cardinals and Symonet had "made; who had told them, that the sentence given in "England should be confirmed by his Holiness. Which "promise, said Gardiner, if it were to be trusted to, was a "plain confession that the cause was good, or else it ought "not to be confirmed. So that between the Ambassadors' "desire and the Cardinals' offer, there was, he said, only "difference of time; and that which was promised to be "done after the sentence, the Ambassadors required to be "done in effect before. Which was necessary to be ob-"tained, for avoiding such chances as might hinder the "obtaining of the confirmation; as, the death of the Pope, "or other adverse success." Anno 1528.

He said, moreover, "that if this were not granted, the "King would take it very strangely, and would think his "manifold benefits ill employed; if merely for manner "a nd form, which was the only impediment, he could not "obtain justice; and no respect should be had of his per-"son, and the weight of his cause; and if after so great "charges, cost, and delay of time, he might obtain no "more than he might have obtained at home: and that he "doubted not, his Majesty, understanding hereof, would "use a domestic remedy within his own kingdom, without "ventilating his cause, where he should perceive it was "handled, looked on, and heard; as though there were al-"ready rooted in men's hearts a prejudicate opinion, that "all things were coloured and grounded on no root of jus-"tice and truth." Gardiner threatens.

Then all looking one upon another, and speaking no-thing, Symonet thinking the matter touched him near; in-asmuch as granting and offering confirmation of the sen-tence, he should seem to approve the justness of the cause; began to make and shew a difference between confirming the sentence after it was given, and making this decretal The Am-bassadors grow more earnest.

CHAP. X.

Anno 1528.

commission. And so entered again into reasoning of the cause. In fine, the Pope said, that all that which with his honour he might do, he would do gladly, without tract or 97 difficulty. To which the Ambassadors answered, that what was not honourable for his Holiness to grant, was not honourable to be desired on the King's behalf. So as in this matter, if honour should be touched, it should be touched in both: and it was not to be supposed, that the King, who hitherto had such respect of his honour, conserved and defended the same above all Princes, should now do any thing that should stain or blemish the same: or that the Cardinal would counsel or minister any thing that should be dishonourable to both, or either of them.

The Pope yields.

The Pope, observing that their words were plainer than formerly, and that by degrees they began to speak more earnestly, at length yielded: saying, that he was fixed and determined to satisfy the King's desires, to set aside all style and common course of the Court: which, he said, could be no law to him, nor bind his Holiness to follow the same in so great a cause as that was, and to such a Prince, who had deserved so many benefits of the see apostolic: extending his authority herein, and speaking as it were against Sanctorum Quatuor, who was a great defender of the style of the Roman Court. Adding, that if in the law these causes may be ground just and sufficient to maintain a sentence of divorce, he would make such a commission, any style or use to the contrary notwithstanding: subjoining, that if the Emperor should grudge thereat, he cared not. And, having matter to defend the justice of the cause, he would by brief signify to the Emperor and the world, that in that manner of administering justice, he of duty ought to shew all favour and grace to the King's Highness. Whereupon he would hear what the Cardinal De Monte and De Ancona said, to whom he would write; and having their judgments, he would satisfy the Ambassadors' desires.

CHAP. XI.

The Pope declined the King's matter, as much as he could, for fear of the Emperor. A notable speech of Dr. Gardiner to the Pope.

IN case this large commission decretal would not be granted by the Pope, the Cardinal Wolsey had considered upon another expedient; namely, to have the King's matter examined and prosecuted before the Pope: only he feared the length of the process, the Court at Rome being so dilatory. Therefore he secretly had instructed the Ambassadors to learn how long the process might continue, in case it should be examined and discussed there. Now to this the Ambassador sent answer, that without giving any cause to them of conjecturing that the Ambassadors would have it brought thither, they had by all means possible endeavoured to know this. And first they perceived, that that Court had no mind, as the state of the world then was, that it should come there, the Cæsarians being not yet purged out of those parts. And as for all the stops, difficulties, and delays in this matter, they proceeded only, as they wrote to the Cardinal, from fear. Which, they said, 98 considering their late calamities, and the uncertainty of the war in Naples, seemed to be such as might happen to a constant man. They feared another captivity, which the doing this might occasion: and the news daily came of the Spaniard's adversity; yet they feared, and were glad to retain, and not to abandon, the Emperor's part. The process, as they wrote, would probably be long there, where every learned man should have liberty to say his mind. Nor cared they to meddle openly against the Emperor, especially in this, which he took so much to stomach, as they knew he did. So that the Pope's and Cardinal's device was, how speed might be made in England in this cause, and then that the sentence should be remitted to them to be confirmed. And other answer the Ambassadors could get none.

Anno 1528.

The Pope cared not to have the cause brought before him.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1528.

The Ambassadors consider the Pope's circumstances.

So that all that had hitherto been spoken by that Court, as that the King should first marry, and such other devices, were set forth only for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they would not be noted of counsel in the beginning of the matter, or to be privy to any specialty thereof in the commencement. For which cause the Ambassadors were the more earnest, as they wrote the Cardinal, in pressing them to grant the commission after the first device, mentioning the specialties of the cause. Which set apart, and not required, they were certain, they said, to obtain the second degree of their instructions in the most ample wise, and with great thanks to take it: which was a commission allowing of an appeal. With which they should have a promise to confirm the sentence there, with all speed and expedition possible. They wrote the Cardinal, that all things considered, and the difficulty that at that time attended the Pope, and the adverse party slandering the King, as though, without extraordinary remedy, he could not obtain his purpose; it was their judgment, that the second instructions should serve to very good purpose, to ground the process upon, and to be that which should be openly shewed or exhibited. And they verily thought, notwithstanding the Pope's words which he had spoke to them, they should not be able to obtain that commission that ran in that form aforesaid.

A secret commission from the Pope propounded.

And therefore, considering that the effect of that commission was only that it might appear to be the judgment of the Church in those articles, for the discharge of such as should proceed therein; the Ambassadors desired, that being without hope of obtaining the commission absolutely in the first form, they should desire the Pope to pass it secretly, to remain with the King's Highness for justification of his matter, in case happily the Pope's confirmation of the sentence that should be pronounced in England by some chance could not afterwards be obtained. And the same should be kept secret, and shewed to none but only the King's counsellors. And so the Pope should give them a general commission, as was promised, for a legate, as their

instructions purported. And that by some light words uttered, they thought they might probably obtain such a secret rescript of the Pope, determining the cause.

A Cardinal to be sent.

The Pope, however he had no mind to send any Cardinal into England about this business; yet he told the Ambassadors he would send one, such as should be agreeable to the King's desire. The Cardinal Campegius was then at Rome: of whom the Pope said, that the said Cardinal wrote to him to give credit to the King's writings and reasons in this matter. So that the Ambassadors concluded, there was no doubt of his good-will; but only they feared he might make too long halts by the way, being exceedingly troubled with the gout: but nevertheless it was not yet known who should be the Cardinal to be sent. 99

The Pope will consult with the lawyers before he will pass any thing.

The Pope still, to colour over his delays, pretended that he was ignorant in the law. For which, he said, he was both sorry and ashamed; and therefore that he must consult those that were learned therein; whether the matrimony should be declared null, and the dispensation for it void, before he could come to any resolution. And that otherwise, when the commission should come abroad, as it must do, by reason a copy thereof should be given to the Queen, and so consequently to the Emperor's hands; he should be looked upon as rash, to the slander of the Church, doing it without counsel; or too credulous a judge, to be persuaded by sayings of the party only, without hearing any thing replied on the other side. He added, that those of the Court there, learned men in the law, whose counsel the Popes had heretofore followed, would be sure to study to confute that which should be done, (though the same were well done,) to the passing whereof their judgment was not required. Though of the truth of the matter, himself was persuaded, he said, by the King's and the Cardinal's writings.

Gardiner's smart reply.

Then Dr. Gardiner replied, "That this answer of his Ho-
"liness was different from what he had spoken in divers
"former communications: and that the King would con-
"clude it to be invented to colour the denial of his pur-

CHAP. XI. Anno 1528.

"pose: from whence might arise such suspicions in the "King's breast, as the Cardinal Wolsey would be loath "should enter there. He advised the Pope, that he would "have good regard unto the King's sentiments upon this "his dealing; and stop the occasion that was flying by, "and endeavour to retain the King's devotion towards the "see apostolic, and not put things in such condition as "they should not be recoverable by any means hereafter. "And that now was the time, in which, doing that which "of justice and duty he ought to do, his Holiness might "acquire an inestimable treasure of the King's good-will, "for the recovery of the authority of the see apostolic, "with maintenance of the same."

Staphileus's return out of England.

Bishop Staphileus, the Pope's agent, was now returned from England. To him our Ambassadors resorted: who by instructions from King Henry was to join with them in the business, wherein they were soliciting the Pope on his behalf: which that Bishop promised them to do. But whereas the instructions of the Ambassadors were, that the commission should be directed to Wolsey alone, or to him and another legate; Staphileus said, his instructions were the quite contrary, and that the King at the More, on an evening he was there with him and the Cardinal, said, that the Queen might and would refuse the Cardinal; and therefore that it would be well done, that his Grace should not meddle as judge in the matter. From which our Ambassadors could not a great while bring him, though they assured him it was not so, being quite different from their instructions: till at length he said he would conform himself to their instructions.

The French King's judgment of King Henry's cause.

Staphileus came through France: whose King made him his Ambassador to the Pope. Of whom Staphileus, in that quality, had certain audiences. In one whereof he told the Pope, that he thought the King of England's cause was good. That he knew nothing of that form of commission the English Ambassadors so much urged: only that a legate should be sent with a general commission, and that the King liked not of Wolsey to be judge.

Anno 1528.

The Friday before Palm Sunday was appointed by the Pope a solemn *consessus* of the Cardinals De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, and Staphileus, and the Dean of the Rota, an Auditor of the Rota, and Gambara, were also present, to dispute upon the King's matter. The Ambassadors all the while were in the Pope's little chamber. Staphileus made a long oration, containing his whole book, with the reasons thereof, which lasted two hours. Sanctorum Quatuor spake next; resuming Staphileus's arguments, and seemed to refute them. And Staphileus replied. Then Gardiner desired leave of the Pope to speak: and it being granted, answered the reasons of Sanctorum Quatuor, which were but frivolous. But that Cardinal remitting his reasons to the Dean of the Rota, some of them were sifted so well between Gardiner and the said Dean, that the Pope plainly perceived the weakness of them.

A disputation commenced before the Pope, thereof.

Then Dr. Gardiner made a brisk speech to them: "That "the King, the nobles, and people of England, would "think strangely of the Pope and that college, and would "cry out upon them as a most ungrateful generation, and "most negligent of the King's kindness; *viz.* that they, "who ought to be simple as doves, and of an open breast, "were full of all deceit, craft, and dissimulation; that pro- "mised all things in word, but performed nothing in deed. "And that when they will answer nothing certain, a hard "thought of this see would possess the minds of the Eng- "lish; namely, that God hath taken away the key of "knowledge from it. And that however the King had hi- "therto exploded the sentence of some, yet now would be- "gin not to be displeased at it, *viz.* that the Pope's laws "were fit to be committed to the flames: which were un- "certain even to the Pope himself, and those that belonged "to him. He told them moreover, that it was a very sad "and a very hard thing, that any should think that they "could not resolve the knot of this cause, which they saw "untied by the King's reasons. But that is more grievous, "if when they could they would not: when their sentence, "whatever it were, so it were certain, would deserve the fa-

A notable speech of Gardiner.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1528.

"vour of that Prince, who deserved best of all from them." But however, they would by no means be brought further than a general commission. Which when Gardiner saw, and that they ever sung that song, he said to the Pope plainly, that by this covert dealing, and the motions made for the general commission, he could perceive no other thing, but that every man should hereafter pretend ignorance in the matter, and would keep himself at liberty to resolve the doubt on his part hereafter, that should have the better hand. And if Cæsar overcome, then they may with their honesties lean to him. But he said, hereby they would
101 shew themselves prodigal of their reputations, and unmindful of their salvations. And a great deal more to this purpose; which they heard patiently.

The Cardinals weakly answer the King.

The Pope being risen, the Ambassadors said secretly to him, that his Holiness might well consider to what part justice inclined: and that these men could shew no matter substantial to impugn that which the King had wrote. The

A remarkable saying of the Pope.

Pope said, To say truth, albeit it were a saying in the law, that *the Pope hath all law in the desk of his breast*, yet God never gave unto him the key to open that desk.

The Ambassadors threaten.

But it was the resolution of the Cardinals, that the commission should not be granted in that form the Ambassadors desired. The next day they spoke roundly unto the Pope, telling him, that the King's Highness would do it without him. The Pope said, he would it were done, and sighed, and wiped his eyes. And added, that in a matter where the right of a third was concerned, he could do nothing without the counsel of them; and wished it were in his power to give the King's Highness something, depending only on his own particular hurt or damage, without touching any other man's right.

How the Pope took it.

CHAP. XII.

A secret commission propounded to the Pope by the King's Ambassadors in his great cause.

WHEN this would not be obtained, the Ambassadors repaired to the Pope to get a general commission, and for the decretal commission to be passed in a secret manner. Which was not to be seen publicly, unless in case the Pope refused to confirm the sentence that should be given; or else to be kept secret. Their course whereby they were to manage this affair was, that according to the instructions, Sir Gregory de Cassalis should privately ask the Pope, as of himself, whether he should move this to the college. Which he did, and had the leave and approbation of the Pope so to do. When they came to move it to the Pope, he resolved himself in this dilemma; If it may be done justly, it ought to be done publicly. If it cannot be done justly, it would be the greatest disgrace, and withal would touch the conscience, to do it secretly. To which Gardiner said, Because it was just, it ought to be done publicly; but because the fear of the Emperor makes it not to be done publicly, let it be done without fear secretly. Which if his Holiness would do, they had some hope that the Cardinal, by his dexterity, would so handle it, as the same should be taken of the King in good part. But of this they could get no answer.

Anno 1528.

The Ambassadors pursue their second instructions.

Gardiner's answer to the Pope.

The minutes of the commission having been drawn by the Ambassadors, the Cardinals made objections against it. One said, that the sick man shewing his disease to his physician, doth not himself proportion the physic, but takes it after his physician's discretion. At length the Cardinals drew up one with additions, detractions, and corrections. Upon which, Gardiner laid to the Pope's charge his promise made concerning this commission, and shewed what doubleness might be noted in this dealing: and that he, having a mind to delude and delay them, had chosen these men as his instruments, with as sore words as he could devise. The Pope answered, he must use men's counsels:

A new commission offered by the Ambassadors.

102

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1528.

but condescended at last, that if Symonet would say, the minute, as the Ambassadors devised it, was nothing contrary to justice, they should have it, and he would fulfil his promise. But Symonet being sent for, would not answer directly, till he had conferred with the other Cardinals. The Ambassadors then argued hotly with Symonet, but to no purpose. At this meeting they tarried five hours with the Pope, till about one o'clock at night. But the Cardinals shamefully dallied with the Ambassadors; and the Pope was more willing than they to grant the commission. For these Cardinals noted several places in the commission, and added some things, as well tending to the slander of the honour of those that were to be judges, as to the infringing the Ambassadors credit; and mended things that needed no mending at all. Soon after, when the Cardinals and Ambassadors had read the commission together, and agreed to some amendments, the next meeting the Cardinals had altered even those things that had on both sides been consented to.

But they are nothing but trifled with.

At length, after much arguing, all was agreed upon between the Ambassadors, and Symonet and Gambara, except two words, in the whole commission. And when they went by the Pope's order to the Cardinals' houses to adjust those two words, the Cardinals sent them word, they were making collation, and on the morrow would look their books therein. By means of these shufflings and unhandsome dealings, after so many fair promises and compliments of the Cardinals, at length the Ambassadors grew stark angry, and complained that they were deluded and scorned, and told the Pope, that this was not the way to entertain the favour of Princes. And Gardiner said to him, that these men, in correcting the commission, after all had done nothing herein that savoured of learning, but only of ignorance and suspicion; thinking that under every word lay a scorpion. And it was his judgment, that this was done by the Pope's commandment; *who*, he said, *had eyes and saw not.*

Gardiner huffs the Pope.

He began to expostulate with Gambara, as though he

procured this contumacy to the King and the Cardinal, by his good words to them when he was in England, to encourage them to send Ambassadors. And when they came, to go about to intoxicate them with good words, and to enchant them with the sweet voices of syrens, to circumvent them by their own people. Meaning, in that they had moved Staphileus to be content with a general commission, whereas his instructions from the King and Cardinal were for a commission decretal. To deal with the Ambassadors as men do with hawks, to shew them flesh on their fists, to make them follow whither they would. Gambara said, he spake no word of comfort to the King or the Cardinal, but such as he had in commission from the Pope to say. Then Gardiner turned his speech presently to the Pope, telling him, that he handled the King as though he had been the most ungrateful man, and one of mean sort. The Pope said nothing, but sighed, and wiped his eyes. Gardiner signified, that he would make relation, when he came home, of what condition men were there towards them that best deserved at their hands: hinting the ill case they would be in, if the favour of that Prince, who then only favoured them, should be withdrawn and taken away: and how the apostolic see, then tottering, would fall by the common consent and applause of all. At which words the Pope, casting his hands abroad, bade them put in the words they varied for; and therewith walked up and down the chamber, casting now and then his arms abroad, the Ambassadors standing in a great silence.

Anno 1528.

103

After these broils, the commissions were written and sealed: and the Cardinals desired the Ambassador, that these alterations might be forgotten, and things represented fair to the King. And the Pope desired them to write the King and Cardinal from him; that as things then stood, the sending this commission was a declaration against the Emperor, and that he committed himself to the King's protection. This commission, thus at last obtained, wanted the clauses of confirmation and revocation; but abating them,

The commission at last sealed.

CHAP. XII.

the Ambassador reckoned it as good as could be devised; since a commission decretal would not pass.

Anno 1528.

Fox returns into England, and Gardiner goes to Rome.

And with this commission Fox left the Pope's Court, and went away for England. But being thus served by the Pope and his servants, the Ambassadors declined giving the Pope the King's pollicitation, which they brought with them, and the Pope's servants the gratuity intended them; till they wrote to Cardinal Wolsey for his further direction therein. And Gardiner repaired to Rome to Cardinal Campegius, where he was as the Pope's deputy in his absence, to deal with him to be the Pope's legate, to go into England about judging the King's business. And the Pope intended to send a Friar to the Queen with a brief of credence; and so by him to shew her what he thought of her matter.

The Pope sends a Friar to the Queen.

The Pope's perplexities.

But the Pope soon repented what he had done in granting the commission. For understanding how the Emperor took to heart the King's intimation in relation to his marriage with Queen Katharine, he told the Ambassadors, that by granting this commission, denial of inhibitions, which should be required, and confirmation of the sentence, which must be passed by him, he thought verily the Emperor should take it more displeasantly, than if his Holiness had declared himself; specially considering, the General, being advertised of the Ambassadors' suit, had made suit to the contrary. And the Venetians, Florentines, and Duke of Ferrara were reported to have entered into a new league, and *cast lots*, as Gardiner expressed himself, *upon his vesture:* and the French King deferred to do or promise any thing. And the Venetians still retained Ravenna from him, and Cervia, and other places. The French King also called upon him to declare himself, and enter into the league against the Emperor. In these perplexities, he earnestly desired the King to stand by him; and the Cardinal to use his dexterity with the French King; appointing by capitulation what the Pope should do, and what he should trust to. Especially since the confederates required the Pope to

proceed to deprive the Emperor, as well of his empire, as of the realm of Naples. But those were things he judged not to be done hastily: and bade the Ambassadors to write to the Cardinal, that he fled to his prudence as a sacred altar. 104

Anno 1528.

CHAP. XIII.

Fox, one of the Ambassadors, returned home: the King is glad of the supposed good effect of this embassy.

Fox relates the success of his embassy to Anne Bolen:

IN the mean time, Dr. Fox, one of the Ambassadors, came home in the beginning of May: and coming to Court, the King gave order that he should go unto Mrs. Anne Bolen's chamber; who at that time had moved her lodgings into the Tilt Yard, because the Lady Princess, and divers others of the Queen's maidens, were sick of the small pox. Being admitted into her presence, Fox declared to her what progress was made, and the commissions obtained, and how extraordinary diligent and dexterous Dr. Gardiner had been in the business, and in hastening the coming of the legate: and that he presented her with his humble and hearty commendations. This she most thankfully received, and expressed much joy and comfort. And oftentimes in talk with Fox, she called him Mr. Stephens, (so much did the name of Stephen Gardiner run in her mind,) making promise of large recompense for his good acquittal of this business. Then the King came in, and she departed.

And to the King.

He delivered to the King letters from the Pope, from Dr. Gardiner, and Bishop Staphile. Gardiner's letter he read to himself. Fox told the King he had brought with him a dispensation and a commission. The dispensation passed without alteration of any sentence or word: they having propounded unto the Pope the nature of it, that it touched no point, nor belonged to the right of any third person, and that if his Holiness would grant the like unto all Princes christened, it might be to the great quietness of Christendom, and many frivolous titles and occasions of debate (wont heretofore to be moved upon such

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1528.

ground, as the said dispensation was laid aside) would be taken away by such relaxation and grace of the apostolic see. But as to the commission decretal, he told the King, that they could by no persuasions induce the Pope to it, nor to confess that he might in justice give out his decree without hearing the other party. He acquainted the King, how the Cardinals said, that such a decretal commission was of such a nature, that no process could be honourably made by virtue thereof, and that it could not come to light without a great slander to the cause. How the Ambassadors urged on the other hand, that this commission had no other strength or virtue but one: which was, in case the Pope, prevented by death or captivity, would not or did not confirm the sentence given by the delegates, that then it might serve for confirmation. But that the Pope right gladly had granted another commission, being the same in
105 all points with the other, except two, *viz.* the sentence of the Pope *de jure*, with the promise of confirmation, and no revocation. And that this commission, all the Cardinals and others granted, was of such sufficient honourable sort, accustomed justice and uprightness, that nothing could be devised more. And to make amends for those two things left out in this commission, the Pope, as Fox proceeded, offered to make to the King a faithful promise under his seal, that the sentence, once given by the delegates, he would without respect or delay confirm, and never revoke nor give inhibition to the contrary.

The King is glad, and bids Fox resort to the Cardinal.

At this the King took much delight, and called in Mrs. Anne, and bade Fox repeat the same before her: which he did. Then the King bade him go to the Cardinal, and shew him what he had said; and that he would have the Cardinal's opinion about the revocation and appellation. To the Cardinal he resorts; who hearing he was there, though he was in bed, commanded him to be brought up: and after much communication with him, he left the commission and other letters with him, and departed for that night. The next day he pondered the contents of the commission, calling to him Dr. Bell and Fox, to read them be-

fore my Lord Rochford and himself. The Cardinal concluded, that the commission could not be better devised; and much applauded Gardiner for it, and justified him. And intended the next day to have Dr. Wolman and Dr. Bennet, Civilians, and others, with him, to consult with them upon this commission. And then he bade Fox go to the King, and report to him how well satisfied he was with it: and that he had some new matter to employ Dr. Gardiner in with the Pope, which should perfectly consummate the King's desire. Anno 1528.

The Cardinal's message to Gardiner.

The Cardinal soon after commanded Fox to write unto Gardiner, that he should let him know, that the Cardinal told him much for the managery of this matter so well, and to their full satisfaction; that he thanked him for his great labour therein: and that Fox should, among other, use these words to him, *O inestimable treasure, and jewel of this realm!* But there was one thing more the Cardinal put Gardiner upon; which was, "that for the exoneration of "the Cardinal's conscience, and by the consent and sentence "of other Prelates, and for the chance of mortality, he would "labour, by his wisdom and rhetoric, to obtain of the Pope "the commission decretal in the most secret fashion, to be "sent unto the Cardinal. And that for these reasons: be- "cause this decree and sentence once given by the Pope, "and the judgment of the Church, might be to his con- "science a rule and standard, to direct and instruct him "how to proceed in this matter; especially, in determining "the law upon those points whose justice is not yet so ma- "nifest. And that it might also be unto him a sure de- "fence against all detractors, and such as hereafter should "maliciously attempt the violation of the said sentence and "decree. To whom it might always be answered, his "Grace's judgment was agreeable to that given by the "Church: and that this would be the means to stop the "mouths of such as favoured the contrary cause." But especially, Gardiner was to urge to the Pope, how much it would tend to the welfare and restoration of that see, that

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1528.

my Lord Cardinal should be of such authority and credit with the King, that whatsoever his Grace should advise and counsel the King, should by the same be presently condescended to. And nothing would so effectually attain this, as if the Pope, at the sole contemplation of the Cardinal, should grant this commission, to the perfect end of the same cause; the King being so desirous of good success therein. Finally, that the process should not be grounded upon it, but upon the commission already sent; and that it should be shewed to no person in the world but the King.

106

To inquire of the lawyers concerning the Queen's appeal.

Another business committed by the Cardinal to him was, because the lawyers urged, that the Queen might appeal, and might refuse; that he therefore should consult with the lawyers there, whether she might do so, or no: and in case she did, of what value it was, and how much it might let the process. And whether notwithstanding the Legate might proceed: and what remedy might be used in remission of the appeal, and confirmation of the sentence by a higher judge. And the sentence of the learned men in these cases to get subscribed with their hands.

The King's case for Gardiner to get resolved.

Also the King required of Gardiner to know the judgment of the learned there upon this point; the King was told, that the Queen would not insist upon such benefit and privilege as she might pretend to have by the dispensation of Pope Julius, and would refuse to enter disputation of the validity of the same. For so the King was informed she would do, by some of her Council, and recur only to this allegation, that she was not known by Prince Arthur. Now hence the case was, whether, if that should be proved true, the bull would be invalid, by reason there is no mention in the same *de publica honestate;* because the bull dispensed only with any manner of affinity, if her allegation should be true, namely, *nulla coitio intercessit inter contrahentes*, yet being necessary to be dispensed with, argued the matrimony unlawful in the King's account. The King desired the learned men's judgment herein, and to get a certificate made, with hands subscribed, to be sent to the Cardinal thereupon.

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1528.

The Cardinal made another doubt about the words of the commission now sent from the Pope. Which were, that first the validity or invalidity of Julius's bull for the marriage of the King and Queen should be pronounced or declared. Then the matrimony should be decreed to be legitimate or illegitimate. And lastly, that the sentence of divorce should be given. The learned men in England did not sufficiently resolve hereupon: that is, whether the Cardinal might not by order of law vary from this prescript of the commission, and were bound to give three several sentences in these three cases, or only one sentence, of the nullity of the matrimony, would suffice. By which, sentence is tacitly given of the two former. The Cardinal desired Gardiner, that he would take the judgment of some learned men there in this case. And in these matters he desired him to come home fully instructed for the Cardinal's sake, in determining the better this cause; wherein, he said, depended *the wealth or ruin of this realm, the conservation of his honour, or else his immortal ignominy and slander, the damnation of his soul, or his everlasting merit.* Therefore he would proceed according to due order of justice, and ground his conscience upon a perfect and infallible rule of equity, that before God he might account himself discharged, nor to have done any thing *reclamante conscientia.*

The Cardinal's scruple concerning the commission sent.

The Cardinal's conscientiousness.

Another thing therefore put to Gardiner at this time to inquire into was, because the King knew nothing at all of the obtaining of the bull for the first marriage, as both the King and Bishop of Winchester told the Cardinal, he bade him secretly to inquire of the Cardinal of Ancona, or some other, whether this ground was so justifiable as the Cardinal might build his conscience thereupon without grudge or scruple hereafter.

107

Another inquiry to be made by Gardiner.

To the King and Cardinal at Greenwich were called Tuke, Wolman, Bell, and Fox, to consult about the aforesaid matter. Then Wolman made a question, whereof the King and Cardinal thought convenient to have Gardiner get resolved there. It was this, how to satisfy the Cardinal's conscience in the managing of this business, when, ac-

A case of conscience of the Cardinal's.

CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1528.

cording to the commission, all recusation and appellation is taken away; and yet, in the same commission, he is to do as the *ratio juris* shall persuade his mind and conscience. Which *ratio juris* alloweth of appeal. And that therefore it seemed that the Queen might at any time recuse, and appeal from whatsoever decree or sentence she will: and so protract and defer the decision of the matter, and thereby frustrate the King's expectations. In the resolution of this matter it was writ to Gardiner, that he might boldly write and say according to his learning, and the learning of other lawyers. And that because the King was of perfect mind and inclination to do nothing in this matter contrary to the accustomed manner and just process of the law. And being fully persuaded, that the Queen having and using the benefit of appellation, or other remedy, shall much advance and confer to the honour and surety of his case. To which temper and good conformity to justice, the Cardinal gave out himself to have brought the King.

The Cardinal's protestation in the King's cause.

And he made this protestation to the King, before Tuke and the other three above mentioned, "That though he was "as much bound to the King as any subject could be to his "prince; and by reason thereof he was of so perfect de- "votion, faith, and loyalty towards his Majesty, that he "could gladly spend goods, blood, and life in his just "causes; yet because he was more obliged to God, and "that he was sure he should render an account of his works "before him, he would in this matter rather suffer his high "indignation, yea, and have his body torn in pieces, than "he would do any thing in this case otherwise than justice "required. Nor that his Majesty should look after any "other favour to be ministered unto him in this case, than "the justness of the cause would bear. But if the bull "were sufficient, he would so pronounce it; and rather the "most extreme things, than do against his conscience."

CHAP. XIV. 108

The King begins to be offended with the Pope. His sharp speech against him. Cardinal Campegius comes into England from the Pope. The Cardinal's colleges.

IT was mentioned before, that Gardiner was going to Rome to Cardinal Campegius, who was the other Legate joined in commission with Cardinal Wolsey, to be judges of the King's cause. But when Gardiner had talked with him, he found him as the other Cardinals before mentioned, very backward to enter himself in this business; pretending great difficulties, and contriving delays. So that there was great uncertainty of that Cardinal's favour and inclination to further the King's purpose, and of his coming hither. This when Gardiner had wrote into England, the King and the Cardinal were exceedingly disturbed at it: and their hopes were almost extinct of a sudden expedition and despatch of this cause. And they began to conceive very ill opinions of that Court of Rome: reckoning themselves deluded by them, and that the Pope did on purpose defer and protract the coming of this Cardinal, to the intent it might be known which army, the French or Imperial, would be conqueror, before any thing were done or attempted in this case. Anno 1528. The King begins to be highly offended with the Pope.

And the King now began to decline from the Pope's part, as from a most ungrateful and unworthy man. And whereas the Pope had desired Gardiner to intercede with the King for his present aid upon the Almayns fresh breaking into Italy, the King said openly, "Shall we further employ "our study and travail, wit or counsel? shall we spend our "treasure to the impoverishing ourselves, our realm and "subjects? shall we yet entertain battle and hostility with "our friends for his sake: which neither considering our "private honour, our tranquillity of conscience, nor the "public weal and quiet of our realm; nor yet our manifold "benefits done heretofore to him: and have desired only "of him to minister unto us such part of his spiritual grace The King's open speeches against the Pope.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1528.

" and favour, such advice and counsel, as he, being the " common father, and having care of all Christian men " committed unto him, is bound of justice to exhibit even " to an enemy? First, by crafty means, and under the face " and visage of entire amity, he caused his learned men " there to pretend ignorance and doubt in the justness of " our cause, without determining what the law would have " therein, or giving any counsel, by what means we might " discharge our conscience, and come to such an end as " might stand with our honour: and remitting the same to " be discussed and resolved here, as though he would have " said, It is nothing to me, whether the King perish, and " all his kingdom with him: *Take ye him, and judge him* " *according to your law.* And hath denied utterly to grant " the commission decretal, or any other thing that might " conduce to the furtherance and expedition of the cause. " And, after marvellous importune suit and instance, would " only give out such a commission as he might revoke " again, and inhibit at his pleasure: leaving in the same
109 " such remedies of appellation and other delays to the ad- " versary, as though he seemed nothing less to intend, but " to involve and cast us so in the briers and fetters, that we " should hang always under his yoke and bondage; and " not to be delivered thereof, but at his good will and plea- " sure. And now finally, whereas Cardinal Campegius was " of good zeal and towardness to accomplish all our desires " and purposes, as could be by us desired, he would not " suffer him to execute that commission which he had di- " rected unto him; but by imagined and contrived excuses, " rather deferred and delayed his coming, than did any " thing which might be to the acceleration thereof." Such words, and the like, did now begin to be freely spoken.

Which Fox writes to Gardiner.

An account of these speeches did Fox write to Gardiner. Whom he told moreover, that the King and Cardinal began to impute some miscarriage unto him, as though he used not that diligence that he ought to have done. And that therefore, notwithstanding the suit of his friends for his coming home, the King and Cardinal resolved, that he

should tarry to accompany Campegius, until he were on this side the mountains. And if he never came, neither should Gardiner ever return. And so Fox exhorted him earnestly to solicit the commission decretal, and the speedy coming of Campegius: or, in default of him, to cause the same province to be committed unto the Cardinal of Ancona. And here my MS. hath an end. The continuance of this history, in short, may be had in our printed books of history. Whence we may learn, that it was not before June the 8th that another commission was signed by P. Clement at Viterbium, to determine the King's business without appeal. Which commission is set down by the Lord Herbert, which he transcribed out of an authentic record, then in the possession of Sir Henry Spelman. And in October following Cardinal Campegius came into England, and not before. And it was six months longer, by studied delays, before the two Cardinals sat upon the King's cause. Now because the letters, out of which I have extracted this foregoing relation, have many more particulars than I have set down; and containing much of the policies and intrigues of that Court of Rome; and divers other remarks a curious observer may espy in them; I have transferred some of them into the Appendix.

Anno 1528.

Hist. of King Henry, p. 261. edit. 1672.

No. XXIII. —XXVI.

And there is among our records concerning this cause, and the embassies and proceedings therein, a great number of instruments; as letters, bulls, dispensations, appellations, sentences definitive, reasons, revocations, &c. which were formerly, and, I doubt not, still remaining in the Exchequer, and in the custody of those that belonged to it. An exact note whereof I give the reader in the Appendix, following next after those papers above mentioned. These are fifty-seven in number: besides a bundle of other letters, cyphers, &c.

Numb. XXVII.

Before I conclude the narration of this embassy, I must briefly mention a few other matters, which these Ambassadors had in commission to transact and despatch with the Pope, both from the King and Cardinal. One was for the canonization of King Henry VI. Which being moved by

The canonization of King Henry VI.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1528.

the Ambassadors, he told them he was well content to make short process therein. But the matters relating to that King must, he said, be examined there at his Court, and a number of Cardinals thereat, with other ceremonies, which could not be done in England. And that therefore, if the Bishop of Canterbury, (Warham,) and the Bishop of Winchester, (Richard Fox,) who had examined these matters, would send the process thither, as the commission required, the sentence of canonization should shortly pass there. So that by these words it seems to appear, that the Pope had formerly sent a commission to those two Bishops, to examine the merits and miracles of that King. And that it was Cardinal Wolsey's desire, that he and the other Cardinal, that was to be sent over from the Pope as his Legate now about the King's matter, should be furnished to despatch that canonization.

110

First-fruits.

Another business of the Ambassadors now was, to treat with the Pope concerning taking away the burden of first-fruits from the Clergy of England. The first moving thereof to the Pope happened seasonably upon the Pope's communication with them concerning the Bishops of England, and the great age of some of them, and particularly Norwich, who then was about eighty years old. Of him they told the Pope, that he had made a motion to the King and the Cardinal for the taking away these first-fruits in his diocese. Then the Pope asked, how and after what manner it might be done. They answered, by redemption. And then shewed him a device of the King and Cardinal's; which he liked very well, and so did the Cardinals there present. They acquainted the Pope also, that they had express instructions to obtain a commission with sufficient authority for the doing thereof. His Holiness said, it were a good deed, and he would gladly concur to the perfecting thereof. But what became further of this affair, I find not.

The Cardinal's colleges.

The Pope then fell into discourse with the Ambassadors about the Cardinal's colleges, and told the Cardinals De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, being at that time present, what a meritorious act the English Cardinal had begun in

that realm. He inquired of the Ambassadors, how the building of that at Oxon proceeded, and what they thought it would cost before it were finished; of the numbers of the scholars, and common readers, and other particularities. Which they then declared at large, to the great rejoice and pleasure of his Holiness and the Cardinals. And in particular it rejoiced the Pope, when they told him that Wolsey had taken order, that in letting the farms belonging to his college, no man should have them but such as would dwell upon them, and maintain hospitality. Of which the Pope said, that the same was not only good and expedient, for example to be followed and observed of others, but also greatly meritorious before God. And he justified and maintained the commutation and alteration of those religious places, whereof only did arise the scandal of religion, as he spoke. For the Cardinal, for the endowing of his college, had lately obtained of the Pope a bull for the dissolving of divers monasteries, wherein much vice and wickedness was harboured, as he informed the Pope, to incline him thereby the easier to grant his request. Upon occasion of this communication, the Ambassadors mixed such discourse as might serve to facilitate somewhat more to be attained of that Court for the said college: saying, that if his Holiness continued his good mind toward the finishing and perfecting of that college, as he had towards the beginning and commencement, the Cardinal had so disposed all things there, as it should shortly be brought to the desired perfection: although the same was to his Grace's inestimable charge. Which should be a perpetual memory, as well for his Holiness as for his Grace. The Pope then replied, that he would gladly do all things that he might by his authority towards it.

The Ambassadors' and Pope's discourse concerning them.

111

The names of the religious houses which the Pope granted his bull for the dissolving of, the revenues whereof to be laid to the Cardinal's college, may be seen in a volume of the Cotton library, together with the countries where they were situated, the founders and the values of them. The Pope granted his bull for the dissolution of two and twenty; but in that volume there be but twenty mentioned as actually

The monasteries dissolved for the Cardinal's college at Oxon.

CHAP. XIV.

dissolved, as though two by intercessions made, escaped, unless it were an oversight of the transcriber. The divers orders professed in these dissolved houses are not set down in the Cotton MS. but may be supplied out of the Antiquities of Oxford, as the industrious author took them out of the bull. But besides these monasteries, there was a vast number of parsonages impropriated and converted to the use of the said new college. Both which parsonages and monasteries may be found in the Appendix, as I took them out of the aforesaid volume.

Anno 1528.

Page 246.

Numb. XXVIII. XXIX.

Others dissolved for his college at Ipswich. Romeburgh.

Other convents also there were that now ceased, that the means thereof might serve for the subsistence of his college at Ipswich. And among the rest was the priory of Romeburgh in the diocese of Norwich, an appendant to the abbey of York. On the 11th of September, the Cardinal's officers came to this priory, and being fortified with letters commissional from the King, the Pope and the Cardinal read them there, and forthwith entered and took possession; and carried away the moveable goods, together with all the muniments and evidences belonging to the house. All this was soon certified to Edmund, Abbot of York: who speedily despatched his letters to the Cardinal, to rescue, if possible, the priory from destruction. He shewed how Alien Niger, Earl of Richmond, was co-founder of their house, whereof Romeburgh was a member: that among the instruments taken thence, many belonged unto them, having lately sent them to that priory upon occasion of a suit with certain gentlemen in Cambridgeshire, for some of their lands still depending. That their revenues were confirmed to them by Pope Boniface IV. under censures and pains in case of alienation. Therefore the Abbot beseeched his Grace, that the said priory might consist and abide as a member of their monastery, as it had done for three hundred years. Whereby he should free them of many doubts and perils of losing their lands. That the rents of the said priory were but little better than 30*l.* a year. And that he was entirely contented to give unto his Grace 300 marks sterling towards the erection of his school and college, for his tendering the premises:

praying him most humbly to accept his poor mind towards his most noble act; yet, if it were his pleasure to have the priory, protesting to endeavour his accomplishing the same with his utmost study and diligence. But the letter at full length I have reposited in the Appendix. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1528. No. XXX.

This year the hall of York Place, the Cardinal's palace, (now called Whitehall,) with other edifices, were now building, the Cardinal intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same. And in the mean time he removed his lodgings to Durham Place. 112 The Cardinal repairs York Place.

CHAP. XV.

The Cardinal's declination and fall. Tyndal's Book of Obedience falls into his hand. The strange event thereof. The Cardinal exceedingly dejected. Labours by Cromwel and Gardiner, his servants, to recover the King's favour. Pardoned.

AND now as to the fall of this great Cardinal, there is none but knoweth the occasion thereof, namely, his baffling the King, and declining at last to do that which before he was too forward in, that he might please the Pope and Court of Rome: which extremely alienated the King's and the Lady Anne's affections from him. For this matter, therefore, I leave the reader to consult other histories. Only I shall lay before him a passage I have met with among my papers, that may deserve to be related, between the Cardinal and this lady, shewing an additional occasion of her displeasure towards him, and a notable event depending hereupon, that hastened the overthrow of abbeys, and forwarded those beginnings of reformation in religion that happened under this King. Anno 1529. The occasions of Wolsey's fall.

Upon the Lady Anne waited a young fair gentlewoman, named Mrs. Gainsford; and in her service was also retained Mr. George Zouch, father to Sir John Zouch. This gentleman, of a comely sweet person, a Zouch indeed, was a A book of the Lady Anne's taken away by the Dean of the chapel.

CHAP. XV.

suitor in way of marriage to the said young lady: and among other love-tricks, once he plucked from her a book in English, called Tyndal's Obedience, which the Lady Anne had lent her to read. About which time the Cardinal had given commandment to the Prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, Dean of the King's chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books, that they came not abroad; that so, as much as might be, they might not come to the King's reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this occasion. "For Mr. Zouch," (I use the words of the MS.) "was so ravished with the Spirit "of God speaking now as well in the heart of the reader, "as first it did in the heart of the maker of the book, that "he was never well but when he was reading of that book. "Mrs. Gaynsford wept, because she could not get the book "from her wooer, and he was as ready to weep to deliver "it. But see the providence of God: Mr. Zouch standing "in the chapel before Dr. Sampson, ever reading upon this "book; and the Dean never having his eye off the book in "the gentleman's hand, called him to him, and then snatch-"ed the book out of his hand, asked his name, and whose "man he was. And the book he delivered to the Cardinal. "In the mean time the Lady Anne asketh her woman for "the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances. 113 "The Lady Anne shewed herself not sorry, nor angry with "either of the two. But, said she, well, it shall be the "dearest book that ever the Dean or Cardinal took away. "The noble woman goes to the King, and upon her knees "she desireth the King's help for her book. Upon the "King's token, the book was restored. And now bringing "the book to him, she besought his Grace most tenderly "to read it. The King did so, and delighted in the book. "*For*, saith he, *this book is for me and all kings to read.* "And in a little time the King, by the help of this virtuous "Lady, by the means aforesaid, had his eyes opened to the "truth, to search the truth, to advance God's religion and "glory, to abhor the Pope's doctrine, his lies, his pomp and "pride, to deliver his subjects out of the Egyptian dark-

Anno 1529.

Foxii MSS.

" ness, the Babylonian bonds, that the Pope had brought " him and his subjects under. And so contemning the " threats of all the world, the power of princes, rebellions " of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and " mighty potentates abroad; set forward a reformation in " religion, beginning with the triple crowned head at first, " and so came down to the members, Bishops, Abbots, " Priors, and such like."

Tindal's book of the Obedience of a Christen Man. The King likes it.

The very having this book, entitled, *The Obedience of a Christen Man*, was enough to make a man a heretic, and reading of it a dangerous article against any in these days. But no wonder the King took a liking to it. For in it there is an exposition of the xiiith chapter to the Romans. Where upon those words, *for he is the minister of God for thy wealth*, he thus descants; " To defend thee from a thousand " inconveniences; from thieves, murderers, and them that " would defile thy wife, thy daughter, and take from thee " all that thou hast; yea, life and all, if thou didst resist. " Furthermore, though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, " yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing " wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly. For it " is better to have somewhat, than to be clean stript of all " together. It is better to pay the tenth, than to lose all. " It is better to suffer one tyrant than many. Yea, and it " is better to have a tyrant unto thy king than a shadow, a " passive king; that doth nought himself, but suffer others " to do with him what they will, and to lead him whither " they list. For a tyrant, though he do no wrong unto the " good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all men " obey: neither suffereth any man to rule, but himself only. " A king that is soft as silk, and effeminate, that is to say, " turned into the nature of a woman, what with his own " lusts, which are as the longing of a woman with child, so " he cannot resist them; and what with the wily tyranny " of them that ever rule him, shall be much more grievous " to the realm than a right tyrant. Read the Chronicles, " and thou shalt find it ever so."

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1529. The Cardinal's declination.

And thus, at length, we have seen the Cardinal in his closet, and in the public station, governing the English affairs, giving his instructions to ambassadors, and transacting matters between his King and other great Princes and States in the world. Which he did with a great fineness, as well as diligence; and with a courtly obligingness, though not without a mixture of stateliness. We have seen him domineering in his courts, flourishing in his buildings, and managing the King's matter with the Pope. Let me now shew him in another, and that a quite different scene; namely, in his declination at Court, lying under the King's frown. And it is strange to observe, what an alteration that vicissitude of fortune made upon him. It abjected his spirit to that degree, that he fell dangerously sick: such an influence the troubles and sorrows of his mind had upon his body. As soon as the King had demanded the Great Seal from him by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and by a letter from himself, he commanded him to leave York Place, his ordinary dwelling, now called Whitehall; and ordered him to confine himself to his house at Asher, a country seat near Hampton Court, belonging to the bishopric of Winchester, till the King's further pleasure was known. Here he abode from the middle of October, 1529, till the middle of February following; when he desired for his health to remove to Richmond. And it is remarkable in this eclipse of the King's favour towards the Cardinal, he intermixed divers tokens of his kindness to him, signifying at least that he intended not his ruin. For he sent him a protection, and left him his two bishoprics, namely, of York and Winchester; sent him a ring, which had been a token between them when any especial business was recommended: and not long after that, sent him another Turquoise ring, as a token of his care and affection. And after, when in the month of December, this year, the House of Lords had drawn up four and forty articles against him, and being sent down to the Lower House, by his servant Thomas Crumwel's defence of him in that House, no treason could

114

The great effects it had upon his body and mind;

Notwithstanding the King's kind messages to him.

be laid to his charge from any of them. Add to all, the many gracious messages sent him by the King. Yet his grief and fear had so overwhelmed him, that he fell, not only into a most deep pensiveness and melancholy, but into a pining sickness. CHAP. XV. Anno 1529.

In the mean time, he employed those few friends he had to intercede with the King, and to make as good a conclusion of his troubles as he could. He had two that stuck close to him, *viz.* the aforesaid Thomas Crumwel, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Secretary of State. This latter he plied with his letters; the bearer whereof was Crumwel, whom he called *his trusty friend.* After he had got free of the articles drawn up against him in Parliament by the means of Crumwel, as was mentioned before, the King appointed to come to some consideration of the Cardinal's business, and to determine what was to be done concerning him. This Secretary Gardiner signified to him in writing, and likewise the time when he supposed it might be, namely, within a week, or thereabouts: and likewise told him, that he would not fail to write to him the particulars. The Cardinal, impatient to know the issue, and not thinking the Secretary swift enough in his information, above a week being now past, could take no rest till he had heard from him the sum of what had passed concerning him. And therefore in a letter sent by Crumwel, most earnestly begs the Secretary, in much meanness of spirit, "as he tendered his poor life, "and at the reverence of God and that holy time [of Christ-"mas,] he would send him his letter: appealing also to his "pity, knowing in what an agony he was; and that he would "not only deserve towards God, but bind him thereby to "be his continual beadsman:" and so ended, "From Asher. "Written (those are his words) with his rude hand and "sorrowful heart. Subscribing himself, *T. Car^lus Ebor. "miserrimus. The most miserable Thomas, Cardinal of "York.*" This was written in Christmas holydays. Soon after, Crumwel returned from the Secretary with this message to the Cardinal: "That the King, moved with pity of "the Cardinal, and commiserating his lamentable condition,

His two friends.

Impatient to know the King's determination concerning him.

The meanness of his spirit.

115

The King's favourable resolutions

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1529. concerning him, brought him by Crumwel. His letter to the Secretary hereupon.

" [pressed with extreme poverty, as well as sickness of body " and mind,] had committed the ending of his troubles to " the Secretary, and some other of the Privy Council; and " that to be done with all the haste that might be. And " that he should have a pardon drawn up in the most full " and ample form that his own counsel could devise."

Upon this message he soon despatched a letter to the Secretary, importing, that this favourable order of the King he was the more sensible of, and thankful for, " because it " proceeded from himself, out of a gracious remembrance " of him: for which he accounted himself most bounden to " serve and pray for the preservation of his most royal " Majesty: thanking God, that he, the Secretary, had occa- " sion given him to be a solicitor and setter forth of such " things as should conserve his end. That in the making " and compounding whereof, his assured trust was, that he " would shew the love and affection which he bore towards " him. He earnestly entreated him, to whom he, the Car- " dinal, had been an old lover and friend, that he would so " declare himself in the managing of his business, that the " world might perceive, that by his good means the King " was the better good lord unto him; and that, now coming " newly in a manner into the world, there might such re- " spect be had unto his degree, old age, and long service, as " might be to the King's honour and the Secretary's praise; " which would, as he said, undoubtedly follow, if he ob- " tained his benevolence towards him. And men would " perceive, that it was by his wisdom and dexterity that he " was relieved, and holpen in his calamity. *At the reverence* " therefore *of God*, he prayed him, that was his refuge, to " set to his hand, that he might come to a laudable end and " repose. And that he would see, that he might be fur- " nished after such a sort, that he might end his short time " and life to the honour of Christ's Church and his Prince. " Promising withal to requite his kindness in such a man- " ner as he should have cause to think his pains to be " well employed. And so referring him to his trusty friend " [Crumwel] for the rest, to whom he desired him to give

"firm credence, he concluded, *At Asher, with the trem-*
"*bling hand and heavy heart of his assured lover and*
"*beadsman.*"

Strangely dejected and low-spirited in his calamity.

His style is all poor and servile, and so different from his former way of writing, that it is a wonder that any outward accident should make such an alteration in one and the same man. He sneaked too much beneath himself to the Secretary, that had been but his servant and creature, styling his favouring of his business at Court, his *benevolence* and his *goodness* towards him; calling him his *own good Master Secretary and refuge;* telling him, that he would pray for the increase of his honour: flattering him, that what he did for him would redound to his praise and laud, and that men would perceive his wisdom and dexterity by his relieving of him: begging him *at the reverence of God* to write to him, and to send him his *consolatory letters:* and that he should 116
thereby bind him to be his continual beadsman. By these and other passages in these his letters, it appears that he had no ballast of religion nor philosophy, no, nor human courage, to bear up himself under afflictions; but still meanly aggravating his own hard condition, complaining of a *great alteration and indisposition of his head and body, by means of his daily sorrow and heaviness*, and of the *lamentable state and condition* he stood in: and subscribing his letters, *with the rude hand and heavy heart;* and, *with the trembling hand and sorrowful heart.* As may be seen in both his letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, and reposited in the Appendix: with two others, which I have made use of in what I am proceeding with.

No. XXXI. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXIV.

Pardoned, and restored to York.

Soon after, *viz.* Feb. 12, the King sealed his pardon, and three days after restored him the archbishopric of York, and sent him money, plate, and furniture for his house and chapel. Which favours pretty well recovered the Cardinal, while he remained still at Asher; and by the King's leave removed thence to Richmond. But his enemies now thought him too near the Court: so they prevailed to get him removed to his diocese of York. In the month of September, anno 1530, he came to Cawood castle, near York: so the

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1530.

His intercession for the Provost Beverly.

Lord Herbert. But before he came hither, I find him, in the months of July and August, at Southwel, a manor of the Archbishop's; where he made some stay. Here the Cardinal recommended unto the Secretary one who had the title of Provost of Beverly, the governor of a religious house situate in his diocese. His state, it seems, was in some hazard. Whereupon the Cardinal, espousing his cause, and probably to make himself popular upon his first coming into his diocese, desired the Secretary, that he would use his interest for him to the King, and bring him into his presence. This the Secretary did accordingly, receiving the Provost as coming from the Cardinal, humanly and lovingly, and addressing him into the King's Highness' presence. Whom the King received, and shewed him, that he was his good and gracious Lord, and admitted and accepted him as his orator and scholar. For this the Cardinal, from Southwel, thanks him much, entreating him to continue his good favour towards the said Provost, and to take him into his patronage and protection.

Sues to the Secretary to be a means to the King to relieve his poverty.

The Cardinal now found a great change in his revenues and incomes, sinking very low, in comparison of what they had been. So that he laboured under want. This made him write, in the month of July, to his friend the Secretary, to take the opportunity to excite the King to some liberality towards him. "That he would remember the poor state "and condition he stood in, and to be a means to the King's "Highness for his relief. Whereby he would not only, as "he said, deserve thanks of God, but also declare, to his "perpetual laud and praise, that he, being in authority, had "not forgotten his old master and friend." And indeed he had reason to solicit in this behalf. For there were many that now came upon him for debt; some just, and some, it may be, not so: commencing suits against him. So that this once most great and wealthy Prelate became now full of care to be in a condition to support himself. Among the rest, there was one Strangwish, his servant, commenced a suit against him for seven hundred pounds, which he pretended the Cardinal owed him for the *ward of bowes*. What

He is sued for debt.

Particularly by one Strangwish, his servant.

117

that was, I leave to conjecture: and who this Strangwish was is uncertain: it may be the same Stranguidge, though somewhat differently writ, that was administrator to Ruthal, his predecessor in the diocese of Durham; who, dying before he had finished the goodly dining chamber at Aukland, left the care thereof to this Stranguidge. At the first coming of Strangwish into the Cardinal's service, by consent of both parties, an end was made of this matter, as the Cardinal wrote the Secretary. Probably Strangwish was willing to forgive the debt, that he might be admitted into his service, reckoning that the place might be so gainful as fully to recompense the debt. But he, whether upon some disgust, or injury formerly offered to him by the Cardinal, but to be sure, taking the opportunity of his calamity, and being destitute of friends, now demanded that money; and not only so, but acquainted the King with it: complaining unto him, and surmising, that he had, contrary to justice, detained seven hundred pounds from him: whereby he had gotten the King's letters to the Cardinal to pay the debt. The Cardinal, partly fearing the least matter might rouse the King's displeasure again, and partly to be rid of this man's clamours, writ to his trusty friend Crumwel, to make some reasonable offers to him, notwithstanding his great necessity and poverty, as he added; ordering him also to acquaint the Secretary with such things as might be said on his part; desiring the Secretary, that he would, by his dexterity, make some good end between them, as should accord with good congruence, and as he might be able to bear, his other debts and charges considered. This to the Secretary was from Southwel, August 25. Anno 1530.

But the great affair, which above all he desired to be solicited at Court by the Secretary, was his colleges. Which ran much in his mind, fearing, if not their utter ruin, yet the diminishing their revenue. The Lord Herbert writes, that the revenue of these his colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other affliction. And that he wrote to the King most instantly in their behalf. "And indeed, as Bishop Godwin saith of him, that it Chiefly concerned for his colleges. History of Henry VIII. Catalogue of Bishops.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1530.

" was great pity he finished them not. And that had they " been perfected, he thought they would have been two of " the goodliest monuments of the world. And that it was " a wonder, that any one private man should take two such " pieces of work in hand at one time, whereof any one might " seem a great matter for a Prince to finish, had not his re- " ceipts been infinite. And withal telling us, that he ob- " tained of the Pope a licence for dissolving forty small " monasteries: the spoil whereof chiefly furnished him for " the building of those houses."

Dr. Gardiner, the Secretary, and Thomas Crumwel, (when his servants,) were both greatly instrumental to him, in aiding and counselling him in these great works. And this he now made use of, while he himself was under a cloud, and his own interest too little to secure them from ruin, as an argument to excite them both to use their utmost endeavour to preserve them. He prayed the Secretary, " in " the way of charity, and for the love he bore to virtue, and " *ad bona studia*, to be means to the King's Highness for " his poor colleges, and especially for the college of Oxford.

His earnest application to the Secretary in that behalf.

118 " That he would not suffer the thing, which by his great " learning, study, counsel, and travail, had been erected, " founded, and with good statutes and ordinances, to the ho- " nour of God, increase of virtue and learning, established, " to be dissolved or dismembered. That he knew, no man " better, to what use the monasteries suppressed by the " Pope's licence, the King's consent concurring with the " same, and a pardon for the *premunire*, were converted." This probably he urged, because that might have been a great argument used by his enemies, why the King should take the colleges and their revenues into his own hand, seeing they, consisting of the spoil of those monasteries, did more properly belong to the King than to any body else. Whereupon he added, " that it was not to be doubted, but " the King's Highness, of his high virtue and equity, being " informed how every thing was past, and his licence and " consent obtained likewise, would never go about to dis- " solve the said corporations: whereof so great benefit and

"commodity should ensue unto his realm and subjects." And that he might the better secure the whole, he seemed willing to have them pared and stripped of some things belonging to them. For so he proceeded: "Superfluities, "if any such should be thought and found, may be rese- "cate: but to destroy the whole, it were great pity. And "so concluded: beseeching him to be good master and pa- "tron to the said colleges, *et non sinas opus manuum tua- "rum perire, aut ad nihilum redigi.*" And he importuned Crumwel in the same words, telling him, that these colleges were in a manner *opera manuum tuarum*, as the Lord Herbert writes. So that, though his college at Ipswich was utterly lost, yet the present flourishing state of that at Oxon is owing to the great pains that both Gardiner and Crumwel took to incline the King to continue it. Though they seemed to make use of one stratagem, that they knew was apter to succeed with the King than any of those arguments suggested by the Cardinal; and that was, the advice of founding it anew in his own name, and so he might have the glory of being called its Founder.

Life of Henry VIII.

The continuance of the college at Oxon, owing to Gardiner and Crumwel.

But because the memory of his school at Ipswich is almost utterly vanished with its ruins, I will here put in a word or two concerning it, that the Cardinal may not be deprived of his due praise for so commendable a foundation. His great intent in this work, though not without some mixture of glory, seems to have been the good of his native country and city, and to stand an eternal testimonial of his piety and love thereunto. He professed he should think himself well rewarded, if he might herein prove an instrument of adorning the minds of his countrymen. He constituted two masters over this school, and divided it into eight distinct classes; taking pattern, I suppose, from Dean Colet's school by St. Paul's. To these masters he propounded a method of teaching, which they were to follow, in a book of his own drawing up. Therein directing them what books were to be read in each *classis*, or form, and by what particular ways and means they should govern themselves in the instruction of the youth. This, with an epistle

The school at Ipswich.

CHAP. XV.

wrote unto them by himself in the year 1528, I have preserved in the Appendix. And the rather, it being the only public piece of this famous man, as far as I know. You have it, as I transcribed it out of an old grammar, printed at Antwerp, 1537, entitled, *Rudimenta Grammatices, et docendi Methodus, non tam Scholæ Gypsuychianæ, per Reverendissimum D. Thomam Cardinalem Ebor. feliciter institutæ, quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ Scholis præscripta.*

Anno 1530. No. XXXV. 119

CHAP. XVI.

Some observations upon the Cardinal.

Observations upon him. Elated in prosperity.

My observations upon this great Cardinal shall not be many. It hath been commonly and truly observed of him, as to his temper and disposition, that he was of a very elated and haughty mind in his prosperity; and most servilely low and mean when he fell under his Prince's displeasure. Which indeed may appear to be true, by reflecting upon this little that hath been here collected together concerning him. It may not be improper to mention one notable instance of his aspiring spirit, which made the fourth article of his indictment. It was, that he should use this style, *Ego et Rex*, I and the King. This, though I do not find in any of his letters and instructions that have come to my hand; yet I see it a very usual expression with him to say, *The King and I;* always joining himself with the King, as though he were equal with him, or came very near to an equality. So in his letter to Pace, Ambassador in Italy, he writ, "I have received divers letters to the *King's Highness* "*and me* directed. And, in your said letters you have full "discreetly advertised the *King's Highness and me* of the "occurrents.—For which diligence the *King's Grace giv-* "*eth unto you hearty thanks, like as I do.*" Bidding him, "with diligence from time to time advertise him with the "occurrents and successes, as *the King's and my* special "trust is in you." So in his despatch to Dr. Knight, Am-

Joins himself with the King.

bassador with the Lady Margaret, "The *King's Grace and* " *I*, for the singular affection *we* bear to the Lady Marga- " ret," &c. And to Dr. Tayler, Ambassador with the French King, "You singularly please and content the " *King's Grace and me.*" And again, "*The King's High-* " *ness and I* take great consolation to hear of the good suc- " cess of the French King's affairs." And, which further argued his excessive haughty mind, he was addressed to with the title of *Celsitudo*, Your Highness; a style due only to kings and princes. In this phrase Erasmus used in his letters to accost him. Which I find him indeed also giving to two other Cardinals; but they were also Princes, *viz.* the Cardinals of Lorain and of Toledo. Though afterwards this style became more common, and was given to Archbishops by their flatterers.

Anno 1530.

Was addressed to by the title of, Your Highness.

But especially his aspiring mind appeared in his ambition to be Pope; which, as his ultimate end, all his designs and transactions aimed at. And this was, in effect, to make himself above all earthly kings and emperors. And by the measures he put his master the King upon taking in favour of the Emperor, he thought he had gained him to further this his ambition, as he was sure of the King. And indeed the Emperor, whether in shew or in reality, had often exhorted him to do his endeavour for the popedom, as occasion should serve: and so did the Lady Margaret too. As there is a letter extant to Stephen Gardiner, the King's Ambassador at Rome, to labour to make him an interest for the popedom upon the sickness of Pope Clement; so before, upon the vacation by the death of P. Adrian, I have seen in Bene't college[a] library another letter of his to the King's Ambassadors to the same intent. Wherein may be seen, as well the fineness of his wit, as his earnest diligence to compass that preferment. Therein he directed the Ambassadors how to deal with the Cardinal

His aspiring to the popedom.

Fox's Martyrol. lib. viii.

[a] It is extant, as I find, in the Collection of Records to the History of the Reformation, part ii. book 1. numb. 48. Otherwise I should have placed it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of the original MS. in the library in Bene't college chamber.

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1580.

De Medices, one of the greatest interest among the Cardinals, and who sought the papacy, and had it; and how with the other Cardinals: and how to time their delivery of the King's letters, which Wolsey had procured, both to the college of Cardinals, and to divers of them distinctly. That they should moreover signify at large to them his abilities for this dignity, having great experiences in the causes of Christendom: that he had the entire favour of the Emperor and the King: his knowledge and deep acquaintance with other princes: the studious mind he ever bore to Italy, and to the quiet of Christendom: that he lacked neither substance nor liberality to look largely upon his friends: and the sundry great promotions that by his election would be vacant, and that he should have in his hand to bestow upon such Cardinals as stuck to him: that they should find in him a loving familiarity; and that of his nature he was not ungrateful, nor disposed to rigour: that he had not any faction, or kin, or family, to shew any partiality to, in bestowing the goods and promotions of the Church: that by his preferment, all differences among Christian Princes would be in such a fair way of composition, that they might be at leisure to undertake one of the greatest and most notable expeditions against the Turk. He ordered the Ambassadors also in the King's name, that they should not spare his authority nor his money. He sent also two commissions, which he had procured from the King, under the broad seal. The one was couched in general words, without making mention of any person: the other made mention of Cardinal Wolsey by name. By this latter they had ample authority to bind and promise, on the King's behalf, as well promotions, as large sums of money, to such as they should think convenient. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, and the gaining of some Cardinals, De Medices was made Pope.

His habit extraordinary costly.

And lastly, that outward appearance that he delighted to shew himself to the world in, bespake the intolerable loftiness and vanity of his mind. For beside all the state and magnificence of his house and officers, which is related at

large by Cavendish, his habit was most gorgeous. It was great; that his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffeta or crimson satin ingrained; that he wore red gloves, as well as a red hat; but greater still, that he wore shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearls and precious stones: having two crosses of silver, and two poll-axes, and pillars of silver and gilt, and golden cushions carried before him. Which, however the Cardinal prided himself in, the people, it seems, had never the better opinion of him for. For I find one Richard Bayfield, (afterwards a martyr,) about the year 1527, using these words to one Peerson, a Priest: "My Lord Cardinal is no perfect nor good man; "for Christ never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek "for promotion; Christ never taught him to wear shoes of "silver and gilt," &c. And Dr. Barnes took the confidence, once publicly at Cambridge, to preach against all this vain-glory. Which coming to the Cardinal's ears, he was promoted up to Westminster before him. Where the Cardinal himself vouchsafed to talk with him, justifying all this his grandeur: asking him, whether he thought it not necessary, that he should have all that *royalty*, representing the King's Majesty's person in all his high courts of the realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellions and traitors, and all wicked and corrupt members of the commonwealth: or whether it were more convenient to be as simple as he would have him, and to sell all the aforesaid things, and give them to the poor, that will soon piss them out against the wall? But Barnes freely told him again, that he thought it necessary to have them sold, and given to the poor: and that that glory was not comely for his calling, nor that the King's Majesty was maintained by his pomp and plays, but by God: who saith, *By me kings reign.*

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1530.

121

Fox, p. 1088.

The Cardinal's argument for his grandeur.

Dr. Barnes's reply.

If one should now look upon him in his adverse fortune, there never was a man of a poorer and more pusillanimous mind; so disturbed and discomposed, so crouching and meanly submissive to those that had been before his servants: as appears by his letters, which he wrote while he was in his misfortunes, in the years 1529 and 1530. In

Excessively dejected under his misfortunes.

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1530.

which I do not meet with one word savouring of a sense of God or religion; either acknowledging God's justice in the afflictions that befell him, or that his sins had deserved them; or comforting himself in the reflection upon his own integrity, or his past services to God or his Church; or beseeching God to endue him with a Christian patience and resignation unto his will: or appealing to his faithful discharge of those many weighty offices and trusts committed to him, or any such like expressions, that might have shewn him to have had some good thoughts in his mind. But all that we have of him in his last letters is, that we see him effeminately whining, and complaining of growing sick under the burden of his sorrows, creeping to those that had been his creatures, excessively and indecently joyful upon a glimpse of the King's favour. And in fine, his end was, as it is well known, that he was so overcome with grief for the loss of his secular glory and wealth, that it brake his heart. So that we may conclude him a mere worldly man, who had little else of religion but the office and title.

Courteous, and studious to oblige. Ep. 50. l. xxix.

We cannot omit to observe this courtly, (shall I call it?) or good quality in him; that he was courteous, and did seem to study to oblige. Erasmus therefore commended *facilitatem et bonitatem*, &c. *i. e.* "his gentle, kind, and "obliging behaviour; and that his manners did not savour "of his fortunes; and that men loved not less the goodness "of his nature, than admired the greatness of his prosper-

122 "ity." And this quality he would shew particularly, by

Apt to promise rewards.

commendation of men's diligence in his or the King's business, and by promising them rewards; bearing them up likewise in the same diligence and dependance upon him,

His words to Dr. Taylor;

by holding them in expectation of favours. After this obliging manner he wrote to Dr. Taylor, the King's Ambassador, *viz.* "that he was right glad, that he did so dis-"creetly and substantially conduct and use himself in all "his proceedings; and that the King and he took good "notice thereof, and that it would no doubt turn to his "weal and furtherance hereafter." And so used he was to this style of making promises, that even in his calamity he

would use it, when he was less able to perform, and even when he seemed to be disabled from doing little more than barely to support himself, much less to confer benefits on others. When he had been entreating Secretary Gardiner to stand his friend with the King, himself being at that time in a miserable poor condition, and confined to his house at Asher, he promised "to requite his kindness in "that nature, that he should have cause to think the same "to be well employed; and so his trusty friend Crumwel "should more amply shew him." And the year after, when he was banished to York, and had begged the same person to be a mediator for the preserving of his colleges, he again backed his desires with promises; namely, that by his so doing, he, meaning himself, should in such wise deserve his pains, as he should have cause to think the same to be well bestowed and employed, as the bearer should more at large shew him. I am apt to think this matter, which he hinted more than once to Gardiner, and gave Crumwel order to signify more at large to him by word of mouth, was the procuring him either the bishopric of Durham or Winchester, which I believe he did promise to resign up to the King for his use, upon the condition he should recover this fall, and reinvest himself in the King's favour and his former honours. And it may be this very thing might have opened a door to Gardiner's preferment to the diocese of Winchester, though he obtained it not till three or four years after. For without some more than ordinary means used, he could hardly have arrived to such a high and wealthy dignity in the Church at one step.

And Gardiner.

The means of advancing many, being liberal and munificent.

And indeed in his prosperity he did not only promise, but perform, being of a liberal and munificent spirit. I leave it to be judged, whether this proceeded from a principle of gratitude and generosity, or vain elation of mind, it looking somewhat royal to confer dignities, and raise to places of honour. Thus he preferred his domestics to the King's service at home and abroad, to be Secretaries of State, Ambassadors, and Bishops. And in one respect he deserved well of the Church, being a great promoter of

CHAP. XVI.

learning, and preferred learned men and churchmen into his and the King's service: entering them first into business in his own family, which served as a nursery for the Court. Thus, considering all political matters were managed by him, and went for many years through his hands, I am apt to believe, that Dr. Clark, Dr. Knight, both successively Bishops of Bath and Wells, Dr. Taylor, that was Master of the Rolls, and others who in his time were greatly used by the King in public embassies, as well as Dr. Pace, Secretary of State, bred up at first under Cardinal Bambridge, and likewise Dr. Gardiner, and Crumwel, whose names and preferments are well known, were all his servants, and preferred by him to the King's service.

Anno 1530.

123

Oppressive, to make way for his own ends.

But however obliging and kind he was, whereby he gained some friends and love; yet he would make little scruple of oppressing any that stood in the way of his pleasure or designs. One instance of this rose up in judgment against his memory in the tenth or eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth. And thus it was: The manor of the More in Hertfordshire once belonged to the Cardinal; and being to enlarge the park there, and to make some alterations to his mind, he wrongfully seized, and took away from one William Heydon of Britwel in Hertfordshire, a messuage called Tolpotts, and one hundred threescore and ten acres of land pertaining to the same. Out of all this he expelled the said Heydon. Whereof one hundred twenty-nine acres he inclosed and empaled within his park, and three acres more he converted into a high way, leading from Rickmansworth to Watford; and so was commonly used; and the rest he tenanted out. But the said Heydon, after he was put out of this estate, did surrender it into the hands of the lord of the said manor, to the use of Thomas Heydon, his younger son, and of his heirs and assigns for ever, according to the custom of the said manor. This estate, after Wolsey's fall, devolved to the duchy of Lancaster. But in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the heirs of the said Heydon petitioned the Queen for their lands again. Who, out of her gracious and honest disposition, issued out her letter, in the

His wrong to one Heydon.

year 1568, to Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the duchy, and to the council of the same, to examine the truth of this plea; and if they found it, to make restitution to the said heirs of the lands, or to make them a reasonable recompense for the same. A copy of the original letter, signed with the Queen's own hand, is to be seen in the Appendix. Numb. XXXVI.

Anno 1530.

To raise himself to that height of splendor in the Court, and interest in the King's affections, and to keep himself at a stay therein, great was the court-craft which he used, and some say more than was good. Some description of which take from the relation of a notable man who lived in his time. The Cardinal's court-craft.

"He cast the King's nativity, (a common practice then among the Popish Prelates,) whereby he saw whereunto the King's Grace should be inclined all his life, and what should be like to chance him at all times. It is spoken of divers, that he made by craft of necromancy graven imagery, to bear upon him, wherewith he bewitched the King's mind, and made the King dote upon him more than ever he did on a lady or gentlewoman. So that now the King's Grace followed him, as he before followed the King. And what he said, that was wisdom; what he praised, that was honourable. Of the King's playfellows, he chose and joined such to himself as he saw fit for his purpose. To them he sware, and they to him. He took an oath of them, that the one should help the other. For without a secret oath he admitted no man to any part of his privity. And ever as he grew in promotions, he gathered unto himself the most subtlewitted, and such as were drunk with the desire of honour, as like unto himself. And after they were sworn, he promoted them, and with great promises made them in falsehood faithful. And of them ever presented unto the King's Grace, and put them into his service, saying, *This is the man fit for your Grace.* And by these spies, if ought were done, or spoken in Court against the Cardinal, of that he had word within an hour or two. And then came the Cardi- Pract. of Prelates. 124

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1530.

" nal to Court with all his magic to persuade the con-
" trary. If any man in the Court had spoken against the
" Cardinal, and the same not great in the King's favour,
" the Cardinal bade him, walk a villain, and thrust him
" out of the Court headlong. If he were in conceit with
" the King's Grace, then he flattered and persuaded, and
" corrupted some with gifts, and sent some ambassadors,
" and made some captains at Calais, Hammes, Gaynes,
" Jarsey, or sent them to Ireland, and into the north; and
" so occupied them, till the King had forgot them.

His craft with the Court ladies.

" In like manner he played with the ladies and gentle-
" women: whosoever of them was great, with her he was
" familiar, and gave her gifts; if any were subtlewitted,
" and fit for his purpose, her made he sworn to betray the
" Queen, and tell him what she said or did. I know one,"
said this writer, " that departed the Court for no other
" cause, but for that she would no longer betray her mis-
" tress.

Sends his Chaplains to the Court.

" And after the same example he furnished the Court
" with Chaplains of his own sworn disciples, and children
" of his own bringing up, to be always present, and to dis-
" pute of vanities, and to water whatsoever the Cardinal
" had planted. If among those cormorants (Chaplains)
" any began to be much in favour with the King, and to be
" somewhat busy in the Court, and to draw any other way,
" than as my Lord Cardinal had appointed that the plough
" should go, anon he was sent to Italy or Spain; or some
" quarrel was picked against him; and so was thrust out
Stokesly. " of the Court, as Stokesly was. He promoted the Bi-
Bishop of Lincoln. " shop of Lincoln, (Longland,) his most faithful friend and
" old companion, and made him the King's Confessor. To
" whom, of whatsoever the King's Grace shrove himself,
" think ye not that he spake so loud, that the Cardinal
" heard it?"

Towards his latter end morose and severe.

Towards the latter end of his life he grew more morose; and as his greatness and wealth increased his pride, so his pride made him more froward and uneasy to others, and

CHAP. XVI.

apt to revenge any supposed neglect or want of respect towards him. This made him procure Dr. Richard Pace, mentioned before, a very ingenious man, and dearly beloved by Erasmus, to be cast into prison. Whose afflictions, by the Cardinal's arts, were so heavy and undeserving, after his great and faithful services done to him and the King in foreign embassies, that they put him out of his wits; and so he most deplorably ended his days: though he outlived his great enemy some years, and saw his fall; and even under the Cardinal's disgrace was restored to his liberty and dignities: upon which his friend Erasmus wrote him a congratulatory letter. He also threatened Archbishop Warham, an excellent man, and in all probability had wrought him into some disgrace with the King, had he not soon after been under a cloud himself. Whereupon Erasmus applied that of the Proverbs to him, *Ante ruinam exaltantur spiritus.* In effect, he so played his game, that toward his latter end he seemed quite changed as to his disposition, and brought himself to be the general object of the nation's hatred. Which was the fatal cause of his downfall.

Anno 1530.

Dr. Pace's troubles by his means.

L. xxvi. Ep. 53.

Archbishop Warham threatened.

125

For he disobliged not only the inferior sort, by his pride and haughty behaviour; but by laying his hands upon the rights, privileges, and profits of the gentry and clergy, he made them his implacable enemies too. The Cardinal's ambition, as well as his injustice and covetousness, appeared, in that, as he made himself the great doer in all the temporal affairs of state, so, upon pretence of his legantine power, he assumed the managery of all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever. He took upon him to bestow benefices, though the real right of patronage lay in others. He called all offending persons before him, whether of the laity or clergy, and compelled them to compound, as his officers thought fit. He swallowed up all causes that were wont to be tried in the Bishops' Courts: and no privileges of exempt jurisdictions could avail against his Court. He also much encroached upon the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He visited all the Bishops, and all the spiritual

His Legantine Court.

CHAP. XVI.

houses in their dioceses, and all spiritual Ministers, as Commissaries, Scribes, Apparitors. He summoned convocations in Canterbury province, as well as in his own of York. And for the better bearing out himself in the doing all this, he erected a peculiar Court of his own, called the Legate's Court. The Judge whereof he constituted one John Alan, LL. D. a very bad man, both in his morals and for his maleadministration of his office: wherein he exercised much rapine and extortion; but thereby drew into the Cardinal's coffers an excess of treasure. This Alan afterwards became Archbishop of Dublin, by his master's interest, no doubt; but he came to a sad end; being slain about the year 1535, by Thomas, eldest son of the earl of Kildare, in an insurrection. This Court was kept in the Cardinal's chapel at York house. One branch of the causes belonging to this Court related to wills and testaments. And the Cardinal had special Commissaries for these testamentary causes; appointing the abovesaid Dr. Alan his deputy in this office. This Court extremely prejudiced the Archbishop's Court of Prerogative, and in effect made it useless: for when the Archbishop's Commissaries summoned executors into this Court, the Cardinal's special Commissaries cited them into his; threatening any that did not appear before them, to annul the will, and to cut off the party from being executor.

Anno 1530. Vid. Antiq. Brit. p. 310. Hanov. ed. Herb. Hist. p. 80. Life of Wolsey, cap. 5.

Prejudicial to the Bishop's prerogative.

But to take our leave of him under some more favourable representation. As the affairs of the nation were chiefly under his management, which he conducted with great wisdom and admirable dexterity, according to the character that Vives gave of him, so he was a great instrument of doing much public good, both to the state and to learning. And here it may not be unworthy to relate what Erasmus once spake of the great and happy effects of his counsels: which, though we allowing something for flattery, will discover not a few things redounding to his honour. "That he was the chief bringer about of a peace "between the chief monarchs of the world, when even Pope "Leo X. could only bring to pass a five years' truce. That "he had proceeded a fair way by his endeavours to render

Yet an instrument of much public good. D. Cardinalis, magni cum primis viri, et prudentissimi: viri in gerendis publicis negotiis exercitatissimi. Epist. 3, 4. Lib. ii. Ep. 1. Anno 1518.

" Britain *ex ærea auream*, a more glorious nation than CHAP. XVI.
" ever it was before. That he had so thoroughly purged
" this land of robbers, highwaymen, and idle vagrants, that Anno 1530.
" it was now not more free of poison and noxious wild 126
" beasts than of harmful men. That by his authority he
" cut in sunder many perplexed lawsuits, not less happily
" than Alexander did the Gordian knots. He composed
" differences that arose among the great men; restored the
" monasteries to their ancient discipline of religion; re-
" claimed the Clergy to a more commendable form of liv-
" ing; the study of the liberal arts, that were decayed and
" degenerated, he retrieved. As for politer learning, as yet
" struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he
" upheld it by his favour, and defended by his authority, and
" adorned by his splendor, and cherished by his kindness.
" He invited all the most learned professors by his noble sa-
" laries. In furnishing libraries with all kinds of authors of
" good learning, he contended even with Ptolomeus Phila-
" delphus himself, who was more famous for this than for his
" kingdom. He recalled the three learned languages, with-
" out which, as he said, all learning was lame." Which study of tongues, it seemed, he had furthered in Oxon, where, I think, he was Chancellor. Adding, " that he hoped by this
" most fair example, the minds of princes would be awak-
" ened, (to do as he had done for learning;) since he saw a
" golden age a coming, as he said, if some number of princes
" were but of the Cardinal's mind. And that the learning
" of future ages would hereafter speak aloud this new hap-
" piness imparted to the world by him. In a word, that he
" was so beneficial a person, as though he were born to suc-
" cour and help the affairs of mankind." And in another Lib. vi. Epistle, he speaks of the Cardinal's restoration of all studies Ep. 21. for the better, and of his invitation of all by his benignity to the love of learning. And particularly congratulates the Lib. vi. University of Oxon, which by the Cardinal's means flou- Ep. 27. rished in all kinds of learning and languages, and in good manners too, so well becoming the best studies. To this I

CHAP. XVI.

will add what Caius mentions concerning him, that he brought Matthæus Calphurnius, a Grecian, out of Greece, to teach Greek learning in that University. And withal bestows this character upon him, *De bonis literis optimè meritus Cardinalis.*

Anno 1530.

Caius de pronunciatione Græcæ ac Latinæ linguæ.

And if we look again into his family, we shall find, that as it resembled a royal Court in regard of those many noblemen and persons of quality that lived in it, so one might esteem it an University for those many accomplished men in all kinds of knowledge and good learning that were his domestics. And it is sufficient to conclude them persons of no slight and trivial literature, that they were dear to Erasmus, and Erasmus to them. The names of some of them were as follow: Thomas Lovel, Doctor of the Canon Law, Dr. Francis, a physician, Dr. Samson, Richard Pace, Cuthbert Tonstal, Robert Tonic, Francis Philipps, William Burbank, Gonell, [probably Trigonwell,] Clement. After the naming of whom, the same Erasmus breaks out into that *ecphonesis*[b]; "O that magnificent and happy house! O "truly splendid Cardinal, that hath such men to consult "with, and whose table is filled with such luminaries!"

His domestics men of great learning.

127 And indeed he affected to be styled a patron of learning, as appeared by those most magnificent colleges he built and endowed; and by that particular favour he bore to the greatest scholar upon earth in his time, I mean Erasmus. Which the same Erasmus acknowledged to Pope Clement. The Cardinal invited him over into England to abide here, promising him favours and dignities. And when in the year 1524. he was minded to take a journey into England, and wanted nothing but an invitation at that juncture, Ludovicus Vives, who was lately returned out of England to Bruges, wrote him, that had he known it before, that ceremony should not have long detained him, intimating that he would soon have procured letters to him from the Car-

A patron to Erasmus.

Quo ego jampridem amantissimo patrono utor.

Ep. Lud. Viv. 12.

[b] O domum illam augustam, ac felicem! O vere splendidum Cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in consiliis, cujus mensa talibus luminibus cingitur! *Ep.* iii. lib. 16.

dinal, to whom he was very dear, if not from the King himself; assuring him that he would have been very welcome, not to the Cardinal only, but the King and all the nobility. To the Cardinal he dedicated and presented several of his books. One was concerning the right administration of government; which was dedicated in the year 1517. Another was sent him as a new year's gift, entitled, *De utilitate capienda ab inimicis:* which seemed to be a translation of a piece of Plutarch. Another he presented the Cardinal was entitled, *De discrimine adulatoris et amici.* This book was also, by the author's desire, presented by the Cardinal to the King, to whom he had dedicated it. Whether Erasmus by this writing intended any lesson for the Cardinal, or the Cardinal so took it, let others inquire. There was another, *De libero arbitrio*, against Luther. This was writ by the King's and the Cardinal's incitement. The composing and publishing which book the author styles *audax facinus*, a bold act, as the affairs in Germany then stood; saying, that he expected to be stoned for it, and that some had thrown some books at his head already. When he had compiled this book, he resolved to dedicate it either to Pope Clement VII. or the Cardinal of York: and having about the same time finished a paraphrase upon the Acts of the Apostles, he thought fit to dedicate that to the Pope, and that of *Free Will* to the Cardinal; reckoning it would be more acceptable to him, both because wrote by his instigation, and against Luther. For the Cardinal was willing, upon some politic ends, that the world might see what a zealous patron he was for the Roman Catholic religion against the Gospellers. CHAP. XVI. Anno 1530.

The Cardinal, to show a further token of his respect to Erasmus, took a scholar and relation of his, named Livinius, into his family. One whom Erasmus had brought up in good literature, and intended to send him to study at Lorain. The Cardinal, in favour of Erasmus, designed him partly for his secretary, and partly for a companion and tutor to his own kinsman; and after some time spent in the Cardinal's service, according to Erasmus's desire, he pro-

CHAP. XVI.

mised to send him, with his said kinsman, to the University of Lorain.

Anno 1530.

But I shall add no more observations of him, than that which the aforesaid Erasmus writ in a letter to Vergara concerning him, when the King had confined him to his house, and allowed him but thirty servants. *Hic est fortunæ ludus; ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum. Nam plane regnabat verius, quam ipse Rex. Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur à paucis, ne dicam à nemine.* "He "was fortune's game, raised from a schoolmaster to a king-
128 "dom. For he might be said to reign more truly than the "King himself. Feared by all, loved by few, or rather "none at all."

Erasmus's character of him. Lib. xxvi. Ep. 55.

The life of this Cardinal wrote by Cavendish, his servant. Printed.

Cardinal Wolsey's life was long in MS. written by Cavendish, his domestic. Afterwards printed anno 1667, for Dorman Newman, entitled, *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, once Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England. Containing, I. The original of his promotion, and the way he took to obtain it. II. The continuance in his magnificence. III. His negotiations concerning the peace with France and the Netherlands. IV. His fall, death, and burial. Wherein are things remarkable for these times. Written by one of his own servants, being his Gentleman Usher.* An ancient MS. of this life, which seemed to be an original, I once bought of Mr. Woodward: which I afterwards parted with to Secretary Harley, afterwards Lord High Treasurer, and Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The printed book aforesaid was dedicated to Henry Lord Marquis of Dorset. By which dedication it seems it was now newly reprinted. The preface is of the author's own writing; having these expressions: "The Cardinal was my Lord and Master; whom in his "lifetime I served: and so remained with him in his fall "continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in "the south and north parts, until he died. In all which "time, I punctually observed all his demeanors, as also his "great triumphs and glorious estate, &c. Nevertheless, "whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or

" since his death, thus much I dare say, without offence of " any, that in my judgment I never saw this realm in bet- " ter obedience and quiet than it was in the time of his " authority; nor justice better administered without par- " tiality: as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed " with too much affection." Anno 1530.

This book is misprinted very much, as I have given a specimen in my marginal notes in the beginning of the book. In the edition of it, anno 1667, I did in the beginning write as followeth. This book was printed again, anno 1706, with another title, *viz. Memoirs of the Great Favourite Cardinal Wolsey: with remarks on his rise and fall; and other secret transactions of his ministry. Together with a memorial presented to Queen Elizabeth by Will. Cecil Lord Burghley, to prevent her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular favourite.* But this can be none of the Lord Burghley's, as may be concluded by divers phrases and manners of speech that were not used in those times. Nor would that Lord have dared to write so plain and bold to the Queen: nor would she have borne it. It is plain this discourse was levelled at some of the ministry in that time of Queen Anne, in order to make way for another ministry. The original book is not divided into chapters as this is, but is a continued discourse. It hath the very faults and misprintings of the former edition: as, p. 2, *forest* for *feast*; and Sir *James Pawlet* for Sir *Amyas*. The preface, which is called the prologue in the MS. varies and changes words, and leaves out, to make the language more suitable to the present age; but indeed rather mars than mends the style.

129 CHAP. XVII.

A Convocation. The condition of the Clergy at this time. Complaints against them in Parliament. Their justification of themselves. Deliberation concerning retrenching the Church's power.

Anno 1530. A Convocation. Regist. Ep. Bath and Wells.

A CONVOCATION of the Clergy was this year held at London, when, Jan. 24, was granted to the King out of the province of Canterbury, 100,000*l.* to be levied within five years; each year 20,000*l.* When the diocese of Bath and Wells was taxed at 1037*l.* 1*s.* 4*d. q.* But farther accounts of this Convocation shall be given by and by.

The Commons complain against the Clergy;

And now, leaving this great Cardinal, let us proceed to other matters. This year the King and Parliament, taking occasion on Wolsey's fall, began to be busy in correcting and modelling the Clergy, which had disobliged them both: the King, by keeping Courts, and acting by virtue of a foreign authority distinct from his; and the Commons, by the exactions laid upon them. November the 6th, the Parliament met, and Thomas Audley (afterwards Lord Chancellor) was chosen Speaker: when the Commons presently began with complaints of the Clergy, and of their oppressions of the Laity, in the probat of wills, mortuaries, &c. They complained of them that were stewards and officers to Bishops, that they occupied farms; and that Abbots and Priors traded in cloth and wool; that Priests lived in noblemen's houses, not residing upon their livings, and so took from their parishioners, but spent nothing on them. So that the poor lacked refreshing, and the parishioners lacked preaching and instruction in God's word.

Especially for their constitutions.

Upon these complaints, divers meetings and conferences were held between the Commons and the Spiritualty: whereat the Archbishop of Canterbury himself was present. Then, besides the former matters objected to them, they laid to their charge their laws and constitutions. To which, nevertheless, the Clergy stood tightly, urging for them long prescription. But the gentlemen in heat said to the Arch-

bishop, that their exactions, which they justified by prescription, were but so many robberies: however, these their bills remained unsatisfied for a while; yet not long after, acts were made about the probats of wills, mortuaries, pluralities, and nonresidences: and in the year 1533. a law was made for abridging the power of these provincial synods, and their constitutions. Anno 1530.

But because this controversy last spoken of is not, I think, extant in any of our historians, I will here be a little more particular. The Commons in this present parliament put up a bill against the Clergy, shewing that their provincial constitutions made in this his Majesty's reign, by this present and other Convocations, were not only against the King's royal prerogative, but very burdensome to the Commons. The King also took exceptions at their presumption in making orders to bind his subjects in the nature of laws; but especially in executing them without his assent and authority. However, the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, seeing in what ill case they were, and some mischiefs impending over them, thought it their best course to apply themselves to the King in an humble declaration. So the Upper House prepared a paper, being a form of submission, to be presented to the King, and sent it down to the Lower House for their concurrence. In which submission it was promised, for the future, to forbear any more to make ordinances or constitutions, or to put them in execution, but with the King's royal assent and licence. And it ran in this tenor: 130

The Convocation's submission to the King. Cleop. F. 1.

"First, As concerning such constitutions and ordinances "provincial, as be to be made hereafter by your most humble subjects, we having our special trust and confidence "in your most high and excellent wisdom, your princely "goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's "honour and Christian religion, and especially in your incomparable learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the "learning of all other Kings and Princes that we have read "of; and not doubting but that the same should still con-"tinue and daily increase in your Majesty; do offer and

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1530.

"promise here unto the same, that from henceforth we "shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution, any "such constitution or ordinance, so by us to be made "in time coming; unless your Highness, by your royal "assent, shall license us to make, promulge, and execute "such constitution; and the same so made shall approve "by your Highness's authority.

"Second, Whereas your Highness's honourable Com- "mons do pretend, that divers of the constitutions pro- "vincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be not only "much prejudicial to your Highness's prerogative royal, "but also overmuch onerous to your said Commons, as is "pretended; we your most humble subjects, for the con- "siderations aforesaid, be contented to refer and commit "all and singular the said constitutions to the examination "and judgment of your Grace only. And whatsoever of the "same shall finally be found, thought, and judged by your "Grace's high wisdom prejudicial and overmuch oner- "ous, as is pretended, we offer and promise your High- "ness to moderate, or utterly to abrogate and annul the "same, according to the judgment of your Grace. Saving "to us always, all such immunities and liberties of this "Church of England, as hath been granted unto the same "by the goodness and benignity of your Highness, and of "others, your most noble progenitors, with all such consti- "tutions provincial, as do stand with the laws of Almighty "God, and of your realm, heretofore made. Which we "most humbly beseech your Grace to ratify and approve "by your royal assent, for the better execution of the "same, to times to come, among your Grace's people."

The Lower House of Convocation demur.

But the Lower House was more stout, and could not go so currently through with the laying of their constitutions at the King's feet as the Upper House had framed the writing: and were for putting in some words to restrain the sense, and to leave themselves a latitude, before they would let it pass for them. For under the writing sent down from the Upper House, the Lower House wrote these words:

" These articles above written be agreed in the Upper " House, and the Lower House is agreed to the same: so that " in the first article be added these words, viz. *during the* " *King's natural life:* and in the second article be added " these words, *and holy Church.* With a proviso in the latter " end. And so the articles, as they be agreed by the Lower " House, be of this tenor following." And then followeth all the aforesaid writing over again, with this addition in the first article, " That from henceforth, *during your High-* " *ness's natural life, which we most heartily beseech Al-* " *mighty God long to preserve,* we shall forbear to in- " dict," &c. And this addition in the second, " With the " laws of Almighty God, *and holy Church,* and all your " realm," &c. And at the end, after the words, *among your Grace's people,* they added, *Providing also that until your Highness's pleasure herein be further declared unto us, all manner of Ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions according to the said constitutions in like manner and form as they have used the same in time past.*

Anno 1530.

131

The Convocation also framed another writing, by way of defence to what the Commons had so aggravated against the Clergy. But neither was the King nor the Commons pleased or satisfied by what they had presented to both. But the Synod, instead of more compliance, stood stiffly to what they had addressed before: and vindicated themselves, and the authority of the Church and the Prelates of it, in making laws in faith and manners, to bind the people in spiritual matters: boldly asserting their power immediately from God. And to this purpose they put up a book to the King. But their defence ran to this tenor:

The Synod make their defence.

" Forasmuch as the answer lately made by your Clergy " unto your honourable Commons, for their satisfaction in " their bill of complaint, put up unto your Highness, doth " not please nor satisfy your Highness in some points con- " cerning your own particular interest; especially in that " point that concerneth laws, either now to be by us made, " or else old, to be by us reformed: for your Highness's bet- " ter contentation in that behalf, we, your said most hum-

CHAP. XVII.

" ble Chaplains, doth now more especially answer unto " those poynts, as followeth:

Anno 1530. " First, As touching new lawes to be by us here- " after made, we say that the lawes and determinations of " Christ's holy Church throughout all Christian realms re- " ceived and used, been clear and manifest, that the Pre- " lates of the same Church have a spiritual jurisdiction, " and judicial power, to rule and govern in faith and good " manners, necessary to the souls health, their flokkys unto " their care committed: and that they have authority to " make and ordain rules and lawes tending to that purpose. " Which rules and lawes hath and doth take their effect, " in binding all Christen peopull, as of themself; so that " before God there needeth not of necessity any temporal " power or consent to concurr with the same, by the way " of authority.

" *Item*, They say, that this power and authority in mak- " ing lawes, concerning the faith and good manners, ne- " cessary to the souls health, all Christen Princes hath hi- " therto reckoned himself bound to suffer the Prelates to " use them in their realmys, and have not claimed of the " said Prelates, that they should from tyme to tyme require " their consent or licence, by way of authority, more in " making of such lawes, then they the said Prelates should " from tyme to tyme require their consentis autorysabyl in " the giving of holy Orders to any of their subjects, or in " the exercising of any other spiritual act, depending upon " their spiritual jurisdiction. The authority whereof pro- " ceedeth immediately from God, and from no power or
132 " consent autorysabyl, of any *secular Prince:* except it be " the consent of the Prince his own submission to the faith " Catholick, made not only by their noble progenitors, " when they first admitted Christ's faith, and the law of " the holy Church, within their realmys; but also by them- " self, first, generally at their baptism, and after more espe- " cially, and most commonly, by their corporal oaths at " their coronations.

" We say also, that this power of making lawes afore-

" said, is right well fondid in many places of holy Scrip-
" ture: now so much the less necessary to be here rehersed,
" forasmuch as that matter is at large set out in a book,
" now by us put up unto your Highness. And your High-
" ness your self in your own book, most excellently written
" against Martin Luther, for the defence of the Catholic
" faith, and Christ's Church, doth not only knowledge
" and confess, but also with most vehement and inex-
" pugnable reasons and authorities doth defend the same.
" Which your Highness book we reckon, that of your ho-
" nour ye cannot, nor of your goodness ye will not, revoke.
" Yet these considerations notwithstanding, we your most
" humble Chaplains and Bedemen considering your high
" wisdome, great learning, and infinite goodness towards
" us and the Church, and having special trust in the same;
" not minding to fall in contentions or dispytions [*disputa-
" tions* perhaps] with your Highness in a [any] manner of
" matter what we may do; we be contented to make pro-
" mise unto your Highness; that in all such acts, lawes,
" and ordinances, as upon your lay subjects we by reason
" of our spiritual jurisdiction and judicial power shall
" hereafter make, we shall not publish, nor put them forth,
" except first we require your Highness to give your con-
" sent and authority unto them: and so shall from tyme to
" tyme suspend all such our acts, ordinances, and lawes,
" hereafter to be made, unto such tyme as your Highness,
" by your consent and authority, shall have authorise the
" same. Except they be such as shall concern the mainte-
" nance of the faith and good manners in Christ's Church,
" and such as shall be for the reformation and correction of
" sin, after the commandments of Almighty God, according
" unto such lawes of the Church and laudable customes,
" as hath been heretofore made, and hitherto received, and
" used within your realmes.

" In which points our trust is, and in our most humble
" manner we desire your Grace, that it may so be, that
" upon refusal of your consent, (which we reckon that we
" need not fear; but yet if any such thing should fall out,)

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1530.

" your Highness will be then contented that we may exer-
" cise our jurisdiction as far as it shall be thought necessary
" unto us, for the maintenance of Christ's faith, and for the
" reformation of sin, according unto our offices, and the vo-
" cation that God hath called us unto.

" As for the second poynt concerning lawes, which in
" tyme past hath be made by us, or by our predecessors,
" contrary to the lawes of this your realm, and to your pre-
" rogative, as it is pretended: to this poynt we, your High-
" ness most humble Chaplaines, answer and say, that such
" our lawes by our predecessors within this realm made, as
" contain any matter contrary to the lawes or prerogative,
" and be not now in use, and do not concern the faith, nor
" reformation of sin, when we shall be advertised of them,
133 " we shall right gladly in that part revoke them, and de-
" clare them to be voy'd, and of none effect. So that your
" said right honourable Commons shall now dare execute
" your lawes without any fear, dread, or danger of our fore-
" said lawes, if any such there be." Thus tightly did the Clergy stand to their principles, and justify them to the King. This defence above written is here and there corrected and interlined by the pen of Stephen Gardiner, if I mistake not.

Anno 1532. The Clergy own the King's supremacy.

But the King made them buckle at last. It was another high block and difficulty for the Clergy to get over, to reject the Pope's power in England, and to acknowledge the King supreme head and governor in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil. But that also at length they unwillingly yielded unto: styling him in their submission by the title of *Protector and supreme Head of the English Church*, and paying a lusty fine: and then the King granted them a pardon for their *premunire*, which was ratified by the Parliament then sitting.

The Convocation of the province of York stand out against the supremacy.

Nor was the province of York, in their Convocation, less resty to acknowledge the King supreme head, to which they were required; drawing up their reasons against it, in a letter to his Majesty, dated May the 6th, from York: containing a long discourse of their mind and opinion concern-

ing words that had passed the Clergy of the province of Canterbury in their Synod, in the proem of their grant of money made to the King; in it inserting words of submission of their ordinances to him, and at large to their long letter. Which is to be seen in the Cotton library, and is printed in the Cabbala. The King told them gently, that he could not conceive displeasure, nor be discontent with them, for writing their mind to him, yet, considering what they had said unto him in time past in other matters, and what they now confessed in their letters, noting also the effect of the same, he could not, he said, but much marvel at sundry points and articles, which he promised to open unto them: and indeed did, with good learning and evident reason: as may appear by what follows, *viz.*

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1532.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 216.

Whereas the Convocation of Canterbury had styled the King *Caput Ecclesiæ*, the Church, they said, according to the notion of the word, was not circumscribed to any place, but meant all Christendom. And therefore, that it was absurd for any to give the King that title, and not fit for him to take it. But the King answered them well, that the Church, in the present controversy, was restrained to that of England, and the Clergy of the same. Then they shewed, that Christ was Head of the Church: and he divided his power after the distinction of temporals and spirituals. Whereof the one he committed to Princes, and the other to Priests. But the King shewed them, that the places of Scripture they used to prove this, served only to prove obedience due to Princes, by all men without distinction: whereof are Priests and Bishops, as well as Laymen, who make together the Church. And that although they restrained obedience to Princes in regard of temporal things only; yet *Obey* and *Be subject* contained no such matter in them, whereby spiritual things should be excluded. Then they proved, by certain places of Scripture, that the administration of spiritual things was communicated by Christ to Priests, as to preach and administer the sacraments. Which no man, the King said, would deny; but that it proved not, their persons, acts, and deeds, not to be under the power of

Their objection: with the King's answers.

134

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1532.

their Prince. Then they alleged, Doctors extolling the priesthood; and that Princes be *filii Ecclesiæ*. And where the Convocation of Canterbury, when they styled the King *head of the Church*, added, *quantum per legem Christi liceat*, the Convocation of York made that sentence to be as superfluous as to say, *Man is immortal, quantum per naturæ legem licet*. But to that the King told them, it was nothing like. For the *law of nature* is not to *immortality*, as the *law of Christ* is to *superiority*. In fine, to the question that was sent to this Synod, whether the King were head of the Church? they gave in no other answer but this, that he was head of the Church in temporals, but not in spirituals. But however, at length, this province was also brought, as well as the other, to acknowledge the King's supremacy, and to yield the King a sum of money proportionable to that northern division of the Clergy.

Further consultation upon the Clergy.

After the King had gained this point, and gotten this his title recognised in the Convocations of Canterbury and York, some persons there were hammering out some further reformation of the Clergy, and the affairs of the Monks and Friars; that so the Parliament, then at present sitting, might enact them into a law. One Richard Bowyer, some learned Counsellor, I suppose, propounded his thoughts (to the Council, as it seems) to this purpose:

Cleopatra, lib.vi.p.392.

"Whereas the synods provincial of Canterbury and "York have, by their constitution in the last and yet con- "tinued Convocation, recognised, and doth knowledge, the "King our sovereign Lord to be singular Protector, De- "fender, and only supreme Head and Lord of the Church "and Clergy of England; that constitution must be deeply "perused: and then by act of this Parliament approved, "accept, and established by the King, with the consent and "assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons "in the same.

"And then, whereas his Grace, and not alonely his "Grace, but also divers others of his noble progenitors, "have made, in Parliaments and Council, acts and provi- "sions for the common wealth of this his realm and Clergy

" of England, as well for the reformation of them that have " plurality of benefices, as others that should in time to " come obtain to have the like plurality; and for reforma- " tion and avoiding of strangers, visitors, and reformators " of divers orders of religion within this realm, as well ex- " empts as not exempts: which do collect and gather great " sums of money by that colour, and it convoy out of this " realm:

" And not alonely do collect and convey such money, " but by semblable colour of visitation do undermine, " to know the secrets of the King and of the realm: which " disclosed, oftentimes doth great hurt; and as well to the " merchants of this realm, as otherwise:

" An act to be made by the King, &c. that for these " causes and others, no stranger to be admitted within this " realm, to visit or reform any order, exempt or not ex- " empt: nor no religious man within this realm to make " any knowledge of superiority, or *paternitas*, to any out- " religious place: but alonely one house in England of every " order exempt, to be head and mother of all the rest. " And the Abbot of that house to be their head visitor and " reformator: as was at his Grace's contemplation, and is, 135 " the order of *premonstratens* in England and Wales, unto " the Abbot of Welbeck.

" An act also, that the Pope's collector shall be an " Englishman. By whom the Pope's Holiness may be as " well answered of all duties belonging to his chamber, as " by an out-born man.

" And whereas all such acts made for reformation and " abusion, to have plurality, triality, unions, pensions, *tot-* " *quot* portions, &c. *et ad tantam summam*, be smally re- " garded:

" And forasmuch as the Pope doth grant them upon a " suggestion made unto his Holiness; and that for distance " of place, dangers of ways, and perils by the sea, his Holi- " ness cannot have due examination of such suggestions; " but his grants do pass him, *si ita sit:* and so the grants " surreptitiously and direptitiously obtained:

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1532.

" An act to be made by his Grace, &c. that he intendeth " not to infringe, annul, derogate, defray, or minish any " thing of the Pope's authority: but rather to maintain, " add to, uphold, and avaunce the same.

" But forasmuch as the Ordinaries, from one to another, " have been remiss and negligent in examining of his sug- " gestions and causes, deduct in his foresaid grants, and " pluralities and others his gifts, as supreme Lord Protector, " Defender, and Head, to supply such negligence of the " Ordinaries:

" And to make by act one, two, or more Commissaries, " spiritual men: and with them to associate in every diocese " two learned men in the temporal law, and a Clerk exa- " miner. And they to make inquisition of such articles as " in this behalf shall be requisite, without exception of any " person. And that during the tyme of this inquisition, no " Ordinary to meddle with like inquisition.

" If I should be demanded, I shall devise the articles.

" And this matter justly and truly execute, his Grace " shall find high commodity, and nothing do, but equity " and right.

" Richard Bowyer,
otherwise Stirley."

Some in Convocation of another mind.

Notwithstanding the Convocation, and especially the Lower House, had shewn themselves so loath to comply, and stood so stiffly upon their spiritual jurisdiction, there were others among them of another mind, and that strove to reduce the spiritual power under the temporal, and that of the Clergy under that of the King. And I find a paper directed to some great Lord about the King, that he would instruct that sort of the Clergy, that were of the King's part in the Convocation, how far they should go in advancing his spiritual authority. It was without any name or date. But I think it may belong to this year, or hereabouts: and it seems to be the hand of Stephen Gardiner, that went along now with the King in his purposes, and in the fulfilling of his pleasure. It began thus:

Anno 1532.

"Whether your Lordship think convenient, that we "should endeavour our selves to prove these articles fol- "lowing?

Matters to be proposed in Convocation. Cleop. E. 6. p. 230.

"First, That the Clergy have not authority, by the law "of God, to make laws, ne excommunication; but that such "jurisdiction hath been begun, and so continued, by the "lenity and sufferance of temporal princes.

136

"That the King's Majesty in his Parliament hath author- "ity to determine what causes shall be determinable in the "spiritual courts, and to limit the manner of the process, "without any excommunication. Whereby offenders in "the said causes shall be brought to answer in the said "Courts.

"That by reason of spiritual jurisdiction in making of "process, the King's Majesty leaseth much profit that might "accrue and grow to him by the seals at the common law.

"That the King's Majesty hath as well the care of the "souls of his subjects, as their bodies: and may, by the "law of God, by his Parliament, make laws touching and "concerning as well the one as the other.

"That this text, Mat. xvi. *Quodcunque ligaveritis*, &c. "gave authority to all the Apostles jointly to make laws "and keep councils, until such time as a convenient num- "ber of the lay people were converted to the faith; and "then the said text ceased. And the text of Mat. xviii. did "take that effect, which *Quodcunque ligaveritis*, &c. gave "the Apostles. And that text being spoken to all the "Church, as well as to the Apostles, gave power to the whole "Church to make laws, and restrained the peculiar author- "ity of the Apostles in that behalf.

"That the successors of the Apostles have not like au- "thority in all points as the Apostles had. That to affirm "the Bishop of Rome to be head of the Universal Church, "and thereby to have authority to summon General Coun- "cils, is heresy. And that the authority of calling General "Councils doth belong to kings and princes.

"That the King's Majesty may dissolve holydays with-

CHAP. XVII.

" out Parliament; but that he may make no holydays with-
" out Parliament.

Anno 1532.

" That this text of *Actuum* xx. *Attendite vobis et uni-*
" *verso gregi, in quo Spiritus Sanctus vos posuit Episco-*
" *pos*, &c. was not meant of such Bishops only as be now
" of the Clergy; but was as well meant and spoken of every
" ruler and governor of the Christian people."

I leave the reader at liberty (seeing we are left to conjecture) to place this notable paper here, or to bring it under the year 1534, when an act was made, that the King and his heirs should be reputed *supreme Head of the Church of England*, and enjoy the style and title annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, and should have power to restrain errors and heresies. About which act the King consulted with his Council and with his Bishops; and they, in their Convocation, discussed the point, and declared, that the Pope had no jurisdiction warranted by God in this kingdom.

137 CHAP. XVIII.

New year's gifts to the King. The Festival. The church-book: printed for the use of Curates. What it contained. The beads.

The Clergy present the King with new year's gifts.

BUT the Clergy and Religious, however the King now set upon them, either that they might give the King no new provocation, or to sweeten him, presented him now, in the beginning of January, with new year's gifts, and that in a very generous and liberal manner; considering how their proportions exceeded much the gifts of the lay nobility and gentry: some of them giving fifty pounds, when even the Duke of Norfolk's gift not much exceeded thirty pounds; and the rich Earl of Oxford presented but ten pounds two shillings and sixpence. But behold the list, as I transcribed it from the Burghleian MSS.

Monies given to the King's Grace for new year's gifts, anno xxiiij. sui regni. CHAP. XVIII.

	£.	s.	d.
By the Busshop of York,	50	0	0
By the Busshop of Durisme,	50	0	0
By the Busshop of Excestre,	50	0	0
By the Busshop of Hereford,	20	0	0
By the Busshop of Lincoln,	40	0	0
By the Busshop of London,	22	10	0
By the Busshop of Landaff,	13	7	6
By the Busshop of Clye,	40	2	6
By the Busshop of Rochestre,	13	6	8
By the Busshop of Baithe,	40	0	0
By the Duke of Norfolk xx soveraynes, 22*l.* 10*s.* and five pieces of gold, at 40*s.* the piece, 10*l.*	32	10	0
By therl of Oxford ix sufferaynes,	10	2	6
By therl of Rutland,	6	13	4
By the Lord Darcye,	7	10	0
By the Lord Lisle,	20	0	0
By the Lord Mountjoye, five suffereynes,	5	12	6
By the Lord Husey,	6	13	4
By thabbey of Westmynstre,	60	0	0
By thabbot of Reading,	19	12	6
By thabbot of Petirborough,	20	0	0
By thabbot of Saint Albones, xxx suffereynes,	32	15	0
By thabbot of Ramsey,	20	0	0
By thabbot of Abyngdon,	20	0	0
By thabbot of Seint Mary abbey,	20	0	0
By the Prior of Christ Church in Caunterbury,	20	0	0
By the Maister of the Roolles,	20	2	6
By Petir Vanne,	10	0	0
By the Dean of the chapell,	7	10	0
By the Dean of Seint Stephens,	10	0	0
By Doctour Lupton,	10	0	0
By Doctour Lawson,	6	13	4
By Maister Sydnour,	13	6	8
By Doctour Woolman,	11	5	0
By Sir William Fitzwilliam,	7	10	0

Anno 1532. 138

CHAP. XVIII.

Anno 1532.

	£.	s.	d.
By Sir Henry Wiat, - - - - -	11	5	0
By Sir John Daunce, five sufferaynes, - -	5	12	6
By Sir Richard Weston, - - - -	7	10	0
By Hasilwood of the Receipt, iiij portagues, -	10	0	0
Sum total, -	792	10	10

The book of the Festival.

This year was printed, or rather reprinted, the *Festival*, by the old famous printer Wynkyn de Worde. It was a famous church-book, used in the churches by the Popish Priests, and read on certain seasons to their parishioners: being taken out of the *Golden Legend*, and giving an account of all the festivals of the year, with a sermon upon each festival. It seems to have been first made in King Henry the VIIth's time, as I collect by the beads there, where prayer is bid to be made for the Lord Prince; which must be Prince Arthur or Prince Henry. By the prologue it appears, that it was designed to keep up a superstitious veneration in the minds of the people towards the saints: "showing unto them what the holy saints suffered and did "for God's sake, and for his love. So that they should "have the more devotion in God's saints, and with the bet-"ter will come to the church to serve God, and pray his "saints of their help." It was written for the assistance of ignorant Priests, or, according to the phrase of the prologue writer, "for the help of such Clerks this book was "drawn, to excuse them for default of books, and by sim-"pleness of cunning."

Other treatises therein.

It begins with the first Sunday in Advent. Besides the treatise on the festivals, there be added divers other tracts in the book. As that sermon for the dedication of the church, beginning, "Good friends, such a day ye shall "have your dedication-day, that is, your church holyday. "Ye shall come to the church, and hear your divine ser-"vice in the worship of God; and for three causes, the "which the church is hallowed for; that is, for the church "cleansing, for devout praying, and for the dead bodies "burying, &c."

There is next a sermon called *Hamus Charitatis*; i. e. *the Hook of Charity*. It runs upon this subject, *Do to others as thou wouldest be done to.*

Next are *quatuor sermones*, wherein are shewn, what things we should know God by; as namely, by these that follow: and then follow expositions upon the *Pater noster*, upon the Creed, and upon the Ten Commandments, upon the seven sacraments, the seven deeds of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and the nine manners of horrible pains, the nine manners of people shall be tormented therewith.

The general sentence.

Then follows the general sentence, that is, the curse against many sorts of sinners, used to be said every quarter of the year: and lastly, the beads; wherein the Priest instructed the people what and whom to pray for. Which will be found in the Appendix, as I drew it out *verbatim*, and according to the spelling, in the said Festival. And I add it the rather, because it is not so correct set down in the History of the Reformation. And withal that we may thence see in part how much our public prayers and devotions differ from them, and from what gross superstitions the reformation of religion hath happily freed the people of this land.

139 Numb. XXXVII.

The beads. Vol. ii. p. 104. Collect. No. VIII.

Irreverence in the church.

But to give you a taste after what manner the Curates used to entertain their audience at these times. In the sermon of the dedication of the church were these passages against irreverence in the church: "*My house is called a* "*house of prayer*, but now it is made a house of rowning, "whispering, crying, clattering, scorning tales and simple "speaking, moving of vanities, and many simple words and "lewd. That St. Austin saw two women rowning (that is, "prating) together in the Pope's chapel, and the fiend sat "in their necks writing a great roll of what the women talked. And letting it fall, Austin went and took it up. And "asking the women, what they had said in all the mass "time, they answered, our *Pater noster*. Then Austin "read this bill, and there was never a good word in it."

Churchyards.

Again, in the same sermon speaking of churchyards, he saith, "they were appointed by the Fathers to bury in, for

CHAP. XVIII.

Anno 1532.

"two causes: one, to be prayed for, as our holy Church "useth; and another, for the body, to lie there at rest. "For the fiend hath no manner of power within Christian "burials. No burying in the church, except it be the Pa- "tron, that defends it from bodily enemies; and the Parson, "Vicar, Priest, or Clerk, that defend the church from ghostly "enemies with their prayers. Some have been buried there, "and cast out again on the morrow, and all the cloths left "still in the grave. An angel came on a time to a warden "of a church, and bade him go to the Bishop, to cast out "the body he had buried there, or else he should be dead "within thirty days. And so he was; for he would not do "as he was bidden."

The walking of spirits.

And speaking further of burying the dead, he asserts the walking of their ghosts: "Many walk on nights, when bu- "ried in holy place. But that is not long of the fiend, but "the grace of God, to get them help. And some be guilty, "and have no rest. Four men stale an Abbot's ox to their "larder. The Abbot did a sentence, and cursed them. So "three of them were shriven, and asked mercy. The fourth "died, and was not assoiled, and had not forgiveness. So "when he was dead, the spirit went by night, and feared "all the people about, that none durst walk after sun-down. "Then as the parish Priest went on a night with God's "body to housel a sick man, this spirit went with him, "and told him what he was, and why he went [walked,] "and prayed the Priest to go to his wife, that they should "go both to the Abbot, and make him amends for his tres- "pass, and so to assoil him; for he might have no rest. "And anon the Abbot assoiled him, and he went to rest "and joy for evermore." These trifling tales and insipid stories were the people detained with, (instead of preaching to them Christ, and the doctrine of his Gospel,) to keep them in profound ignorance, and in a due fear and dependance upon their Priests and their pardons.

140 Images, why set up.

In the *quatuor sermones*, where he is explaining the second Commandment concerning images there forbidden, thus we read: "Men should learn by images whom they

"should worship and follow in living. To do God's wor-
"ship to images every man is forboden. Therefore when
"thou comest to the church, first, behold God's body under
"the form of bread upon the altar; and thank him, that he
"vouchsafe every day to come from the holy heaven above,
"for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross,
"and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for
"thee. Then on the images of the holy saints: not be-
"lieving on them, but that by the sight of them thou may-
"est have mind on them that be in heaven: and so to fol-
"low their life as much as thou mayest." Where we may observe with some wonder, how no countenance is here given to worship images, the great practice of the Popish Church: but the clear evidence of the second Commandment struck some awe on the writer's mind, that he dared not, in the face of the Commandment, exhort to that which was so plain a breach of it.

Women's behaviour.

In the said *four sermons*, speaking concerning the modesty of women, we may there gather what their pride and fashions were in those days. "Neither by countenance," saith he, "ne array, stere [stir] ye no man to sin. Ne have "not your visage pomped, ne your heers [hairs] pull'd or "crouled, ne your faces coloured, ne your head high, or "wide, layd with costly kevercheves, ne your body too "curious in clothing, ne nice in shape: but after the coun-"sil of St. Paul, let your array be shamefastness, helling "your heads with your heer, or with a kercher, to cover "your shame."

Hearing mass.

Once more, concerning the benefit of hearing mass, the people were taught to believe strange things. "That day "thou hearest thy mass, God granteth thee needful and "lawful things. That day idle oaths and forgotten sins been "forgiven. That day thou shalt not leese thine eyesight, "ne dy no sudden death: ne in the time of the mass thou "shalt not wax aged. Every step thitherward and home-"ward an angel shall reckon." And then to make all the absurdities of the mass go down the better, the people are told, "that leud men and women to dispute of this sacra-

CHAP. XVIII.

" ment are utterly forboden. For it is enough for them to " believe as holy Church teacheth them." But enough of the Festival. Which though in some parts of it, as in the general sentence and the beads, it underwent some corrections, yet I think it was not laid aside wholly till the reign of King Edward.

Anno 1532.

CHAP. XIX.

King Henry's matrimonial cause. Books written of this argument. A monstrous fish. Annates. Act against them. Address of the Convocation to the King.

Much preaching concerning the King's marriage.

THIS year also there was much preaching in the realm by the Priests and Friars one against another, for and against the lawfulness of the King's marriage with Queen Katharine.

141 The judgments of Universities concerning it.

The judgments of the Universities of Flanders, France, and Italy, (that I may go a little back,) to the number of nineteen, were current, that it was unlawful for a man to marry his brother's wife, for so the case was propounded in general; and that the Pope could not dispense in matters against the law of God and nature, as he had done in this marriage. These censures of the foreign Universities were presented by the Lord Chancellor and other Lords to the House of Commons in January $15\frac{3}{4}\frac{0}{1}$. And afterwards, being compiled into a book, were printed, entitled,

Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ illustrissimarum totius Italiæ et Galliæ Academiarum Censuræ, efficacissimis etiam quorundam doctissimorum virorum argumentationibus explicatæ, de veritate illius propositionis, videlicet, Quod ducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis, ita sit de jure divino et naturali prohibitum; ut nullus Pontifex super hujusmodi matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis, dispensare possit.

Then followed the judgments of the Universities in this order in the said book:

Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.

Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Censura Facultatum juris Pontificii et Legum almæ Universitatis Andegarensis.

Censura Facultatis sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Censura almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.

Censura Facultatis sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Bononiensis.

Censura Facultatis sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Patariensis.

Censura almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ, &c.

Then, under each, ensue the censures of the respective Universities at length, with the date of the day and years (*viz.* 1530.) under their common seals, hanging to the authentic instruments. These censures may be read at large in the History of the Reformation, and in Hollinshed's Chronicle. Vol. i. Coll. p. 89, 9231.

Next after these censures of the Universities, followed in this book the judgment of divers learned men. For abundance of learned men had now employed their pens in this argument, to the number of above an hundred: whereof Dr. Cranmer was one. These, with the said censures of the Universities, were all brought down to the House of Commons to be perused by them. And of learned men. Herb. Hist. p. 352.

I met with two discourses of this sort among the Burghleian MSS. which may deserve to be mentioned; to shew how this question was managed, and what arguments were made use of therein. The one was writ in 21. of the King, about the year 1529, and bare this title, *An liceat cuiquam ducere uxorem fratris sui defuncti absque liberis.* And in the end it is said to be written *per I. Pi. M.* Who he was I cannot tell, unless it were John Prior of Merton, whose name I find subscribed in the famous Convocation anno 1536. when those remarkable Articles of Religion were set forth, mentioned in the Memorials of Archbishop Cran- Two books of this argument particularly mentioned.

CHAP. XIX.

mer. The other paper is a confutation of a book writ by one Abel, a hot man, the Lady Mary's Chaplain: and who, about the year 1534, with several others, was found guilty of misprision of treason about the Nun of Kent; and in the year 1540. was executed for treason in denying the supremacy. Both these treatises are in the Appendix.

Anno 1532.

Numb. XXXVIII. XXXIX.

A third writ by a Venetian divine.

To which I will make mention of a third, upon the same argument, being a just and large discourse, and writ with good learning, by a Venetian Doctor in Divinity. And this is the more to be marked, because the Venetians declined having any thing to do in this matter, and had menaced the University of Padua for meddling. The book bare this title:

IS. XS.

Fox. MSS.

Fratris Marci Genoa Veneti Minoristæ, Artium et sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, Tractatus de Matrimonio, quinque questionibus partitus: cujus summa est; An liceat Christianorum cuippiam ducere relictam fratris in uxorem. *In quo quidem Tractatu protestatur se nihil dicturum, quod sanctæ Matri Ecclesiæ repugnat; quinimo ejus auctoritati et correctioni quicquid dixerit submittit.*

In the end it is allowed and approved by four other Doctors of Divinity in Venice, together with the author's own subscription, thus:

Tractatum istum de Matrimonio—ego, Fr. Marcus Genoa Venetus Minorista sacræ Theologiæ Professor, manu propria scripsi et confici. Quod siquid in eo dixerim, quod repugnet auctoritati sacræ Matris Ecclesiæ, casso, revoco, et annullo: cujus correctioni volo et intendo subjectum esse.

This treatise, I suppose, was one of those procured by Dr. Croke or Stokesly, who were sent to Venice to get the judgments of learned men in this case. I will but name the five questions treated of in this work, and so pass to other matters.

I. *Utrum affinitas impedit matrimonium.*

II. *Viso, quod affinitas impedit matrimonium, nunc quæro, utrum impediat ex lege divina, vel ex statuto Ecclesiæ.*

III. *Viso, quod affinitas in aliquibus gradibus impedit matrimonium ex lege divina, nunc specialiter quæro, in quibus gradibus affinitas lege divina impediat matrimonium.*

IV. *Utrum Christianorum cuippiam liceat relictam fratris (quæ sibi primo affinitatis gradu attinet) quacunque interveniente causa, accipere in uxorem.*

V. *Quinto et ultimo, quæro, utrum Pontifex Maximus, i. Papa, possit dispensare, ut Christianorum quispiam ducat relictam fratris in uxorem ob quamcunque causam.*

For it was the King's wisdom, as the Lord Herbert observes, not to prevail himself of his own power among his Clergy, or of the counsel the Pope had formerly given him of taking another wife, till he had first discovered what the learnedest men in Christendom held in that point. Therefore two or three years now past, the King employed divers agents abroad, for the gaining of the opinions of foreign Universities and Doctors of Divinity concerning his marriage. As at Paris, Reginald Pole his kinsman, (who yet did him small service that way,) Sir Francis Brian, and Edward Fox: at Orleans and Tholouse, William Paget: Thomas Cranmer, Andreas and Joannis Casalis, and Previdellus, in Germany: at Padua, Richard Croke: at Rome, Hierom de Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, and Gregory de Cassalis: at Venice, the foresaid Croke and Stokesly. And besides these, mentioned by the Lord Herbert, there were employed in Italy, to procure subscriptions, one Friar Thomas, and another Friar of Florence: Friar Ambrose, Franciscus, Dionysius, Leonicus, and others: and some of these seemed to be too mercenary. For there was one Raphael wrote one book to prove the unlawfulness of the King's marriage: and afterwards wrote another book to prove the lawfulness thereof: which last came out publicly in print. And when this fickleness was laid to his charge, he excused himself, that what he wrote before, he wrote *ex aliorum mente*, and *ad ingenii exercitationem*. But these matters may be seen more at large, in

Hist. of K. Henry, p. 319.

143

The King's agents for subscriptions of foreign doctors.

CHAP. XIX.

a letter to the King from Croke, who was the King's chiefest agent in those quarters. Which I transcribe into the Appendix from the original.

Anno 1532. Numb. XL.

A character of Doctor Croke. Fox. MSS.

This Dr. Croke, to give here a short character of a great learned countryman of ours, and that deserves to be remembered to posterity, was born in the city of London; admitted a student of King's college in Cambridge, 1506; went away being scholar; and afterward followed the study of the Greek tongue. Wherein he so excelled, that going beyond sea, he became public reader thereof at Leipswich in Germany. He excelled also in Latin oratory: and at his return into England was in great favour with King Henry VIII. and with most of the nobility that were learned. He was the first Greek Professor in Cambridge, (after Erasmus,) who came hither by the persuasion of Dr. Fisher, then Bishop of Rochester: and for the love he bare to King's college, whence he had his beginning, in the first oration he made, he confessed it. In short space after, the University of Oxford, by great means of honourable friends, and fair promises of large allowance, invited him thither to be their reader. Camerarius confessed himself to be his scholar in his narration of Hessus. He was the first Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, and commenced Doctor of Divinity in the year 1523. And he after lived in Oxford to his death, and wrote there divers things against John Leland the antiquary. For which Leland hath a copy of verses against him in print. But I return from this digression.

A monstrous fish.

It hath been an old observation in this kingdom, that near upon the death of kings, or some great personages of this land, whales, and such like huge fish, have come on our coasts, and into our rivers. Certain it is, that in the month of August, when Archbishop Warham died, at Tinmouth the sea cast up a fish of a monstrous bigness: which because our historians, I think, speak nothing of, I will here describe.

Olaus Mag. Hist. Septent. lib. 21.

It was ninety feet long. From the belly to the back it was about eight or nine ells. The length of the mouth six ells and an half. The jawbone seven ells and an half; the

circuit thereof one ell and an half. It had thirty ribs, of the length of one and twenty feet; each in circuit a foot and an half. It had three bellies, resembling vast caverns, and thirty throats, five whereof were vastly great. 144 Two fins, each fifteen feet in length; one whereof ten oxen could scarcely draw. To the palate stuck as it were plates of horn, on one part hairy. The length of his head, to that part where the mouth openeth, seven ells: the tongue about seven ells. The space between the eyes six ells. The eyes and nose altogether unequal to so great a body; being such as belong to an ox: the tail was forked, and rugged like a saw, seven ells long. Two great holes in his head; through which the great creature was thought to cast forth water, as through pipes. No teeth: whence it was esteemed to be no whale, (for, they say, they have huge teeth,) but instead thereof he had things resembling plates of horn. This account a gentleman of England, that saw it, wrote in a letter to his friend; and is set down by Olaus Magnus.

Three great instruments of the Reformation raised.

This year three personages were preferred; who proved great and happy instruments for the reforming of the abuses of religion, and amending of many things amiss in the English Church; *viz.* the Lady Ann Bolen, Marchioness of Pembroke, advanced to be Queen; Thomas Crumwel, Master of the Jewel House, now made one of the Privy Council, and grown in great favour with the King, and soon after this made Secretary of State. The third was Dr. Cranmer, nominated (while abroad in the King's service) and elected to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. To which I may add a fourth, Sir Thomas Audley, a great lawyer, now made Lord Keeper.

The act against annates.

Now passed the famous act against *annates:* whereby Archbishops and Bishops were forbidden to pay the first-fruits to the see of Rome, and other payments for the obtaining of their palls, bulls, &c. And that henceforth they should cease, upon pain that whosoever paid them should forfeit his lands, goods, and chattels. The act is set down in the History of the Reformation. This proceeded regularly

Vol. i. p. 117.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1533.

from the Convocation first, which sued to the King, that these *annates* might cease: and that if the Pope made process hereupon, the King and people might withdraw their obedience from him: this suit sets forth the abuses of *annates*, and was drawn by some good hand. I think it worth transcribing, and placing in the Appendix, for the reader to peruse; to shew upon what good reasons these dealings of the nation against the Bishop of Rome proceeded. It set forth, "how the Court of Rome had executed these "first-fruits before the Bishops could obtain their bulls out "of the said Court. The mischief the payment thereof "did to the treasure of the realm; to the decay of the land, "and the great impoverishing of the Bishops, and of their "friends and relations, if they should chance to die within "two or three years next after their promotions. And that "the Bishops, by these exactions, were not of ability to re-"pair their churches, houses, and manors, in a great part of "their lives. And that is to be assigned the reason of their "falling into such decay. And that hence it came to pass, "that they could not bestow the goods of the church in "hospitality and charity: which they ought to have done "by the law, and the mind of the donors of their church's "possessions." And many reasons more were given in this draught. But these reasons do make against paying first-fruits to the King, as well as to the Pope. And therefore, I suppose, these were not thought fit to be inserted into the act, it being intended not wholly to take away the payment of them, but to divert them into another channel, to wit, from the Pope to the King.

N°. XLI.

145

The Carthusians dedicate a book to the King.

By this time the creatures of the papacy grew very jealous of the King, and feared their superstitions and corruptions might come under a further inspection. For the King had already done several things that that party did not at all like of: as the sifting of the Pope's power of dispensation, and disallowing it in some cases: the Clergy of England put under a *premunire*, for breaking the statutes against provisors and provisions; and the bringing them to submit

unto and acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church: to which we must add, the act last mentioned, of stopping the *annates;* and lastly, nominating Cranmer for Bishop of Canterbury. Therefore the Popish party used their arts to keep the King from apostasy from them. I find about this time a book of Dionysius Carthusianus, being his Exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, dedicated to the King by the monastery of the Carthusians of Colen. Which I believe was the first edition of that book, printed from some of their MSS. The epistle was composed by Theodoric Loer, Vicar of that house, but by the order of Peter Blomevenna, the Prior, and the principal visitor of his province of the Rhine, and of the whole society: chiefly by the instigation, as it seems, of John Batmanson, Prior of the monastery of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin near London; who had written to Colen, that Dionysius, one of their fraternity, his works would be acceptable in England. And under that pretence they chose the rather to dedicate this work unto the King. In this epistle they flattered him for his high learning and zeal for religion: and "that by his writings concerning the Sacraments, he "had displayed his glory over his people. That he had "put on the harness of Catholic doctrine, like a giant, and "girt his loins with the warlike arms of Scriptures in his "battles of disputations against heretics, and defended "Christ's camp with the sword of his learning: that he "was like to an evangelical lion, and a mystical lion's "whelp, sent down from heaven to hunt the heretics: "extolling him much for persecuting those that disturbed "his faithful subjects by their heresies." They knew, it seems, the King's mind, how he loved to be flattered and admired. But these fair words would not divert the King's purposes.

Anno 1538.

146 CHAP. XX.

The Princess Mary. The King's appeal against the Pope. The supremacy. Books writ against the Pope's usurpations.

Anno 1533. A message to the Princess Mary, to lay aside that title.

As after the pronouncing of the sentence of divorce, the King commanded Queen Katharine should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager, and widow of Prince Arthur; so, soon after the birth of the Lady Elizabeth, which was, according to the Lord Herbert, Sept. 6, 1533, the Council sent the Princess Mary word, by the King's order, that she should lay aside the name and dignity of Princess; and commanded her servants no longer to acknowledge her such. This message was carried to her to Beaulieu, by one Huse, a promoter, formerly employed by the King in his matter with the Queen. He came privately without any Privy Counsellor or person of honour accompanying, and without any commission or other writing from the King: which gave her occasion to refuse to obey the message, as not giving credit thereunto; telling the messenger boldly, that she was the King's true and lawful daughter and heir. Her servants also would not take notice of this order upon the same reason. But hear the letter of Huse to the Council concerning the delivery and success of his journey.

Which she refuseth to do. Fox. MSS.

" Please your good Lordships to be advertised, that ac-
" cording to the King's high commandment, lately shewed
" unto me by your Lordships at Greenwich upon Sunday
" last, I have signified unto the Princess his most gracious
" pleasure, concerning the diminishing of her high estate
" of the name and dignity of Princess. Wherein her Grace
" coulde not a little marvaile, that I, being alone, and not
" associate with sum other the Kinges most honourable
" Counsail, ne yet sufficientlie auctorised, nethre by com-
" mission, ne also ony othre writing from the Kinge's High-
" ness, wolde attempte to declare suche an high interprise
" and matier of no litle weight and importaunce unto hir

" Grace, in depeyring and diminishing hir said astate and " name: hir Grace not doubting, but that she is the Kinges " true and legitimate doughter and heyr, procreate in good " and lawful matrimonie: and ferther adding, said, that " unless she were advertised from his Highness by his " writing, that his Grace was so mynded to diminishe hir " said astate, name, and dignity, which she trusteth his " Highness will never do, hir Grace will not believe it. " And ferther, I have declared your said commandment " unto all the Princesse servants concernyng the premisses: " who have made me answere, that they in most humble wise " shal alweys obey the Kinges high commandements, in al " things which his Highness shal commaunde them to do, " saving there conscience. Notwithstanding they think, " that this commaundment, being so high and weighty, " geven by me only without writing from the Kinge's High- " ness, and othre his Counsail associate with me, is in there " judgements not sufficient.

" Wherefore, my Lords, I committe this matier unto " your Lordships, to be fertherly wiede, as shall stand with " your high and moost discrete wisdomes. Which I pray 147
" God may be to his high pleasure, and to the honour of the " King's Grace, and to the welth of his realme. And thus " the Holy Goost have your good Lordships in his most " merciful tuition. At Beaulieu the twenty daye of Sep- " tembre. By me the King's subgiet,

" John Huse."

And in this persuasion she stood obstinately for three years, till the King was very angry with her. But then, about the year 1536, she acknowledged herself a bastard.

A book published upon the Pope's rejection of the King's appeal.

Upon the quarrel between the King and the Pope, arisen by the divorce, the Pope being almost ready now to denounce his fulmination against the King and kingdom, his Majesty, by his ambassador Boner, declared to the Pope, that he appealed from him to the next lawful general council. This appeal the Pope rejected. Upon this breach, the Pope also being strengthened by a league both with the

CHAP. XX.

Emperor and the French King, the King was under great fears and apprehensions of some interdict of the realm soon

Anno 1533.

to follow; and upon that an invasion or insurrection of the people, or both. Wherefore a discourse was now framed and published, or designed to be published, in the King's name, to justify his appeal from the Pope, and to vindicate himself to his people, in these words:

Cleopa. E. 6. p. 326.

"If mortal creatures to their heads Sovereigns and natural Princes be chiefly bound next unto God; especially "where they, as careful fathers and tutors, prudently and "rightly rule and govern the great numbers and multitudes "of men by God committed to their obedience; and where "they in their royal persons often forgetting the regard of "their princely Majesties, valiantly withstand, abide, and re-"sist whatsoever troubles, dangers, perils, assaults, wrongs, "injuries, or displeasures soever, at any time happen, chance, "threaten, or be incident unto their people or countries: "besides many and innumerable other displeasures and "troubles, which daily and hourly, for the defence, main-"tenance, and supportation of their realmes, people, and "countries, secretly happen, and chance them, their people "seldome or at no time privy thereunto; whereby of good "congruence all subjects become most bound to their So-"veraigns and Princes, and them ought most faithfully to "love, honour, obey, serve, and dread, and their Majesties "to maintain, support, and defend with all their power, "might, strength, and ability;

"Then let no English man forget the most noble and "loving Prince of this realm; who, for the godly example "of his people, the love and dread he hath to God, and "observance of his most reverend lawes, hath, to the evi-"dent knowledge of all his well beloved subjects, long en-"dured and abidden, to his inestimable cost, charges, trou-"ble, vexation, and inquietude, the trial of his great cause: "and at the last, after innumerable most famous learned "men's judgments, on his side therein given; yet for all "that most wrongfully judged by the great idol, and most "cruel enemy to Christ's law and his religion, which calleth

" himself Pope, and his most just and lawful provocation " and appellation from the said enemy of Christ's law to the " general councel made, also refused, denied, and forsaken. Anno 1533.

" Wherefore, and to the intent that all men may know 148 " the abominable wronges which our most noble and gra- " cious Prince doth sustain by so unlawful entreatings; " therefore these few articles, hereafter following, are pre- " sented unto those that shall both desire to know the truth, " and in truth shall thirst and covet feithfully to assist, " maintain, support, defend, and stand by their Prince and " Soveraign in his most just, lawful, and rightwise cause.

" I. That the general councel, lawfully gathered, is and " ought to be superiour to all jurisdictions, either usurped " and suffered, as the papal; or justly holden, as [that of] " Kings, in all matters concerning the faith and direction of " the whole Church of Christ: and also ought to be judged " thereby, and by the decrees of the same only, and by " none others; they being consonant to the law of Christ.

" II. That Princes have two wayes principally, when " none other can prevail, to attain right. Th'one against " the other. That is to say, in cases concerning the soul, " being mere spiritual, *appellation* to the general councel: " in temporal causes, the *sword* only, (except by mediation " of friends the matters may be compounded.) So that " whosoever would go about to take away these natural " defences from Princes, is to be manly withstand, both by " the Princes and their subjects. And thereto all Christen " men should be animate by the words of our Lord Jesus " Christ; which are, *Obey ye Princes above all, and then " their deputies, or ministers:* not giving power to foreignes " within their rules and dominions.

" III. That divers general councels have determined, " that causes of strife or controversy, being once began in " any region, shall there, and in the same region, be finished " and determined, and not elsewhere. Upon which ground " the King's Highness, his nobles, both spiritual and tem- " poral, and commons, by one whole consent, upon divers " most prudent, wise, and politic reasons and weighty consi-

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1533.

" derations, agreable to the same general councels, have " made a law: by the which good people, living within the " limits of true and lawful matrimony, shall not, by malice " or ill will, be so long detained and interrupted from their " right, as in times past they have been: neither unjust " matrymony shall have his unjust and incestuous demoure " and continuance, as by delayes to Rome it is wont to have. " Which now may evidently appear by that that our Princes " weighty and long protracted cause of matrimony hath " his final and prosperous end, according to the lawes of " God, with brief success of issue already had, and other " like to follow. Lauds be to God, the only worker of " the same.

" IV. That our said Prince and Sovereigne, according " unto the liberty and lawes of nature, and constitution of " general councels, as afore hath been, provoked and ap- " pealed from the most unjust and unlawful sentence, " wrongfully given against him by the Bushop of Rome, " to the general councel next ensuing, and lawfully con- " gregate: that is to say, from the sentence of the usurper " of God's lawes, and infringer of general councels, which " calleth himself *Pope*. In the which our said Prince's " doings, all just and true Christen men, especially his most " loving subjects, I doubt not, will support and maintain " him. Which provocations and appellations also stand-
149 " ing in force, and being intimate to the person of the said " usurper, (as indeed they be,) and by him be denied and " refused, sequestreth him wrongfully from all manner of " processes, belonging, or in any wise appertaining to the " said fact or matter, other diabolick arts and statutes by " some of his predecessors to the contrary notwithstanding.

" Wherefore what censures, interdictions, or other his " cursed inventions soever they be, fulminate or set forth " by the said usurper, the same ought not only to be ab- " horred and despised, but manfully be withstood and de- " fended. And whoso doen shall have for their buckler " the latter and better part of this verse ensuing, and the " maligners the first part; which is, *Quoniam qui malig-*

" *nant exterminabuntur, sustinentes autem Dominum, ipsi* " *hæritabunt terram.*

" V. That where indeed by holy Scripture, and Christ's " law, there is none authority nor jurisdiction granted more " to the Bushop of Rome, then to any other Bushop *extra* " *provinciam;* yet because that sufferance of people, and " blindness of Princes, with their supportation hitherto, " hath susteined the same, doing themselves thereby too " great injury and wrong; it is now thought therefore not " only convenient, but also much more then necessary, to " open the same unto the people: to the intent they should " from henceforth no lenger be disseyved, in honoring him " as an idol, which is but a man, usurping God's power " and authority: and a man, neither in life, learning, nor " conversation, like Christ's minister or disciple: yea, a " man also, though the see apostolic were never of so high " authority, yet most unworthy, and unlawful, by their " own decrees and laws, to occupy and enjoy that usurped " place. For first, he is both baste, [bastard,] and also " come into that dignity by symony. And now by denying " the Kings lawful provocation and appeal, and in support- " ing the diabolick decrees of his predecessor Pius, is deter- " mined, by a general councel, a very heretick. Anno 1533. Clement. VII.

" Wherefore all true Christen people, except he amend, " ought to dispise both him and all his facts, and be no " longer blinded by him; but give themselves intyrely to " the observance of Christ's lawes, in which is all sweetness " and truth; and in the other nothing else but pomp, " pride, ambition, and wayes to make himself rich, which is " much contrarious to their profession. The Lord amend " them."

The Pope's authority here in England was now more and more agitated and sifted: and it was thought highly necessary to vindicate the King's supremacy against the Pope's usurpations. And the King drove it on vigorously. State-books for this end were written about it; and, as many treatises were composed for the King's supremacy, so some against it too. The King himself this year wrote one: Books against the Pope. The King's book against him.

CHAP. XX.

which, together with his divorce, did extremely irritate and provoke the Roman Bishop: but the book most of all. It

Anno 1533. was a large and ample treatise of the tyranny and usurpation of the Bishop of Rome: and bore this title, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem.* This

Life of King Henry, p. 385. book, mentioned in Beutherus's history, because the Lord Herbert had not seen, he supposed that author might mistake it for another book, entitled, *De vera differentia*

150 *regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiæ.* But this must be a book different from that before mentioned: this being writ by Fox, Bishop of Hereford, and came not forth till the

Hist. Reform. P. II. Append. p. 413. year after, *viz.* 1534, if we may believe the late Reverend Mr. Fulman, well skilled in these antiquities; who also distinguishes these books, and saith, there was such a book entitled, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum*, &c. The book *of the true difference between the King's power and that of the Church* was so well thought of in King Edward's reign, and esteemed so seasonable in those days, that it was

Becon's Reports. then reprinted, having been turned into English by Henry Lord Stafford, and recommended by an epistle before the book, wrote by him.

To which let me add another book, *viz.* Beckenshaw's *Commentary of the sovereign and absolute Power of Kings*; cited by King James in his *Triplici Nodo triplex Cuneus.*

CHAP. XXI.

Deliberation at the Council Board about casting off the Pope's authority. Resolutions taken. Doctor Sampson's book for the King's supremacy.

The Council in deep debate. FOR the concerting of these affairs, let us see what was privately transacting within the walls of the King's Court among the Privy Counsellors; who were minded first to see how the Bishops stood affected towards the Pope and his

authority in this kingdom, and what their judgments were of general councils. They propounded that the common people of the land should be better instructed concerning the Pope's power, and his encroachments upon sovereign Princes. They saw it needful, that all Friars and religious persons, belonging to the monasteries which were addicted to the Pope, should be brought over. And so in like manner all the inferior Clergy. They thought it convenient, that the King's appellation from the Pope, and the reasons of it, might be every where publicly known. They deliberated about securing the kingdom against any foreign attempts, by making and keeping a good understanding with Scotland and Germany, both the Princes and Hanse Towns thereof. And lastly, for settling the Princess Dowager's household, and her daughter's, and the family of the Lady Princess Elizabeth, who was now scarce three months old.

Anno 1533.

Sovereign Princes.

All these matters were, about the very beginning of December, propounded in the King's Council, under nineteen articles; which I shall first set down, and then shew the resolutions taken by the said Council hereupon.

Propositions for the King's Council. 151

"I. To send for all the Bishops of this realm; and "especially for such as be nearest unto the Court, and to "examine them apart, whether they by the law of God can "prove, and justly, that he that is now called the Pope of "Rome is above the general councel, or the general coun- "cel above him: or whether he hath given unto him, by the "law of God, any more authority within the realm than "any other foreign Bishop.

The result of a deliberation at the Council Board concerning the Pope's authority, and how to deal with the Bishops, and orders in relation to this. Cleop. E. 6. p. 319.

"II. *Item*, To devise with all the Bishops of this realm "to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the "King's people, that the said Bishop of Rome, called the "Pope, is not in authority above the general councel, but "the general councel is above him and all Bishops; and "that he hath not, by God's law, any more jurisdiction "within this realm, then any other foreign Bishop, being of

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1533.

" any other realm, hath. And that such authority, as he " before this hath usurped within this realm, is both against " God's law, and also against the general councel. Which " usurpation of authority only hath grown to him by the " sufferance of Princes of this realm, and by none authority " from God.

" III. *Item*, Therefore that order be taken that such as " shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforth, shall con- " tinually from Sunday to Sunday preach there, and also " teach and declare to the people, that he that now calleth " himself Pope, ne any of his predecessors, is and were but " only the Bishops of Rome, and hath no more authority " and jurisdiction by God's laws within this realm, then any " other foreign Bishop hath; which is nothing at all: and " that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore hath " been only by usurpation and sufferance of Princes of this " realm. And that the Bishop of London may be bound to " suffer none others to preach at St. Paul's Cross, as he will " answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same.

" IV. *Item*, That all the Bishops within this realm be " bound and ordered in the same wise; and to cause the " same to be preached throughout all their dioceses.

" V. *Item*, That a special practice be made, and a streight " commandment given to all provincials, ministers, and " rulers of all the four orders of Friers within this realm; " commanding them to cause the same to be preached by " all the preachers of their religious, in and through the " whole realm.

" VI. *Item*, To practise with all the Friers Observants of " this realm; and to command them to preach in like wise: " or else that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach " in no place of the realm.

" VII. *Item*, That every Abbot, Prior, and other heads " of religious houses within this realm, shall in like manner " teach their convents and brethren, to teach and declare " the same.

" VIII. *Item*, That every Bishop shall make special com- " mandment to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within his

" diocese, to preach and declare to their parochians in like " wise.

" IX. *Item*, Proclamations to be made throughout the " realm, containing the whole act of appeals. And that the " same act may be impressed, transsumed, and set up on " every church door in England: to the intent, that no " Parson, Vicar, Curate, nor any other of the King's subjects, " shall make themselves ignorant thereof. Anno 1533. 152

" X. *Item*, The King's provocations and appellations, " made from the Bishop of Rome unto the general coun- " cel, may also be transsumed, imprest, published and set " up on every church in England: to the intent, that if " any censures should be fulminate against the King or his " realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the " censures be of none effect: considering, that the King " hath already, and also before any censures promulged, " both provoked and appealed.

" XI. *Item*, Like transsumpts to be made, and sent into " all other realmes and dominions, and especially into Flaun- " ders, concerning the King's said provocations and appel- " lations: to the intent the falshood, iniquity, malice, and " injustice of the Bishop of Rome may thereby appear to " all the world: and also to the intent that all the world " may know, that the King's Highness standing under those " appeals, no censures can prevail ne take any effect against " him and the realm.

" XII. *Item*, A letter to be conceived from all the nobles, " as well spiritual as temporal, of this realme, unto the " Bishop of Rome; declaring the wrongs, injuries, and " usurpations, used agenst the King's Highness and this " realm. [Not yet done, ne can well be done before the Parliament.] Margin of the MS.

" XIII. *Item*, To send explorators and espies into Scot- " land; and to see and perceive their practises, and what " they intend there; and whether they will confedre them- " selves with any other outward princes. [Send letters to my Lord Darces, my Lord of Northumberland, and Sir C— Clifford.] Marg. of the MS.

" XIV. *Item*, Certain discreet and grave persons to be " appointed to repair into the parties of Germany: to prac- " tise or conclude some league, or amitie, with the princes [In the King's arbitrement.] Marg. of the MS.

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1533.

" and potentates of Germany; that is to say, the King of " Pole, King John of Hungary, the Duke of Saxony, the " Dukes of Baviere, Duke Frederic, the Landgrave Van " Hesse, the Bishop of Magons, (Moguntium,) the Bishop " of Friers, the Bishop of Colen, and other the potentates " of Germany. And also to ensearch of what inclination " the said princes and potentates be of towards the King " and this realm.

[To know whom of the King.] Marg. of the MS.

" XV. *Item*, Like practise to be made and practised with " the cities of Lubeck, Danske, Hamburgh, Bromeswick, " and all other the stedds of the Haunse Teutonic. And to " ensearch of what inclinations they be towards the King " and this realme.

" XVI. *Item*, Like practise to be made and practised " with the cities of Norimberg and Augsbourgh.

[This is already done.] Marg. of the MS.

" XVII. *Item*, To remember the merchant adventurers, " haunting the dominions of Brabant, and to speak with " them.

[The order is taken.] Marg. of the MS.

" XVIII. *Item*, To set order and establishment of the " Princess Dowager's house, with all celerity, and also of " my Lady Mary's house.

[The orders taken.] Marg. of the MS.

" XIX. *Item*, A full conclusion and determination to " be taken for my Lady Princess [Elizabeth's] house."

153 The resolutions that were taken by the Privy Council upon these propositions above said were these, as I extract them from the same MS. in the Cotton library:

Acta in Concilio Domini Regis 2do Decembr.

The resolutions taken hereupon.

" First, That the conclusions mentioned in the first ar- " ticle of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be com- " mitted to Mr. Dean, [Doctor Sampson, Dean of the " King's chapel,] and the Almoner, [Doctor Fox,] and " other Doctors; to search their books, and to make an an- " swer again thereupon to the Lords of the Councel by " Friday and Saturday next.

This added by another hand.

" The Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Bath, to be " warned to be here afore the Councel." [These Bishops being nearest the Court: the Archbishop of Canterbury

is not mentioned, either because he was one of the Privy Councel, or was now down in his diocese.]

Anno 1533.

" And as to the other seven articles, depending upon the " said first, the Councel will be advised thereof until the " return of the said answer.

" And as to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles, it is " committed to my Lord Chancellor, [Sir Thomas Aud- " ley,] and master Cromewel, to put in execution with all " speed, according to the effect of the same.

" And as to the twelfth article, it is ordered, a minute of " a letter shall be drawn and conceived by Mr. Almoner ac- " cording to the purport thereof. And that first of all there " shall be exhibited to the Councel the copy of an old let- " ter, sent unto the Pope by the nobles in King Edward " the 1st his reign; and all the letter which we last sent " unto the Pope.

" And as touching the thirteenth article, it is committed " to my lord of Norfolk and Mr. Cromewel.

" And as unto the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth ar- " ticles, it is ordered that letters shall be with all speed de- " vised and sent unto Mr. Wallop, to advertise the French " King thereof, before any of them shall be put in execu- " tion.

" *Item*, For the diminishing the house and order of the " Princess Dowager, the King's Highness hath appointed, " that the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Sussex, Master " Controuler, and master Den, [Denny, I suppose,] shall re- " pair thither, and to use themselves according to such in- " structions as shall be devised for the same.

" *Item*, For the diminishing of the house and ordering " of the Lady Mary, the King's Highness hath appointed, " that the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Marinex, [Marnix,] " the Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Almoner, shall repair thi- " ther, and use themselves according to such instructions " as shall be devised for the same.

" *Item*, The King's Highness hath appointed, that the " Lady Princess [Elizabeth [a]] shall be conveyed from

[a] Who was now near a quarter old.

CHAP. XXI.

"hence towards Hatfield [a], upon Wednesday the next "week; and that Wednesday night to repose and lye at

Anno 1533. "the house of the Earl of Rutland, in Enfield; and the "next day to be conveyed to Hertford, [Hatfield,] and "there to remain with such formerly in houshold, as the "King's Highness hath assigned and established for the "same."

[a] It was first writ the castle of Hertford, but that was dashed out, and Hatfield put in.

Richard Sampson, LL. D. Dean of the chapel, mentioned a little above, this year wrote and published a certain Latin oration, for the vindicating the King in taking the supremacy into his own hand, and for confuting the doctrine of the papal power in this kingdom. It was printed by Thomas Barthelet, *cum privilegio*. And the King sent it abroad, and dispersed it among foreigners for the vindication of his doings: and among the rest, appointed it to be sent to Pole, as shall be seen hereafter.

154 Sampson, Dean of the chapel, his book for the King's supremacy.

This book I have seen in vellum, in an exquisite collection of curious books; and which I exactly transcribed; and have now put into our Appendix. *Qua docet, hortatur, admonet*, &c. as it stands in the title, giving the purport of the said oration, *i. e.* "That it taught, exhorted, "and admonished all persons, and particularly the English "nation, that above all they were bound to obey kingly "dignity, because the law of God commanded it: and that "they should not listen to the Bishop of Rome, who had "no power by any divine right over them, after that the "King had so commanded to obey him only," &c.

N°. XLII.

In this book he grounded the King's power over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as lay, upon these Scriptures; *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;* and, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.* He asserted hence, that Kings are God's vicars, or substitutes; because they have their power of God himself. And that the Bishop of Rome hath nothing to do without his province. That in England he had no more power than the Archbishop of Canterbury had at Rome. And that there was no word in Scripture that attributed power to

Rom. xii. 1 Pet. ii.

him out of the Roman province; nor no more mention of the Bishop of Rome in the holy Scripture than of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But however it was thought necessary that this book of Sampson's should be answered: and so it was afterward by Cochlæus, a violent Papist.

And yet this writer, who hath shewn such loyalty to the King by this state-book of his against any foreign power to be superior to that of the King, we shall hear in the progress of these Memorials what a secret favourer he was of the Pope, and of such as would not renounce his authority in this kingdom.

This oration of Sampson's was some years after put into English by a learned divine and writer, with a freedom of paraphrase sometimes; which, for the benefit of English readers, is as followeth:

Dr. Sampson's oration. Becon's Reports.

"A King is appointed of God for the punishment of evil "doers, and for the prayse of the good: whom he re- "gardeth, defendeth, advaunceth. And as it apperteineth "unto his office to save and to defend the good and honest "people, so is it his duty to punish the wicked and dis- "obedient. This power hath he of God. The matter is "playne ynough. The Scriptures are evident: for it is the "word of God which teacheth us to obey this power. It "excepteth no man in the world. Neither is there found "in holy Scripture one jote or tittle that maketh free any "disobedient and wicked person from the power of the "King.

"Marvel not thou, therefore, if thou see either Priest or "Monk or Byshop punished, if he do offend, no more than "thou dost wonder at the punishment of a lay person. *If* Rom. xiii. "*thou do evil*, saith the Apostle, then *fear the power of the* "*sword*. For he speaketh this to all men, and every one of "them. *What matter thankworthy is this*, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. "*yf ye do amiss, ye take it patiently, when ye are buffeted* "*and beaten. Have therefore*, saith he, *a good conversa-* "*tion; that men speak not evil of you as malefactors.* "*Therefore be yee subject to all humane ordinance for the* "*Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme*

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1533.

"*head*, &c. God himself therefore commaundeth that we "should obey the King, his power, and his laws, in all things "that belong to the princes of this world. Seeing then that "the King hath his supreme power of God, it is to be won- "dred that such foolish men are found, which cannot abyde "(so much as in them is) that the King should be adorned "with the name of *supreme head*. But either imprudently "or impudently, and ambitiously, labour, also, that other "may not agree thereunto. Is not he worth the name of "supreme head, to whom alone in earth the supreme and "most high power is given by the word of God? I would "that they which think themselves learned, should bring "forth out of the holy Scripture any one power which may "be compared unto this regal power.

Supreme head.

"This power therefore have the kings of God himself. "His ministers they are. Of him are they sent, as St. Pe- "ter saith: and his *vicars* are they. All therefore must "needs obey this power that will be subject unto God. He "that receiveth not him, and obeyeth not him, whom God "sendeth, and to whom God hath given this express and "manifest power, doth utterly cast away God, or rather "despiseth him. Let the King therefore be called *supreme* "*head:* for the same is he indeed; confirmed with the "word of God, &c.

The King is God's vicar.

"What other thing then is it, to contemne and despise "the word of God, not to obey the King, which is God's "minister and God's vicar? I mean not, by this vicar of "God, that Byshop of Rome, which by his proper ryght "hath nothing to do without his province. He is the By- "shop of Rome: let him play the Byshop of Rome: for in "England he hath no more power then the Archbyshop of "Canterbury hath at Rome. There is not one word in the "holy Scripture which attributeth any power unto him "without the Roman province. Which thing I will make "most evident and playne unto thee. If he hath that "power by the law of God, which he so greatly seeketh "after, he must prove it by the word of God. But of the "Byshop of Rome there is no more mention then of the

The Bishop of Rome hath no power but in his own province.

" Archbyshop of Canterbury. Therefore out of this foun-
" tain he cannot draw thys water where none at all is.
" Whereas he saith, that he is the successour of Peter, and
" that by this succession he hath received this power, if
" Peter himself were here present, he would utterly deny
" it, and without all doubt cry out against this lyar, and
" say, O impostor and deceaver! O ambitious, proud, and
" arrogant man! My master Christ taught me humility,
" the denying of my self, the dispysing of this world,
" and of all the pomp thereof. Peace, &c. But how far
" estraunged from humilitie he is, which in my name cha-
" lengeth unto him the primacy and highest authoritie, his 156
" outward manners do evidently declare. The tree is known
" by the frutes. For the denying himself, he goeth about
" to do all things after his own will and pleasure. For the
" contempt and despysing of this world, he loveth nothing
" so derely as the things which belong to this world. In
" pride and pomp he passeth the princes of the heathen.
" For peace, he rayseth up battel in every place; yea, and
" that for none other cause, then that he may live and do
" all things according to hys own wil and pleasure. These
" things, I say, and many more, would St. Peter speak of
" the Bishop of Rome, if he were here.

The words of St. Peter concerning the Pope.

" But as touching the most corrupt and abominable
" manners of Rome, I say nothing. For I should almost
" as easily draw out all the water of the ocean sea, as re-
" hearse those manners, and set them forth in their right
" colours. I beseech God, for Christen charity, that he
" may learn to know God; and that when he once know
" him, he may love him: and that he, that is to say, the
" Bishop of Rome, may at the last begynne more studi-
" ously and diligently to practyse and follow those things
" which Christ commaundeth. That as he now, a great
" number of yeres, hath been the parent and father of al
" abhominations, (as I may with one word comprehend al
" evils,) setting forth the works, not of Christ, but of the
" Devil; so likewise now at the last he may repent and
" amend. That many Christen men, that now hate him,

The manners of Rome corrupt.

CHAP. XXI.

"yea, and that both worthily and justly, may rejoyce at "the conversion of one so famous a synner. I have hated,
Anno 1533. "saith the prophet, *the wicked.*
Psalm cxix. And let the Byshop of "Rome above al things learne to contain and hold himself "within his own bounds and limits. For he doth folishly to "chalenge that by that right of succession, or by the law "of inheritance, which the holy Fathers never had, nor yet
Peter had not the superiority. "would they have. For St. Peter did nothing less then arrogate and chalenge unto himself such primacy and superiority. He did never exercise it, because he never had "it. For thou shalt find in no place, that he at any time "did send any of the Apostles, or that he commaunded "any of them to do any thing. But we read that he was
Acts viii. "sent of the Apostles.

"If that Peter alone had the absolute power, whereof "they so greatly boast, what shall we then say of Paul; "which without his counsil or licence did found and sta-"blyshe, with his doctrine, the Corinthians, Galathians,
1 Tim. i. "yea, and the very Romans also? He appointed Timothy
Tit. i. "to be Bishop in Ephesus, Titus in Creta, and that they "should appoint priests or seniours in every citie, and set
Gal. ii. "the things in order, &c. but as touching Peter, he "openly reproved him unto hys face: nether did he confer "his Gospel with Peter alone, but with the Apostles. If we
Peter's authority extended but to Jewry. "wil ascribe and attribute the chief authority to St. Peter, "then must we provide, that we stretch it not out beyond "Jewry, nor further then the coasts of the Jewish country: "yea, and that by the testimony of Paul, which saith, that "he was appointed to be the preacher and teacher of the "Gentiles: and that the Gospel of uncircumcision was no "less committed unto him then the Gospel of circumcision "was committed unto Peter. He saith also, that neither "Peter nor any other of the Apostles did help him any "thing at all. Neither doth he attribute to Peter any supe-
157 "riority above the other Apostles; for he saith, *James, Ce-*
Gal. ii. "*phas, and John, which seemed to be the chief pyllars, gave* "*to me and Barnabas the right hands, and agreed with* "*us.* In the which place he doth not only make the

" other equal with Peter, but also he giveth him not so
" much honour as to name him first. For he first nameth
" James, &c.

" Peter was the first of the Apostles, but he was not the
" first and chief in power and authority. For they were al
" equal in power, &c.

Peter the first, how.

" If St. Peter were present, without al doubt he would
" take nothing more heavily, then that the Byshop of Rome
" doth chalenge unto him thys more then secular power
" under his title and name. For if St. Peter had receaved
" thys power of Christ, with this commaundment, that he
" alone should exercise it, and that all other should take
" their power of him, (as the Byshop of Rome doth now
" chalenge unto hym,) then should both Peter grievously
" have offended, which did not obey thys commaundment,
" and they also should most fowly have erred, which with-
" out his authority took upon them to minister in the
" Church of Christ. Neither would Luke have silenced
" this matter in the Acts of the Apostles, which after Christ's
" ascension wrote the things which the Apostles did. But
" how far this is from the Apostles dedes, we have already
" declared evidently ynough.

How the Pope came by his superiority.

" Seeing then that St. Peter had not this power, by what
" authoritie hath the Byshop of Rome chalenged and taken
" it unto him? Verily, by the too much sufferance of the
" princes and of the people, and thorow the filthy ambition
" and pride of the Bishops of that place. Which thing I
" will make unto thee more open and clear than the very
" sunne, yea, and that in few words.

" First of al, there is nothing more certain under heaven,
" than that unto the Bishop of Rome there is no more
" either primacy or power attributed and geven by the law
" of God, than unto any other Byshop eyther in England
" or in Fraunce or in Italy; seeing that St. Peter himself
" had it not. It must needs therefore follow, that the
" power which he chalengeth, he hath it by man's law.
" Therefore many of the auntient Byshops of Rome did
" neyther covet, nor yet at any tyme went about to exer-

CHAP. XXI.

" cise any such authoritie; neyther did other men geve it " unto them, or to any of them, such power.

Anno 1533.

" There are certain familiar epistles of Cyprian, Byshop " of Carthage, unto Cornelius, Byshop of Rome, written " about two hundred and fifty years after Christ. How " much primacy he geveth unto him, the superscription " of those letters declareth evidently. Cyprian, saith he, " *sendeth gretyng to his brother Cornelius.* Neither do the " words of the epistle geve unto him any more power. The " faith of God's word, which both the Apostles Peter and " Paul, as well with their doctrine, as also at the last " with their martyrdome, left sound and perfect, before " other places, at Rome, both those old Fathers had in " great reverence; and also the good Byshops of Rome " kept whole and safe stil, even in the time of Cyprian. " Neither doth St. Hierom attribute and gyve to Damasus, " Bishop of Rome, which lived about three hundred and " sixty-eight years after Christ's ascension unto his Father, " any other primacy in his epistles, which he wrote unto " him, then that he should follow the faith of that see of " Rome, and advaunce that to the uttermost of his power. " And as concerning that St. Hierom saith, *Extra hanc*

158 " *domum qui Agnum commoderit profanus est;* that is to

The primacy of the Pope was not known in St. Hierom's time.

" say, *He that eateth the Lamb without this house is pro-* " *fane*, and an unholy person, in a certain epistle which " beginneth, *Quoniam vetusto*, tom. iii. p. 59, he meaneth " undoubtedly *without this faith:* although Erasmus in " that place chiefly do not seme so syncerely to speak, as " he doth in many other places, which very uncircum- " spectly interpreteth that *house* the primacy of the Church " of Rome. For such primacy was not known in that " age, &c.

The Pope with his canons are to be refused.

" Seeing then that the Byshop of Rome hath so greatly " degenerated from the word of God, what is more right " and lawful, then to cast away, and utterly to refuse him, " and all his ambitious canons or laws? For they are not " the canons and rules of Christ, but rather of this world; " seying they teach none other thing than pomp, ambition,

"pride, covetousness, &c. Hereof cometh this noble pri-
"macy. Hereof springeth the dominion far passing the do-
"minion of heathen kings. Hereof also ryseth that abo-
"minable kyssing of feet. Paul and Barnabas rann out into
"the multitude, rentyng their garments for sorrow, when
"the people began to worship them, crying out on this
"manner, *We also are mortal men like unto you.* And when Acts xiv.
"Cornelius fell down at Peter's feet, Peter lifted hym up
"straightwayes, and said, *Ryse, for I also am a man.* How Acts x.
"then doth the Byshop of Rome wish, that Christen men
"should obey hym, seyng al that he teacheth or doth is so
"contrary to Christ? Eyther must we forsake Christ or the
"Byshop of Rome with these manners: for no man can
"serve these two maysters. So long as the Byshops of
"Rome followed Christ, there was no nation among all
"the Christians so subject unto him, and so obedient, (not
"in respect of any supreme power, but even of their own
"free will,) as the English nation was.

No man can serve both Christ and the Pope.

"The common-weal of England, long and many a day,
"hath sustained of this see of Rome intolerable burdens
"and injuries. But after that neither measure nor end
"could be found, our most prudent King, [Henry VIII.]
"as it was his duty, although long first, at the last pro-
"vided for his common-weal. He hath enacted, (whom all
"we are bound to obey by the word of God,) that we
"should shew no obedience to the Byshop of Rome, which
"requireth obedience at our hands without any warrant of
"God's word.

King Henry enacted no obedience to the Pope.

"He therefore that will both be counted and also be
"a true Christian, must nedes obey the word of Christ.
"Thou art bound by the word of God to obey the King,
"as we have playnly proved and taught: but so art thou
"not the Byshop of Rome. The King commaundeth thee
"to obey him. The Byshop of Rome commaundeth thee
"to be subject unto him. The King commaundeth by the
"word of God. But the Byshop of Rome chalengeth obe-
"dience by the law of man. If thou be a Christian, thou
"wilt obey the word of God. *If thou love me*, saith Christ, John xiv.

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1533.

" *kepe my commaundments. He that loveth me not, kepeth*
" *not my commaundments. He that is not with me is*
" *against me*, saith he. That thou therefore mayest be of
" God's part, thou must nedes do that which God com-
" maundeth. Otherwise shalt thou undoubtedly be of those
" enemies which would not have the King to reign over
Luke xix. " them, as Luke saith. Ye shall dy in your sinns, bycause
" ye do not only not love God, but ye seme also to hate
" hym, seying ye refuse and utterly despise his word, after
159 " that ye be taught it, ye contemn and set at nought al
" humane usurped power, and obey not the word of God.
" The word of God is, that ye should obey the King, and
" not the Byshop of Rome.

The Pope's usurped power justly banished out of England.

" With a certain secret or still consent of men, the By-
" shop of Rome crept into this realm. But now for many,
" yea, and those most just causes, as we have tofore
" partly touched, is it enacted with an open and universal
" consent, that ye should no more be subject to this foraign
" power of the Byshop of Rome. Thys doth God com-
" maund, bycause the King, God's minister in earth, doth
" commaund it, to whom, by the word of God, the supreme
" or most high power is geven. He useth his right. He will
" no longer suffer, that he, which hath too long usurped a
" power here after a thevysh sort, should thrust hym out
" of his right. Every true English hearted man is bound
" to obey this law and ordinance, that ye may specially
" love the King, supreme head: again, that ye all which
" are members of this head may heartily love one another,
" as *I*, saith Christ, *have loved you*," &c.

CHAP. XXII.

Struggling for the Pope. Wilson. Hubbardin. Powel. Latimer. Antichrist.

Anno 1533. The Popish Clergy's practice.

THIS time the Bishops generally, and most of the Clergy, were great *papalins:* and seeing how the King's proceed-

ings tended, not only to the abating, but destroying the Pope's authority and sway here in England, it sore grieved them; and they did what they could to keep it up among the people; hoping, that when the King saw how tightly the subjects every where stood for the Pope, he might be the more tender how he went on infringing his power. For this purpose they now privately procured several Doctors of the Universities, such as were the most popular and ready preachers, to be in the nature of the *itineraries*, to ride about the countries, and to preach up, from place to place, the Pope's power over kings; extolling the Bishop of Rome, and diminishing the power of secular princes. One of these was Dr. Wilson, of Cambridge, a north country-man. About this time he travelled into the countries about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he went a progress, by some private appointment, through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so toward the west parts, to Bristow. Another was an old Divine of Oxford, named Hubbardin. Hubbardin, a great strayer about the realm in all quarters, to deface and impeach the springing of Christ's Gospel. He was employed in the west country, and was wholly at the devotion of the Bishops, doing whatsoever they bade him. He magnified the Pope above measure, to the derogation of the temporal princes. But his behaviour, and life, and manner of preaching, was most indecent, and a sort of interlude; and so the more taking among the vulgar sort. He would rail in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Frith, Tyndal, Latimer, and such like eminent professors of the Gospel. He would, for his better reception among the people, openly and ostentatiously give such alms as he had received out of other men's purses. He used long prayers, pretended devotion, and great fasting. He ordinarily rode in a long gown down to the horse's heels, all bedirted like a sloven, as though he were a man of contemplation, little regarding the things belonging to the body. His sermons consisted of tales and fables, dialogues and dreams. He would dance and hop and leap, and use histrionical gestures in the pulpit. At which he

Latimer's letter to Morice, in Fox, p. 1581.

Dr. Wilson.

Hubbardin.

160

CHAP. XXII.

was once so violent, stamping so much, that the pulpit, wherein he was, brake, and he fell down, and brake his legs, whereof he died. This man once made an oration in the praise of thieves and thievery. Which he did at the command of some highwaymen that robbed him. And they liking it so well, returned him his money again, and two shillings more to drink their health. The MS. whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the auction of Mr. Smith's books. I have a grave monitory letter written to this man by Latimer, advising him to leave off his blasphemies, and confuting some passages by him uttered in a sermon. This letter you shall have in the Appendix.

Anno 1533.

N°. XLIII.

Dr. Powel.

Another of these emissaries was Dr. Powel; who once preached before the Mayor of Bristow, extolling the Pope with abundance of zeal; little regarding in the mean time the power of the secular sword. He preached also much for pilgrimages; proving them from that Scripture in the Gospel, *Whosoever leaveth not father and mother, and houses and lands*, &c. By which may be perceived what hard shifts they made to make the Scripture speak for them. For, together with the Pope's supremacy, they were instructed to do their utmost to defend and maintain the superstitions of the Church; and especially such as were gainful to the priests; such as pilgrimages to saints, shrines, and purgatory were.

Hunting the Rom. Fox, p. 4.

There is a letter of Friar Thomas Powel from Paris, a saleable letter against the King, anno 1536, which began thus: "We behold how the King is chaunged from a "Christian to a heretic," &c.

I find Nicolas Wylson and Edward Powel (who, I suppose, were the Wylson and Powel before named) attainted, with John Bishop of Rochester, for refusing the oaths of supremacy and succession in the year 1534; and their benefices declared void. Wylson was Parson of St. Thomas Apostle's, London; and, by the Archbishop of Canterbury's persuasion, he was at length brought to swear, and so escaped for that time; but it was but a dissembling the matter.

As to the supremacy, they had the King against them, who had resolved now to abolish the Pope's power in England. Which he saw there was great necessity to do, in order to the vindication of his own regal authority. And therefore he ordered the point to be much disputed. And it was argued of thoroughly both in Parliament and Convocation; and the reasons on both sides well considered. And all this the more gently to bring off the generality of the nation, which was bred up in an awe of the Pope, and had a mighty inveterate opinion of the papal jurisdiction, even to the making it equal with Christ's. Take the opinion of the common people from one who lived and conversed long among them; I mean Hugh Latimer, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and lastly a martyr. He in a letter to Sir Edward Bainton, tells him, "that the Pope, Christ's Vicar, "had been lord of all the world, as Christ is. So that if "he should have deprived the King of his crown, or you, "saith he to the knight, of the lordship of Bromeham, it "had been enough: for he could do no wrong. That he "himself thought, in time past, that the Pope's dispensa- "tions of pluralities of benefices, and of absence from the "same, had discharged consciences before God. Forasmuch as he had heard, *Ecce vobiscum sum, et qui vos "audit, audit me*, tended to corroborate the same." And there was an Italian this year in England, named Raphael Marulphus, formerly a merchant of the Pope's dispensations, who had such an opinion of the Pope's high dominion over all, that Latimer verily believed, he would dare to die in his quarrel, and look upon himself, in so doing, God's true knight and true martyr.

Anno 1533.

The people's opinion of the Pope.

161

Fox's Acts, p. 1586.

I have made some mention of Latimer, whom Bishop Ridley called *nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apostolum, the very Apostle of England*. He was now Parson of West Kington, in the county of Wilts; a great and useful preacher in those parts, and who took frequent occasion to declaim against the superstitions of the Church. Sometimes he was procured to preach in the populous city of Bristow. Whose sermons, as they gave great satisfaction unto many

Latimer at Bristow.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1533.

good people there, so no little disgust to the Papists. Insomuch, that the Priests bent themselves against him, and created him much trouble. And one Richard Brown, a Priest, wrote, as it seems, from Worcester, to some eminent person in the Convocation at London; which I do verily think was Peter Vannes, Archdeacon of Worcester, informing him against Latimer for a sermon preached at Bristow; and that he being to preach at Bristow, at Easter, might be forbid so to do by the Dean of Bristow, by the said Archdeacon's interest with the said Dean. The letter is as follows; whereby will appear what Latimer's crimes were.

A Priest complains of his preaching at Bristow. Cleop. E. 5.

"Right worshipful Master, my duty unto you remembered: eftsones it may like you to be advertised, that upon the second Sunday this Lent at Bristow, there preached one Latimer. And, as it is reported, he hath done much hurt among the people by his said preaching, and soweth errors. His fame is there and in most parts of the diocese. He said, that our Lady was a sinner, and that she ought not to be worshipped of the people, ne any of the saints. Exclaimeth upon pilgrimage. And also where the Gospel, the said Sunday specifying of the woman of Canaan's calling upon Christ to help her; and how the disciples prayed for her, saying, *Dimittite eam, quia clamat post nos;* the same Latimer declared, in his said preaching, that the woman of Canaan by the desire and prayer of the disciples to Christ for her, she rather fared the worse then the better by the prayer of them. And diverse other opinions vented in his preaching, fully against the determinations of the Church. Whereby he hath very sore infect the said town of Bristow, as it is reported. The same Latimer is assigned for to preach again at Bristow, the Wednesday in Easter week, except by your commandment unto the Dean there he be denied and forbid to preach. The good Catholic people in the said town do abhor all such his preaching. The fellow dwelleth within the diocese of Bath; and certain times cometh into my Lord's diocese of Worcester. This do-

" ing such hurt, I am required to certify your Mastership " of this wretched his abusions: and that ye would " write unto the Dean of Bristow, to forbid and deny the " said Latimer to preach there, or within any part of my " said Lord's diocese. It is reported, that he is commanded " not to preach within the diocese of Bath. This ye know, " now what is to be done, as it shall be your pleasure; and " our Lord God send you good speed in the Convocation, " and send you merry home to Worcester. This xviii. day " of March.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1538.

162

" By your true obedient servant,

" Rychard Brown, Priest."

And indeed such effect had this letter, that they procured him to be inhibited to preach at Easter, though he were appointed thereto by the Mayor; under pretence, that none might preach in the Bishop of Worcester's diocese that had not his licence. Of these their doings and untrue accusations, Latimer complained to Mr. Morice, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Secretary, a good friend of his; who became a patron to the preachers of the Gospel. For, as he related his own case, the Priests at first invited him to preach at Bristow, welcomed him, and made much of him, and allowed all that he said, while he was with them. But after he was gone, they perceiving how the people favoured him, became his enemies, and procured some Priests to preach against him. And some, that had a faculty that way, to make him the more both odious and ridiculous, were employed to make ballads upon him. One of which, for a taste of the poetry of those days, and the anger of the Priests against him, may be read in the Appendix. The burden of the song was, that *it was pity he should die for cold*; meaning, that he deserved to be burnt for an heretic. But both the balladmongers and the preachers belied him, as he affirmed to his friend Morice.

Their affronts and abuses of him.

Fox, p. 1580.

No. XLIV.

For as to what they laid to his charge, that he should say our Lady was a sinner, Latimer said for himself, that he said no such thing; but reproved certain Priests, which

His apology for himself and his sermon.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1583.

gave so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ: asserting, whether she were a sinner or no sinner, she must be saved by Christ, either by delivering her from or preserving her from sin. And then, as to the second accusation, that he should say, neither she nor any other saint was to be worshipped; therein they belied him too. For that, as he said, he distinguished between the images of saints, and the saints themselves, inhabiting heaven. The former, he said, were not to be worshipped; taking worshipping them for praying to them: and yet that they might be well used, to be laymen's books, for remembrance of heavenly things. But taking saints in the latter sense, he denied not praying to them, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators to God, though not by way of redemption, yet by way of intercession. And as to the third accusation, his exclaiming against pilgrimages, he said, "he never denied pilgrimages, but that much scurf "must be pared away, ere it could be well done: as super-"stition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image travelled "unto, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's "ordinance for doing of the thing. For debts must be
163 "paid, restitution made, wife and children be provided for, "duties to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is "at the best, before pilgrimage be vowed, it need not to be "done. And counsel is to be taken with Curates before it be "vowed to be done." After this wary manner did this good Father preach in these dark times; and so unwillingly could the Priests and Friars bear to have their old profitable superstitious practices shaken. And therefore there were many procured to preach against him, and publicly to confute whatsoever he said: and not only so, but they disparaged him to the King, as an ignorant unlearned man. Which last accusation made him wish, that the King would command him to preach before him a whole year together every Sunday, that he might perceive how they belied him, saying, that he had neither learning nor utterance.

Former troubles of Latimer.

Nor was this the first time he felt the rancour and ill will of the Priests; for about two years before, *viz.* 1531, he fell

into much trouble, having been informed against by such sort of men: so that he was cited up to London, and made his appearance before five or six Bishops, Archbishop Warham and Bishop Stokesly being two of them: when he was examined thrice a week, for divers weeks, as he tells his own story in one of his sermons, and many snares and traps were laid to get something out of his own mouth against him. At last he was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hung with arras, where he had before been wont to be examined. But now at this time the chamber was altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table was placed near the chimney's end. So that he stood between the table and the chimney. Which was so ordered out of design, as shall be seen by and by, among the Bishops that examined him. One of them, with whom he had been formerly very familiar, whom he took for his great friend, and very aged, was the person especially, of all the rest, that was to lay the snare for him. He that sat next the table's end, among other questions, put forth one very subtle and crafty one: bidding him withal speak out, because he was thick of hearing, and there were many that sat at a distance. Latimer began now to suspect, marvelling, that in that chamber he was bid to speak loud; and giving an ear to the chimney, he heard a pen writing there behind the hangings. Where indeed they had appointed one to write all his answers: thinking to make sure work, that he should not start from them. And had not God assisted him in the answers he made, he could never have escaped. Now the question was this, "Master Latimer, do you not think in your conscience "that you have been suspected of heresy?" A subtle question; to hold his peace had been to grant himself faulty; and to answer was every way full of danger. But in this extremity, God gave him a mouth and wisdom to make so prudent and wary a reply, that, though they were upon the catch, they could take no advantage against him. And so he was delivered that time out of their hands.

Anno 1533.

Sermon at Stamford, p. 96. b.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1533. The Pope called Anti-christ.

The Pope was now reckoned among many as the Anti-christ, for the opposition he made by his creatures to the Gospel, and for his overthrowing the laws of it by his dis-pensations and traditions; and for his pride and affectation of superiority over all Princes and Bishops throughout the
164 world. And the King was the more willing to allow people to lay that severe charge upon him, that he might the better vindicate his own supremacy in his own dominions. But the favourers of the Pope were much concerned at it, and endeavoured to lay that name of Antichrist somewhere else. I met with a MS. writ by some Papist, (about this time, as I guess,) treating about Antichrist. Wherein the author undertakes to tell us, by diligent reading of books, as he pretends, that Antichrist should be born of the Jews, and of the tribe of Dan; because in Gen. xlix. it is said, *Dan shall be a serpent in the way.* That in his conception, the Devil shall enter into the womb of his mother; and that he shall hold her altogether, both inwardly and outwardly; that that which is born may be altogether wicked, and the son of perdition. That he shall be born in Babylon, and brought up in Bethsaida and Chorazin; because the Lord cursed those places, Luke x. That he should come to Jerusalem; and that all such Christians as will not turn to him, he shall slay by divers torments, and place his seat in the holy temple, and shall call himself *the Son of God.* That there shall be sad tribulation for three years and an half. That he shall come at the consummation of Rome's empire; because it is said, there shall come a *departing* first, 1 Thess. ii.; that *departing* he makes to refer to a certain French king, that shall hold the Roman empire, and at last shall come to Jerusalem, and there lay down his sceptre and crown in mount Olivet. That this Antichrist shall circumcise himself, and then call himself Christ; and then all the Jews shall flee unto him. But after three years and an half, in which time he shall make all this havock and stir in the world, God shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth. But I refer the reader for the whole comment to the paper
No. XLV. in the Appendix. The Papists, by these fabulous and ridi-

culous stories of Antichrist, endeavoured to cast a mist before men's eyes, that they should the less believe and understand the Pope to be him. CHAP. XXII. Anno 1533.

CHAP. XXIII.

The general sentence. Books prohibited. Proclamations and acts against the Pope. The Friars' inclinations. Orders sent to the Bishops. Latimer made the King's Chaplain.

IN the year 1534, when orders came forth for the regulating of preaching and bidding of the beads, the *general sentence*, as it was called, was also forbidden to be used any more. This general sentence was a solemn curse, to be denounced by the Curates to their parishes once a quarter: wherein a great number of persons were wont to be accursed; and a large share of these execrations were framed to fall upon those that infringed the privileges and immunities of holy Church, or that deprived it of any of its rights and dues. This may be read in the Appendix, as I took it out of the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1532, together with the manner of a Prelate's fulminating the sentence, in his alb, accompanied with other Priests, the cross erected, and candles burning. Anno 1534. The general curse forbid to be used. N°. XLVI. 165

Much light was let in among the common people by the New Testament, and other good books, in English; which, for the most part, being printed beyond sea, were by stealth brought into England, and dispersed here by well disposed men. For the preventing the importation and using of these books, the King this year issued out a strict proclamation, by the petition of the Clergy now met in Convocation, in the month of December. English books forbidden.

Nor was this the first time such books were prohibited to be brought in: for no small quantities of them were secretly conveyed into these parts, from time to time, for the A catalogue of books prohibited;

CHAP. XXIII.

discovering, in that dark age, the gross papal innovations, as well in the doctrine of the Sacrament as in image-worship,

Anno 1534. addressing to saints, purgatory, pilgrimages, and the like.

Anno 1526. In the year 1526, October 23, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, by the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey, sent forth an order, directed to the Archdeacons of his diocese, for the calling in all English translations of the Scripture. Other books of this nature were then forbid. Which, I think, may not be unacceptable to enumerate by their titles; that though the books themselves are almost perished, the memory of them may remain with some of their authors.

The first was, *The New Testament, translated by Tyndal.*
The Supplication of Beggars.
The Revelation of Antichrist, written by Luther.
The Wicked Mammon.
The Obedience of a Christian Man.
An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.
A Dialogue between the Father and the Son.
Œconomicæ Christianæ.
Unio Dissidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Joannis Hussi in Oseam.
Zuinglius in Catabaptistas.
De Pueris instituendis.
Brentius de admiranda Republica.
Lutherus ad Galatas.
De Libertate Christiana.
Luther's Exposition upon the Pater noster.

Anno 1529. Three years after, *viz.* 1529, by the Bishops' instigation, the King issued out a proclamation against a great sort of Latin books, in number about eighty-five. A catalogue whereof, containing the titles and authors, Fox, the martyrologist, took out of the register of the Bishop of London, and

P. 928. may be seen in his Acts and Monuments. The names of the writers were, Wickliff, Luther, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Pomeranus, Pellicanus, Bucer, Melancthon, Brentius, Fr. Lambertus, Wesselus, Gocchius, Faventinus, Carolostadius, and others; generally German Divines: having this title, *Libri sectæ sive factionis Lutherianæ, importati ad civitatem, London.* By this proclamation a mark of disallowance also was set upon these books following:

A Book of the Old God and New.
Godly Prayers.
The Christian State of Matrimony.
The Burying of the Mass: a book made by Barlow.
The Sum of the Scripture.
Mattins and Evensong, seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations.
An Exposition on the seventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.
The Chapters of the Book of Moses called Genesis.
The Chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy.
The Matrimony of Tyndal.
David's Psalter in English.
The Practice of Prelates.
Hortulus Animæ, in English.
A. B. C. for the Clergy.
The Examination of William Thorp.

To these we may add some others that were of the same nature with the former, and privately dispersed and greedily read about this time:

Tyndal's Answer to Sir Thomas More.
The Prologue of the Five Books of Moses.
A Dialogue between the Plowman and the Gentleman: this was composed by Barlow.
The Primer in English.
The Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Hus.
Catalogue of Famous Men.
A Disputation concerning Purgatory, by John Frith.

The dispersers.

And many there were that ventured their lives in bringing in and conveying abroad these books in London, and other places of the nation. Among these, Richard Bayfield was one, once a Monk of St. Edmund's Bury; who twice in the year 1530, and once in the year after, imported his books: which he landed, for the more privacy, in different places: as once at Colchester, the next time at St. Katharine's, London, and the last in some port in Norfolk; whence he brought them to London in a mail. At last he was taken at his bookbinder's in Mark-lane; and finally burnt at Smithfield in November 1531. Another of these was Thomas Garret, Curate, of Honey-lane, who in the year 1526 dispersed books of this sort in Oxford, whereby many in that Uni-

Bayfield.

Garret.

CHAP. XXIII.

versity were enlightened in the truth of religion. He also suffered martyrdom about the year 1540. A third was George Constantine, who about the time of Bayfield passed and repassed the seas upon the same errand. He also was at last taken, and put in custody. But he disingenuously confessed to Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, several of his companions and fellows, and disclosed the shipmen who brought over many of these books, and the marks of the fardles: by the which means the books were afterwards taken and burnt. By this his confession and compliance he escaped; and was afterwards Register to Farrer, the Bishop of St. David's, and one of his ungrateful accusers.

Anno 1534. Constantine.

Besides the proclamation aforesaid, divers others this year were issued out, and acts of Parliament made against the Pope, and for restoring to the Crown its ancient privileges and prerogatives. Among the rest, one was, that no Bishops should be henceforth commended, presented, or nominated to the Bishop of Rome, or should send for bulls or palls from thence. But that at the vacation of any bishopric, the Bishop elect should be presented to the Archbishop of the province to be invested and consecrated.

Proclamations and acts against the Pope.

167 However, great were the strugglings of the Clergy in the Pope's behalf; to whom they stood so marvellously well affected, especially the monkish sort of them. I shall give one instance, which I meet with, this year, as I conjecture. It was a sermon preached by some Monk or Friar in the cathedral church of Exeter. For some expressions wherein, that looked askew upon the King's supremacy, but clothed in very crafty words, he was laid in hold, and demanded by the Provincial an account of the said sermon. The passages that gave him his troubles were these, as he related himself.

A Friar preacheth at Exeter, in favour of the Pope's supremacy.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 202.

"I asked, where Peter denied Christ? and I said, *In domo* "*principis.* Have not we served him well, or be not we "Christ's friends, taking his part against Peter? In that we "consider that St. Peter denied Christ, therefore like lov- "ing people we deny Peter, and take Christ's part." And in another sermon preached at Exeter, "Masters, I fear me, "that the mystical body of Christ is made a monster. For

" that is called a monster, after the mind of the philosopher, " when there lacketh a part of the natural body, or else " when there be too many parts, as two heads or four legs " of a man; or else when the parts stand out of order. And " so the mystical body of Christ is, or may be called, a " monster. And why? For because thereas the eyes should " stand, there stand the hands. And thus all the other " parts stand out of order." But for these words he was fain to submit himself, and writ a letter mentioning at large what he had said, and acknowledging his fault.

The Convocation own the King's supremacy.

But before this year went out, whatever averseness was shewn by the Clergy and the Religious, the King had so dealt with them, or so convinced them, that now at a Convocation it was declared, that the Pope had no jurisdiction in this kingdom; as the Parliament had enacted, that the King should be reputed and accepted the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to visit and reform all errors, heresies, &c.

The Friars are for Q. Katharine.

In the King's chapel.

But to say a little more of the Friars. They of the order of St. Francis especially stuck to Queen Katharine, and particularly they of the monastery at Greenwich. One of them, Peto by name, who was afterwards Queen Mary's Confessor, and sent by the Pope to be his Legate in the room of Cardinal Pole, had the confidence, as our historian relates, to preach to the King's own face, in his own chapel, that many lying prophets had deceived him: and he denounced the same judgment against him that God's prophet did against Ahab: and that it was the King's misery that he was so flattered. And when by the King's appointment another was put up the next Sunday to confute Peto, another observant Friar, named Elston, of the same house, interrupted him boldly in the King's presence, and told him he was a lying prophet.

At Paul's Cross.

Another of these Friars of Greenwich, as I find by an original letter in my custody, named Father Robinson, did offer to dispute the Queen's cause publicly with an Abbot, who had preached at Paul's Cross in favour of the King's

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1534.

cause. And it seems he did this openly to the Abbot's face, while he was preaching. Whereupon was a report given out, that the Friars of Greenwich, if they might be suffered to tell the truth, would put to silence all that had or should preach in favour of the King's matter, and prove all false
168 that they had preached. And the said Father Robinson did intend, with all his wit and learning, to preach on the Queen's part the next Sunday after at Paul's Cross, that he might have the greater audience.

In a conventual church.

The King was somewhat moved at this convent, so near his Court, and no better affected towards him: as he was also at other convents, in the parts in and about London. And therefore some of his learned chaplains were appointed to preach sometimes among them, to state and explain more truly the King's cause. But while one of them was thus preaching in a conventual church of the Franciscans in London, the Warden thereof stoutly stood up, and reproved him, and that, as it seems, in an undecent way. The doing of which was by the Vicar of the same convent told to some of the Friars of Richmond with great commendation; saying, "that it was not the Warden that spake, but the Holy "Ghost spake in him." These Friars fed themselves with a conceit, that by these their oppositions they should bring the King at last to acquiesce with his Queen Katharine. For they gave it out, they should prevail at last against all those that favoured the King's cause.

Some Friars secret informers against the rest.

Yet the King had commonly some in these houses that were otherwise minded, and discovered the treachery and disaffectedness of the rest. Such an one was one Laurence, of the same convent with the Warden and Vicar aforesaid; who by way of letter wrote an information of these false practices to a certain nobleman unnamed; (the Earl of Wiltshire, as I suppose;) and offered to discover more by word of mouth to the King, which he dared not do either by letter or messenger. He that is minded to read Friar
N°. XLVII. Laurence's letter must betake himself to the Appendix; where it may be found.

Anno 1534.

In pursuance of the act, wherein the Parliament had given the King the supremacy, he first took the corporal oaths, subscriptions, and seals of the Bishops of the realm, unto the said supremacy. Next, he addressed letters to every Bishop in his respective diocese, requiring them to do these things following:

Orders to the Bishops concerning the supremacy.

First, In their proper persons, every Sunday and high festival throughout the year, to preach the sincere word of God; and to declare that this style and title of *supreme head* belonged to the crown and dignity of this realm.

Secondly, That they should give monition to all Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other ecclesiastical persons, to teach and publish the said style and title every Sunday and high festival, in their respective houses, churches, and parishes.

Thirdly, To command all schoolmasters to instruct and teach the same unto the children committed to them.

Fourthly, To cause all prayers, rubrics, canons of mass books, &c. wherein the Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp mentioned, to be utterly abolished and rased out; and his very *name and memory to be never more remembered, except to his contumely and reproach.* For in those words the King's letter runs.

Fifthly, To leave out in the general sentence all such articles as tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome. Upon which order it soon was laid wholly aside.

169

And lest any Bishop or ecclesiastical man, after these commands, should not do his office, or leave undone any part or parcel of the premises, or do it coldly, or use any manner of sinister interpretation, the King therefore set the sheriffs of each county as monitors over them. For by a letter also to them, the King required them to admonish him thereof with all speed. Threatening them with great severity, upon their neglect, or halting and stumbling in any part thereof. This was given at Westminster, June the 9th.

And to the Sheriffs. Fox's Acts, p. 963.

Orders for preaching, and the beads.

And somewhat before this, a remarkable order, hinted before, was given out for preaching and bidding the beads in all sermons to be made within the realm. Wherein, as to

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1584.

the prayers, it was commanded to pray for the King, and Queen Anne, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both: and to add no more. As for preaching, that the preacher was to preach once against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. That there should be no open contention in pulpits. Several doctrines not to be touched at in sermons for a year. That preachers should preach the word of God sincerely, without mixing it with human inventions: and divers other injunctions. And particularly there was to be a large declaration made, concerning the King's great cause of matrimony. The specifical order I omit, since it is exemplified in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

Collect. p. 58.

And for vindication of the King's supreme authority in his own dominions against the Pope's pretended power and jurisdiction, were sent to the University of Cambridge two very learned and eminent men from the Court, *viz.* Dr. Heines and Dr. Skip; who, both by public preaching and disputation, should debate the same. And this occasioned great disputes and arguings among the scholars there. Whereby it appeared, how earnestly they generally stood affected to the Pope, and were prejudiced against acknowledging the King, in derogation to the papal see. Insomuch as to speak or think otherwise was enough to disappoint any preferment hoped for there. Such a case happened at this time towards Roger Ascham, that exquisite scholar, then of St. John's college, as he tells us the story himself, who being now Bachelor of Arts, stood for a fellowship of that house. And chancing among his company to speak against the Pope, was in all likelihood to be put by his election. For this coming to the ears of Dr. Metcalf, the Master, Ascham was called before him and the seniors. And after grievous rebuke, yea, and some punishment, open warning was given to all the Fellows, none to be so hardy as to give him his voice at that election. But notwithstanding, he had the good fortune to be elected by the Master's means, privately favouring him, as it seems, for his learning and hopefulness. Which himself relates after this manner;

Heines and Skip sent to Cambridge, to preach the King's supremacy.

Ascham, schoolmaster.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1584.

" Yet for all these open threats, the good Father himself " privily procured that I should even then be chosen Fel- " low. But the election being done, he made countenance " of great discontentation thereat." And then he goes on to express his gratitude in these words; which I must take leave to subjoin, in memory of that useful man and excellent scholar: " This good man's goodness and fatherly dis- " cretion used towards me on that day, shall never out of " my remembrance all the days of my life, &c. Next to " God's providence, surely that day was, by that good Fa- " ther's means, my *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foun- " dation of the poor learning I have, and for all the fur- " therance that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained."

170

Latimer made the King's Chaplain.

About this time the King, by the means of Crumwel and Dr. Butts, his Physician, had made Latimer his Chaplain. Thus, after all his former troubles, he became advanced to honour, and brought into favour with the King; being much employed in the Court in consultations about matters of religion, wherein the King was now very busy. And among the rest of the learned Clerks, Latimer always made one. He was then esteemed a man of excellent elocution, and so was often put up to preach before the King. And being a bold man, would speak his mind with great freedom. His practice was, in his sermons at Court, to declaim against the vices there. And against the vices of the common people, when he happened to preach before them in London and elsewhere. And against the vices of the ecclesiastics, when he came up before them. Which honest freedom created him much trouble.

Accused before the King of seditious doctrine.

He had lately in a sermon before the King spoke his mind very plain. Which some of his enemies thought to make their advantage of, and thence to take their opportunity to complain of him to the King; that so they might get him out of the way. Soon after his sermon, he and divers others being called before the King, to say their minds in certain matters; while they were thus before him, one kneeled down to his Majesty, and accused Latimer of sedition before his face, and that he had preached seditious

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1584.

doctrine. The King turned him to Latimer, and said, What say you to that, Sir? Latimer kneeled down, and turning him first to his accuser, asked him thus; "What form of "preaching would you appoint me to preach before a king? "Would you have me to preach nothing concerning a king "in the King's sermon? Have you any commission to ap- "point me what I shall preach?" He asked him divers other questions; but he would answer none at all: nor had he any thing to say. Then he turned to the King, and submitting himself to his Grace, said, "I never thought "myself worthy, nor ever sued to be a preacher before your "Grace. But I was called to it: and would be willing, if "you mislike me, to give place to my betters. But if your "Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace, "to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my "discourse according to mine audience. I had been a "very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your "realm as I preach before your Grace." These words were well accepted of the King, as Latimer concluded, because the King presently turned to another communication. At that time certain of his friends came to him with tears in their eyes, and told him, they looked for nothing but that he should have been sent to the Tower the same night.

Latimer's third sermon before the King.

Latimer blames the King in his sermon.

The matter, I suppose, was this. Before the abbeys were dissolved, the King had charged certain of them with the maintenance and care of some of his horses. The inconvenience whereof was, that hospitality and feeding the poor became hereby much hindered, the King's horses being maintained out of the revenue. For this, did Latimer, in a sermon at the Court, take the confidence to blame the King. "Abbeys, he said, were ordained for the comfort of the poor.

171 "Wherefore it was not decent the King's horses should "be kept in them: as many were at that time, the living "of poor men thereby minished and taken away." Afterward a nobleman said to him, What hast thou to do with the King's horses? He answered, he spake his conscience, as God's word directed him. The nobleman said, horses were the maintainers and parts of a king's honour, and of the

realm also. Wherefore, in speaking against them, ye speak against the King's honour. Latimer replied, "God teach-"eth what honour is decent for a king." And said more-over, "that God hath appointed a sufficient living for his "state and degree, both by lands and other customs. But "to extort and take away the right of the poor is against "the honour of the King."

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1523.

First serm. before King Edward.

And thus we have found out his seditious preaching. It was indeed an ordinary charge, to charge him and other Gospel preachers with sedition. So one said, of a sermon he preached before King Edward, when one asked him, how he liked Latimer's sermon before King Edward; *Even as I liked him always. A seditious fellow.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Books and discourses about this time. Bishop Fisher's troubles.

THIS year (if not before) came forth the famous book, *De vera Differentia regiæ Potestatis et ecclesiasticæ.* The author of this book was mentioned before. It was published by the advice and consent of that memorable Convocation, which assured the King that the authority and government in all matters and causes ecclesiastical belonged unto his estate, both by the word of God and the ancient laws of the Church. And therefore promised him, *in verbo sacerdotii, by their priesthood,* not to do any thing in their councils without his assent. And this Clergy consisted not only of divines, but of the wisest and most expert and best learned in the civil and canon laws, that was then, or hath been since: as particularly, Dr. Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, Dr. Stokesly, Bishop of London, Dr. Gardyner, Bishop of Winton, Dr. Thirlby, afterwards Bishop of Westminster, and Dr. Boner, and many others. By the advice and consent of these, and the rest of that learned Convocation, was that book made and published: as we are told by Dr. Horn,

A book comes out, of the difference of kingly and ecclesiastical power. Chap. xx.

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1534. Answer to Feckenham. fol. 86. b. print. 1565.

Bishop of Winchester, in a certain book of his. "Neither "was this a new device, said that Bishop, to please the "King withal, or their opinion only: but it was and is the "judgment of the most learned civilians and canonists, that "when the Clergy are faulty and negligent, it appertaineth "to the Emperor to call general councils for the reformation "of the Church."

Another book comes forth of the King's power. Ubi supr. fol. 76. b.

Another book appeared this twenty-sixth year of the King, entitled *De Potestate Regis*, as I find by the same Bishop Horn. It treated of the doings of the kings of this realm before the Conquest, in matters ecclesiastical.

172

Gardiner's book of obedience. Becon's Reports, p. 270.

This year also Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, put forth his book, *De vera Obedientia; Of true Obedience.* Which he wrote to justify the Parliament in giving the King the title of *Supreme Head* of this Church. In which discourse were these words: "I think it necessary for me "to touch the cause which is commonly in use and spoken "of at this day, almost in all men's hands and in all men's "mouths; whether the whole consent of Englishmen be "grounded upon God's law, in that they declare and honour "the most victorious and most noble Prince, King Henry "the VIIIth, King of England and of France, Defender "of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, to be in earth the *Su-*"*perior Head* of the Church of England; and is granted "unto him by authority thereof in open Court of Parlia-"ment freely to use his right, and to call himself *Supreme* "*Head of the Church of England*, as well in name as deed. "Wherein there is no newly invented matter wrought: only "their will was to have the power pertaining to a Prince "by God's law to be the more clearly expressed, with a "more fit term to express it by: namely, for this purpose, "to withdraw that counterfeit vain opinion out of the com-"mon people's minds, which the false pretenced power of "the Bishop of Rome for the space of certain years had "blinded them withal, to the great impeachment of the "King's authority. Which all men are bound to wish, "and to their utmost power see kept safe, restored, and de-"fended from wrongs."

This book was reprinted in the year 1536, and a preface added of Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester; wherein he accused the Bishop of Rome of many grievous and horrible wickednesses and sins, meaning the Pope then living. He said, "he had made many laws to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, under the title of *Catholic Church*, and the authorities of the Apostles Peter and Paul. When notwithstanding, he is a very ravening wolf, drest in sheep's clothing, calling himself *servant of servants*, to the damage of the Christian commonwealth. Thus did these two Divines write and think now of the Pope, who afterwards became his chief champions."

Boner's preface thereto. Becon's Reports, p. 269. b.

That I may here bring matters of the same subject together, though belonging to another year, Simon Matthew, who was a learned and good man, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, London, and had about the year 1537. or 1538. preached and printed a sermon at Paul's Cross upon this text, *By this cognizance*, saith Christ, *all the world shall know that ye are my disciples, if ye have unity among you.* On which (to give the reader a taste of the man) he thus descanted: "Unity, I say, of faith and spirit, fixed and stedfast in God, and not in any mortal creature, as many have thought necessary: that, if a man should be of the Church of Christ, he must be of the holy Church of Rome, and take the holy Father thereof for the supreme Head, and for the Vicar of Christ, yea for Christ himself: and to be divided from him were even to be divided from Christ. Such damnable teachings have there been, which have caused men to leave the commandments of God undone for human traditions. But whatsoever hath been 173 done by ignorance, let us reform it, and not be ashamed to profess the truth: which is, that next unto God, the Prince is to be honoured, and that the Bishop of Rome hath no more power by the laws of God in this realm than any other foreign Bishop. And again: the Bishop of Rome shall never prove by Scriptures such preeminence to be due to him, as he challengeth. But he defraudeth temporal princes of the honour that God gave them, and

Simon Matthew's sermon.

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1534.

" causeth their subjects damnably to disobey the ordinance " of God. As of late you have had experience of some, " whom neither friends nor kinsfolk, neither the judgment " of both universities, Cambridge and Oxford, nor the uni- " versal consent of all the Clergy of this realm, nor the laws " of the Parliament, nor their most natural and loving " Prince, could, by any gentle ways, revoke from their dis- " obedience; but would needs persist therein; giving perni- " cious occasion to the multitude to murmur and grudge at " the King's laws."

Starkey's book.

Not far wide of this time also, Thomas Starkey, a very learned man, the King's Chaplain, as it seems, (who was a great acquaintance with Pole in Italy, and afterwards wrote divers letters to him from England, to reclaim him to that King's part,) wrote a book, entitled, *An Exhortation to the People, instructing them to Unity and Obedience;* printed by Berthelet. It runs upon the point of the superiority of the Pope, in confutation of it, and of dependance thereupon. Wherein, after he had shewed " how the Pope, " for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion, " had brought in among Christians much false superstition; " and for the maintenance of his pride set great divisions " among Christian princes; what insolent pride and ar- " rogance it was in the Pope to affirm a superiority among " Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the " Bishop of Rome he that must be chief Judge over all " Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with inter- " dicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that " the Pope's prerogative could not be shewn from any " ground of Scripture. That until the time of Pope Syl- " vester, about the space of four hundred years, there was " no mention at all made of this head: that all the ancient " and good interpreters of Christ's Gospel among the " Greeks kept silence concerning this authority, in all their " books never making any mention of it: and that if this " were true, then should all the Indians these thousand " years have run headlong to damnation, who never took " the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church. The

" same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Arme-
" nians; who would never own that Bishop for their head."
He concluded thus; " Wherefore, dear brethren, let us not, Anno 1534.
" blinded with foolish superstition, by process of time cropen
" into our hearts, bind our own conscience with scrupulous
" necessity of such a thing. Which undoubtedly grew in
" among us only as a thing of convenience, and as a thing
" of great help and succour to the maintenance of a cer-
" tain unity in Christ's Church, and not as a thing of ne-
" cessity.

" Therefore, as it is in the politic life and civil nothing
" convenient to have one Emperor, by whose judgment all
" other causes, worldly and politic, in all nations, should be
" defined; forasmuch as thereby all princely authority
" should be derogate, and be in subjection: so it is in the 174
" spiritual policy of Christ's Church, one head to be with
" such authority, as of many years hath been used, a thing
" most inconvenient, and to all Christian nations plain in-
" jury, yea, and, plainly to say, to the doctrine of Christ
" nothing agreeable. Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that
" this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither
" by God's word in his Scripture granted, nor by the prac-
" tice thereof by his Apostles, inspired with his Spirit, con-
" firmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man
" requisite and necessary; I see no cause why we should
" so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to
" such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away
" from our nation such a cloaked tyranny, which under the
" pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstи-
" tion, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple,
" and pure doctrine of Christ."

A book proving the King's supremacy by law.

Besides these books before mentioned, written by Divines, to overthrow the Pope's authority by arguments taken from Scripture and ecclesiastical history, another notable state-book came out about these times, *viz.* in the year 1538, printed also by Berthelet; written against him by some learned lawyer: entitled, *A Treatise, proving by the King's laws, that the Bishops of Rome had never right to any su-*

CHAP. XXIV.

premacy within this realm. The design of which book was to shew, (as it is in the preface,) "that notwithstanding
Anno 1534. "the Bishops of Rome in many realms, and especially in "those where the law civil is used, have of long time had "possession of their said usurped powers, yet the same "never could take the full and perfect effect in this realm: "but the King and his most noble progenitors, always "justly resisting and repugning the same, have been con- "tinually supreme judges here under God. So that all "laws, powers, and jurisdictions, pretended by the Bishops of "Rome, and the Clergy within this realm, have been under "the correction and orders of the kings and their laws:" as appeared by divers reasons, laws, statutes, and customs of this realm contained in the said treatise. And thereby it was made appear to all men, "that the King's Majesty's "being recognised to be supreme head, under God, of the "Church of England, had thereby no new power given "unto him: but that the selfsame power and supremacy "had always been in his most noble progenitors, kings of "this realm, and united and knitted to the imperial crown "of the same, though they had not used to write the same "in their styles."

Bp. Fisher's troubles.

But now return we to our year, 1534; in which happened the troubles of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor: who were put into the Tower upon the business of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, and the acts of succession, lately made in Parliament; wherein it was enacted, that the issue of Queen Katharine should be cut off from succeeding to the crown, and that of Queen Anne should have the right of succession invested in them. To which the subjects were to swear. And that this act might take the more effect, commissioners were sent abroad to require the oath. These two, before mentioned, refused it: yet were content to swear to the succession itself, but not to the whole act, some by-things in it not agreeing to their judgments. Which undoubtedly were either because it was suggested in that act, that the marriage with
175 Queen Katharine was not dispensable by the Pope, as being

against the law of God; or somewhat relating to the mention in that act made of the legal proceedings in the divorce by Cranmer, or some touches against the Pope's authority. But which of these particulars offended them, they would not discover. They had also given credit and countenance to Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, called the holy Maid of Kent; who proved an impostor, and was executed with several of her accomplices. Anno 1534.

There were great means used for the reducing of Fisher to compliance, in respect of the great reputation he bare for learning and piety. Crumwel had been with him in the Tower to persuade and convince him. And soon after he sent Roland Lee, elect of Coventry and Litchfield. That which stuck with Fisher was, that the marriage was to be reckoned contrary to the law of God, because of a prohibition in the Levitical law. About this, Lee was sent to discourse with him. The issue was, Fisher declared that he would take an oath to the succession, that he would swear never to meddle more in disputation of the matrimony, and promised allegiance to the King. But his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was against the law of God. But the event shewed the King would make no abatement of his act. The Bishop was now reduced in the Tower to a very low condition, both as to body and purse. *His body could not bear the clothes on his back; he was nigh going, and could not continue, unless the King were merciful to him*, as Lee wrote to Crumwel, after the visit he had made him. Endeavours used to reduce him. His piteous condition.

Crumwel advised him to write unto the King, (probably,) to declare his mind to him in swearing to the succession, and to petition him to let that suffice, because his conscience could not serve him to consent to the rest of the act. Fisher knew well the jealous temper of the King; which made him tell Crumwel, that he feared to write to him, because he feared the King might take something amiss. But because it was the Secretary's mind, he set himself to do it. He was now reduced to a want of clothes; those he had being ragged, and not sufficient to defend him from the cold in that winter. And his food also was very coarse and His necessity.

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1534.

scanty. He requested of the Secretary to let him have necessaries in his old age, and to obtain of the King his liberty; and some other requests he made. But take his own words:

His letter to the Secretary. Cleop. E. 6.

"Furthermore, I beseech you be good master unto me in "my necessity. For I have neither shirt nor sute, nor yet "other cloaths, that are necessary for me to wear, but that "be ragged and rent too shamefully. Notwithstanding, I "might easily suffer that, if that would keep my body "warm. But my diet also God knoweth how slender it is "at many times. And now in my age my stomach may no "away, but with a few kind of meats; which if I want, I "decay forthwith, and fall into crases and diseases of my "body, and cannot keep my self in health. And, as our "Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to pro-"vide any better, but as my brother, of his own purse, lay-"eth out for me, to his great hindrance.

"Wherefore, good master Secretary, eftsones I beseech "you to have some pity upon me, and let me have such
176 "things as are necessary for me in mine age, and especially "for my health. And also that it may please you, by your "high wisdom, to move the King's Highness to take me "unto his gracious favour again, and to restore me to "my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment. "Whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor bedesman for "ever unto Almighty God. Who ever have you in his "protection and custody.

"Other twain things I must desire upon you. The toon "is, it may please you, that I may take some Priest with "me in the Tower, by the assignment of Master Lieu-"tenant, to hear my confession against this holy time. That "other is, that I may borrow some books, to say my devo-"tion more effectually these holy days, for the comfort of "my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your "charity. And this our Lord God send you a mery Christ-"mas, and a comfortable, to your heart's desire. At the "Tower, the xxii. day of December.

"Your poor Bedesman,

"John Roff."

After the Bishop's execution, the Papists' business was to extol him, and make him a saint; and a Charter House Monk feigned an apparition appearing to him, and assuring him that Fisher was a martyr; a letter whereof was sent to Crumwel, and may be seen in the Cotton Library.

Anno 1534.

An apparition concerning Fisher. Cleop. E. 4. p. 128.

CHAP. XXV.

The holy Maid of Kent. Confessions brought in to Crumwel concerning her. Matters of Sir Thomas More, with respect to this Nun. Gives the King occasion of displeasure against him.

CRUMWEL, on whom lay the care of searching into the sayings and doings of the pretended holy inspired Nun and her accomplices, had at length divers confessions brought in unto him from those that were concerned with her. And among the rest, one, unnamed, was required to confess and relate what he had heard one Rich, a Friar Observant, tell him of her. With which Rich he had much conversation; and from whom he had heard many of her speeches and pretended converse with angels. This man, who himself was obnoxious, as it seems, freely sent in a large account of what he had heard from the said Friar. And because I know none of our historians have related these things so much at large concerning her, I shall here transcribe the very letter sent to Crumwel from this person; taken, as I did transcribe it, from the original.

A Friar's relation of the Nun.

177

" Sir,

" It may please you to be advertised, that, according " to your commandment, I have put the articles of the " communication betwixt me and Mr. Rich in writing, (and " as he saith you have them in writing before,) even as I " heard things worthy to be noted upon the margin of my " book in the Dutch and French tongue, to the intent he " should not understand my purpose, why I did write " them. Yet did I not believe such tales, which he calleth

Rich, a Friar, his confession concerning the Nun. Cleop. E. 4.

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1534.

" *revelations.* For I have learned the Gospel, *Attendite a* " *falsis prophetis;* if I had remembered another command- " ment as well as I did that, *Non concupisces rem propinqui* " *tui*, I should not have fallen into this misery. I have in " remembrance thirty or thirty-one of these tales: which " are not possible so to be set forth in writings, that their " intent should be known. And I suppose that twenty sheets " of paper will not write them at length in order. Where- " fore I have written the name of the story whereupon it " doth treat: so that then, if it be as he saith, the whole " story will be in his remembrance.

" I. Of an angel that appeared, and bade the Nun go " unto the King, that infidel Prince of England, and say, " that I command him to amend his life; and that he leave " three things which he loveth, and purposeth upon; that " is, that he take off the Pope's right and patrimony from " him. The second, that he destroy all these new folks of " opinion, and the works of their *new learning*. The third, " that if he married and took Anne to wife, the vengeance " of God plague him. And, as he saith, she shewed this " unto the King, &c.

" II. *Item*, After this two or three months, the angel " appeared, and bade her go again unto the King, and say, " that since her last being with his Grace, he hath more " highlier studied to bring his purpose to pass: and that " she saw in spirit the King, the Queen, and the Earl of " Wiltshire, standing in a garden together; and that they " did devise how to bring the matter to pass. And by no " means it would not be. But at last a little devil stood " beside the Queen, and put it in her mind to say thus: " You shall send my father unto the Emperor, and let him " shew your mind and conscience; and give him those " many thousand ducats to have his good will. And that " it will be brought to pass. Go, and fear not to shew the " King this tale and privy token, and bid him take his old " wife again, or else, &c. It is so naughty a matter, that " my hand shaketh to write it; and something better un- " written than written.

" III. *Item*, That when the King's Highness was over at " Calais, she saw the Host taken from the Priest, with the " blessed blood: and that angel brought it her for to re- Anno 1534. " ceive, saying, &c. Two sheets will scant write this story.

" IV. *Item*, That she was charged to go unto the Cardi- " nal, when he was most in his prosperity, and shew him of " three swords that he had in his hand; one of the spiri- " tualty, another of the temporalty, and the other of the " King's marriage. A long matter. The Bishop of Can- " terbury and Bocking to be remembered.

" V. *Item*, Another season after, the angel commanded 178 " her to go unto the said Cardinal, and shew him of his fall; " and that he had not done as she had commanded him, by " the will of God.

" VI. *Item*, That since he dyed, she saw the disputations " of the devils for his soul; and how she was three times " lift up, and could not see him, neither in heaven, hell, " nor purgatory: and at the last, where she saw him; and " how by her penance he was brought unto heaven; and " what souls she saw fly through purgatory.

" VII. *Item*, More, the angel warned her, that she " should go unto a Abbot, and warn him to take three of his " brethren by name. For they were purposed to have run " away the night with three men's wives; and that God " would they should have better grace, &c.

" VIII. *Item*, Of another, that had beaten himself so with " rods, that the stamel was bloody: which he thought to " have buried in the garden. And she by the command- " ment of the angel met him, &c. A high matter for " penance.

" IX. *Item*, Of two other Monks, which had taken ship- " ping to go unto Tytealle: which by her prayer was " turned. And the ship had no power to depart from the " haven, &c.

" X. *Item*, That the angel commanded her to go to " another Monk, and bid him burn the New Testament " that he had in English, and of great visions seen of the " same, in token of grace.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1534.

" XI. *Item*, Of the warning that the angel gave her of a " woman that came unto S. Thomas of Canterbury. A mer- " vailous matter, and a long.

" XII. *Item*, The angel shewed her, that the ambassa- " dor of the Pope should be at Canterbury: and how she " sent by him the message of God unto the Pope.

" XIII. *Item*, That she spake by the commandment of " God at London with one other; and bade him write the " message of God unto the Pope. To the which she did " set her hand, &c.

" XIV. *Item*, Of the old Bishop of Canterbury. How " he had promised to marry the King; and of his warnings " by the angel of God, &c.

" XV. *Item*, That she did shew unto Dr. Bocking the " hour of his death, &c. That she heard the disputation be- " tween the angels and the devils for his soul.

" XVI. *Item*, She did see him when he went into hea- " ven, with his words that he spoke. And how S. Thomas " was there present, and accompanied him, &c.

" XVII. *Item*, Of the going and return of the Earl of " Wiltshire into Spain; with the receiving of the King's " letters there; and the answer of the Emperor, &c.

" XVIII. *Item*, Of the vision which he had, if the King " should have married at Calais: of the great shame that " the Queen should have had, &c.

" XIX. *Item*, Of such persons as the angel of God hath " appointed to be at her death; when she shall receive the " crown of martyrdom; and the time, with the place.

" XX. *Item*, How diverse times the Devil hath appeared " unto her. One time he came in the likeness of a good
179 " man, and brought with him a lady; and before her face " had to do with her upon her bed; with other matters, too " abominable.

" XXI. *Item*, Of a certain vision that Gold's wife had " upon Saint Katharine's day; which the angel of God did " shew by her prayers, &c.

" XXII. *Item*, How at Court-up-street, when Mr. Gold " went unto Mass, the other Gold's wife desired her to

" make her prayers unto God, to know the state of Princess " Dowager. Of two other women, and of two Friers, which " was Rich and Risby. Assoon as the Priest began *Confi-* Anno 1534. " *teor*, she fell in a transe; and of her wonderful answer.

" XXIII. *Item*, Of a certain gentleman dwelling about " Canterbury, that had long time been tempted to drowne " himself by the spryt of a woman, that he had kept by his " wife's days; which was demanded, &c. A long matter " and a strange.

" XXIV. *Item*, Of the visions seen by her sister, mer- " vaillous. And how she took the bloud of our Lord's side " in a chalice. And how she saw the plague for the city " of London, &c.

" XXV. *Item*, Of the words that the Nun spake unto " Mr. Richards. How the angel of God asked for his " faith; with certain privy tokens that she shewed him that " he had in his *memento;* with divers other things in their " house; which causeth them all to muse, &c.

" XXVI. *Item*, How the angel of God hath commanded " her to say, that all are but illusions. For the time is " not come that God wol put forth your work.

" XXVII. *Item*, Of |9|9|9 the reign of the King, how " long he shall reign; as saith a prophecy. Which agreeth " with her saying, &c.

" XXVIII. *Item*, Of three letters, A. F. G. by a pro- " phecy that is in the hand of holy Richard. If you send " to me John Godolphin, your servant, I can cause him to " find him by enquiry at the Temple.

" XXIX. *Item*, More a great deal of a golden letter " that Mary Magdalen did send. And how the angel " commanded her to counterfeit another. Because the " people should have power upon her body, &c. What " money that was hid, &c.

" XXX. *Item*, That six days before the said Richard " was taken, he went to a man that hath a prophecy: and " with him Nesywick, the Observant. Who shewed unto " them wondrous things, pens and inkhorns: letters of pro- " phesies, and of all their troubles at Paul's Cross. This

CHAP. XXV.

"man dwells two miles from Bugden. His name is Han-
"ford, &c."

Anno 1534.

All this was the confession of one concerned with Elizabeth Barton, the pretended holy Maid.

The King offended with More for three things.

As for More, who underwent the same fate with Fisher, and for the same offence, before he was committed, he was under a cloud, the King having been offended with him about three things, *viz.* the Nun of Kent; the King's great matter, that is, his business of the divorce; and the Pope's supremacy, which More called his primacy. Concerning each of these, in a long letter to Crumwel from Chelsey, where he dwelt, he frankly and plainly set down his own confession. For having solicited Crumwel that he would do what he could in his favour to the King, Crumwel sent this message back again to More by his son Rooper; that he should give him an account of himself, whereby he might be the better enabled to represent More's love and sincere loyalty to the King. For which More thanked him; and proceeded to give an account of those three matters distinctly. Excusing his letter, which he had writ to the Nun, and his communication with her, and the Friars her complices; and his words against the King's supremacy, and what he had said of the marriage.

The holy Maid of Kent.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 286.

Concerning his dealings with the Nun, he referred himself to a former letter written to him, wherein he gave a full account of that. This letter is recorded in the History of the Reformation. In short, he confessed he had discourse with her; and by the great shews of holiness she made, and the good words she spoke, he once reputed her a virtuous woman, and one inspired; but was now fully convinced she was an impostor: calling her in this letter, *that housewife*, and the *lewd Nun of Canterbury*. He highly commended Crumwel for the detection he had made of her, *in bringing to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby other wretches might take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God.* He acknowledged it was an evil spirit that inspired her. And so indeed she confessed

More's concerns with her.

herself at Paul's Cross. And he sent word to her admirers, the Prior of the Charter House, that she was undoubtedly a false dissembling hypocrite. But before this, he treated her in another manner, that is, with the highest honour and deference: and in a letter, which he wrote to her, he gave her the title of *Madam*, and *Your Ladiship*, and *His right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God*. And being minded to advise her not to talk with any person in matters relating to the Prince's affairs, or the state of the realm, he prefaced it with an apology, how God sometimes suffereth such as are far inferior, to give advertisement to such as are much above them; as Moses, God's high prophet, was counselled by Jethro. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1534.

At the monastery of Sion, More saw her, and spake with her in a little chapel; where were present but they two only. He told her, it was the report of her virtues made him desirous both to see and hear her, that she might remember him to God in her devotions. She answered him, that God did of his goodness far better for her, a poor wretch, than she deserved; and that many, of their favourable minds, reported of her far above the truth: and that she had heard so much of him, that she had already prayed for him, and ever would. At parting, he gave her a double ducat, and begged her prayers. At this meeting she told More what care people ought to have, that they take not diabolical delusions for heavenly visions; and acknowledged that she had sometimes the former, as well as the latter: and that lately the Devil, in the shape of a bird, flew and fluttered about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hand, suddenly changed in their sight that were present into an ugly fashioned bird; that they were all afraid, and threw him out of the window. Meets her at Sion.

I will take leave here to give some further account of this Nun of Canterbury, professed of the priory of St. Sepulchre's there. Her name was Elizabeth Barton, commonly called *the holy Maid of Kent*. That which gave the first occasion of this imposture was; This maid, living in the parish of Aldington, before she was professed, was visited Some account of her.

CHAP. XXV.

with sickness; and in the violence thereof she would fall into fits, wherein she uttered many foolish and idle words.

Anno 1584. 181

Richard Master, parson of the said parish, made use of this for some ends of his own; and thenceforth gave out, that these fits were divine trances, and what she spake in them she spake from God; and instructed her to say and affirm so, (though she knew not what she had said when she came to herself,) and often upon occasion to feign fits. And to serve himself of this woman and her fits, for his own benefit, he, with one Dr. Bocking, a Monk of Canterbury, directed her to say, in one of her pretended trances, that she should never be well till she visited the image of our Lady in a certain chapel in the said Master's parish, called the chapel in Court-at-Street; and that our Lady had appeared to her, and told her so; and that if she came on a certain day thither, she should be restored to health by miracle. This story, and the day of her resort unto the chapel, was studiously given out by the said Parson and Monk; so that at the appointed day there met two thousand persons to see this maid, and the miracle to be wrought on her. Thither on the set time she came, and there, before them all, disfigured herself, and pretended her ecstasies. All this was the invention of Master, for his own lucre, to bring the people afterwards in greater plenty to the chapel in pilgrimage. In her trance in this chapel she gave out, that our Lady bade her become a Nun, and that Dr. Bocking should be her ghostly father. And so she was, and hereby that Monk (whose invention this was) had opportunity of going to her frequently. At which times he and she consulted together concerning the tricks she should play, and the words she should use; which generally were very sanctimonious, inveighing much against the new opinions lately sprung up, and against the King and Queen, and the late marriage.

Books of her revelations.

At length many books were written and printed of her revelations, made and composed by the said Bocking and Master, and one Dering, another Monk of Canterbury. And one Thwaites, a gentleman, wrote a great book of her feigned miracles, for a copy to the printer, to be printed off.

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1534.

At two several times she declared her false revelations to two of the Pope's orators. One Gold took upon him to be the interpreter between her and one of these orators, named Anthony Pulleon, at London; and one Laurence, a Monk, had the same office between her and the other called Sylvester, at another time at Canterbury. She began her pranks about eight or nine years before her execution. She travelled about from place to place; and had the confidence to come before the King, and Cardinal Wolsey, and Archbishop Warham, and Bishop Fisher; to all whom she talked very much of her visions, and revelations, and inspirations. She told the Cardinal, that she had a revelation concerning him, of three swords that God had put into his hand. The one was the ordering of the spiritualty under the Pope, as Legate; another, the ordering of the temporalty under the King, as Chancellor; the third was the business he was engaged in concerning the King's marriage. And she told him, that unless he used all these well, God would lay it sore to his charge.

A list of her sayings sent to the King.

Archbishop Warham having a roll of many sayings which she spake in her pretended trances, some whereof were in very rude rhymes, sent them up to the King; which, however revered by others, he made but light of, and shewed them to More, bidding him shew his thoughts thereof. Which after he had perused, he told the King, that in good faith (for that oath he used) he found nothing in them that he could either esteem or regard: for a simple woman, in his mind, of her own wit might have spoken them.

182

The Observants admire her.

She would ramble about the countries unto gentlemen's houses, and especially to houses of religion; chiefly those of the Observants. She would seem to be sometimes in trances, and then after them fall to her discourses and speeches; whereat some of the Friars and others would seem to take great comfort. Of these were Father Risby, an Observant of Canterbury, and Rich, late Warden of the Friars Observants there, and the Prior of the Charter House at Shene. These had a mighty opinion of her, and talked much of her to More. Some of her revelations were no better than

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1534.

silly tales: such was a certain tale of Mary Magdalen delivering her a letter from heaven, that was limned with golden letters; which indeed was written by a Monk of St. Augustin's, Canterbury; and another at Calais. For being there invisible in our Lady's church, the Host was brought to her by an angel; who took it away from the Priest while he was officiating at Mass, that so King Henry, then present, might now see, in token of God's displeasure: and then on a sudden was rapt away over sea into her nunnery again; which made More think the worse of her, and of those Friars that believed them. She was once at a knight's house in Kent, that was sore troubled with temptations to destroy himself: of which one Friar Williams, of Shene, told More a long tale. When some came to her, it was said, she would tell them the causes of their coming, before themselves spake thereof; as though she had the gift of knowing men's thoughts: but this might be done easily by combination.

Hellen of Totnam.

At this time there was one Hellen, a maid dwelling about Totnam, that had visions and trances also. She came to this holy Maid, and told her of them. But she assured her, (it may be, because she had a mind to have the sole glory of such visions herself,) that hers were but delusions of the Devil; and advised her from henceforth not to entertain them, but to cast them out of her mind. And ever after, as that maid of Totnam told More, giving credence unto the Nun, she was the less visited with such things, as she was wont to be before.

The cause of the Nun's death.

As this woman went on a great while in these her impostures, so, had she not meddled with matters of state, and those which the King now was so earnestly concerned about, she might, for ought I know, have gone on still without danger: but framing revelations against the King's matrimonial matter, and pretending to prophesy, that, if he did proceed in his divorce from Queen Katharine, he should not be a King a month longer, this made the King jealous of some insurrection by her means. And hereupon he resolved to have her examined. And by the industry of

Archbishop Cranmer, Secretary Crumwel, and Hugh Latimer, it was found, that all her inspirations and ecstasies were merely juggle and deceit, as she was instructed to do by certain Friars and Priests; and so she herself voluntarily and publicly confessed at Paul's Cross: and in the year 1533. was attainted by Parliament, and executed, with six others, (whereof the Friars Risby and Rich, before mentioned, were two,) at Tyburn, for treason. And six more found guilty of misprision of treason concerning her; whereof Bishop Fisher was one.

Anno 1534.

183

II. The King's marriage. Cleop. E. p. 6. p. 149.

A second cause, that threw More under the King's displeasure, was his marriage with the Lady Anne, and his divorce from his former Queen. Which More could not be brought to meddle in or like of. Concerning which he made this apology for himself to Crumwel, as I take it from his own letter in the Cotton library. "That when he "came from beyond sea, he repaired to the King at Hamp-"ton Court: when the King suddenly in his gallery brake "with him his great matter: shewing him, that it was then "perceived his marriage was not only against the positive "laws of the Church, and the written law of God, but "against the law of nature: and that so it could not be "dispensable by the Church. Then the King himself laid "open the Bible before him, and read him the words that "moved his Highness and diverse others erudite persons to "think that it was against the law of nature. And then "asked him what he thought thereon. Whereupon More "discovered his thoughts to the King as a man in doubt. "Then the King bade him commune farther with Fox, his "Grace's Almoner; and to read a book with him that then "was in making for that matter. This book More read, "and gave the King his opinion thereupon. At another "time the King assembled a great number of learned men "at Hampton Court: when, though there were diverse "opinions among them, yet, as he said, he never heard "otherwise, but that they all then agreed upon a certain "form in which the said book should be made. The book "was afterwards, at York Place, in my Lord Cardinal's

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1534.

" chamber, read in the presence of divers Bishops and " many other learned men. Still they all thought that " there appeared in the book good and reasonable causes, " that might move the King's Highness to conceive a " scruple against his marriage. Which, while he could not " otherwise avoid, he did well and virtuously, for the ac- " quiescing of his conscience, to sue and procure to have " his doubts decided by judgment of the Church. And so " his suit began, and the Legates sat upon the matter.

" While this business was sat upon by the Legates, the " King sent him, with Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, Am- " bassador to Cambray. Where a peace was made with the " Emperor, and Kings of England and France. Upon his " return, he was made Lord Chancellor: [which was in the " year 1529, upon Wolsey's fall.] Then the King told " him, that if he should see such things in this marriage as " should persuade him unto this part, he would gladly use " him, among other his counsellors, in that matter. And " the King then assigned unto him, as most studied in the " point, the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Dr. " Fox, and one Dr. Nicolas, an Italian Friar. But all " these, with all their readings beside, could not persuade " More. So the King made use of him and others in his " other business only: and in this, such whose consciences " his Grace perceived were well persuaded on that part."

III. The Pope's supremacy.

But however this gave the King a secret displeasure against him: concerning the third, the primacy, he confessed, " that once he was not of that mind, that the pri- " macy was of divine institution: but that the King's book
184 " against Luther convinced him in it. And that he had " then advised the King to leave out that point, or to touch " it more slenderly. Because afterwards there might hap " to follow questions between the Pope and the King. And " since that time for ten years, he had found in the Fathers, " from Ignatius to our times, a consent in this doctrine; " and that it was confirmed by general councils too. In " fine, he modestly excused himself in these his opinions, " that it was not out of an obstinate mind, or misaffected ap-

"petite, but of a timorous conscience." The whole letter, though it be long, I have transcribed from the original, and put into the Appendix. His conscience, thus hampered with the papal power universal, brought him to his unfortunate end. Which we shall hear of the ensuing year.

CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1534. No. XLIX.

CHAP. XXVI.

The authority of the Kings of England in Spirituals.

UPON the great work now on foot, of reducing the Bishop of Rome's power, and that of the Bishops in the English Church, and restoring the King his authority in his own realms and dominions, some learned divines and lawyers were employed to search the Scriptures, and Catholic authors, and good histories, for the more right stating this matter, and proceeding the surer herein. There is, in a volume of the Cotton library, a very large collection of authorities and places of Scripture, under these various heads or titles presently following; but by whom it appears not. I should be apt to guess it to be Archbishop Cranmer, who was a great collector of writings upon such arguments. Anno 1535. Collections out of authors concerning kingly power. Cott. Libr.

Regia institutio, officium et potestas, ex Veteri Testamento.

In clerum regia potestas.

Regia institutio, officium et potestas, ex N. Testamento. Item ex autho. regia potestas in Ecclesiam, seu Concilium.

Regia potestas in personas ecclesiasticas.

Regia potestas in res ecclesiasticas.

Regi Angliæ legem petenti jubet S. Pontifex, ut relictis Romanorum legibus, lege Dei se, ac populum Dei, regat.

Regis Angliæ officium et potestas.

Regis Angliæ in concilium, in personas et res ecclesiasticas potestas.

Regis Angliæ in Gualliam, Hiberniam et Scotiam potestas.

Regis Angliæ in summum Pontificem liberalitas.

Regia in investiendis Episcopis potestas.

CHAP. XXVI.

Regum Angliæ in investiendis Episcopis potestas.

Anno 1585. *Fundatio monasterii Sancti Albani.*

Episcoporum jusjurandum duplex.

Concilii potestas et Pontificis.

Regia et ecclesiastica potestas simul, tam quoad personas quam res: seu gladii duo.

Regia et ecclesiastica potestas simul, seu gladii duo, in Anglia, tam quoad personas, quam res.

Episcopale officium, et sacerdotale.

Episcopi, vel Sacerdotis potestas.

Terrenarum, temporalium, vel secularium rerum fuga, ecclesiasticis præscripta.

185 *Dominium, Imperium, potentia terrena ecclesiasticorum.*

Judicia
Leges } *ecclesiasticorum.*
Negotia

Prædia, possessiones ecclesiasticæ.

Bona ecclesiastica cur, et a quibus donata.

Bonorum ecclesiasticorum per avaritiam, vel ambitum, effrænis cupido.

Bona ecclesiastica cur quæruntur.

Honores et bona ecclesiastica, quibus acquirantur artibus.

Bonorum ecclesiasticorum usus, et ad quos ea pertineant.

Abusus bonorum ecclesiasticorum per avaritiam, luxum, fastum, in victu, veste, supellectile domestica, ædificiis, nobilitando genere, per libidinem, perque otium, seu fugam laboris.

Luxus et fastus in victu, veste, ac ædificiis.

Convivia.

Libido.

Nobilitatio generis, seu cognatorum.

Otium, fuga laboris, et periculi.

Periculum.

Honor et gloria.

Ecclesiæ primitivæ idea.

Pontificis summi potestas et officium.

Pontifex de sua ipsius potestate.

Pontificis potestas in electionibus et confirmationibus Episcoporum.

Excommunicandi potestas.

Onera et injuriæ apostolicæ sedis, vel dominium Romanæ sedis.

Onera a Romana sede Anglis imposita.

Annatarum origo.

Annatæ ex Anglia.
Anglorum de non solvendis annatibus decretum.
Angli in comitiis, seu Parliamento, annatarum solutionem damnant.
De annatis et similibus, ex concilio Constan.
De annatis, ex concil. Basiliens.
De annatis, ex glossa pragmaticæ sanctionis.
Bulla Nicolai Papæ de approbatione concil. Basiliens.
Concilii Basiliensis narratio.
Concilii Basilien. confirmatio ex Panormitano.
Annatas Romanæ sedi denegare fidei Christianæ non repugnat.
Romanorum mores ex eisdem authoribus.
Metropolitani legati privilegium.
Ne actor reum extra diocesim vocet.
Judicia peregrina, vel primatis jurisdictio vel jurisdictio provincialis.
Judicia peregrina, vel jurisdictio Primatis in Anglia.
Appellatio.
Primatis, vel Patriarchæ jus.
Legati jus.
Cantuariensis jurisdictio.
Canones Patrum, quando et quo pacto primo in Anglia recepti sunt.

Anno 1535.

All these heads, and the collections under them, were, I suppose, but the rough cast of some learned books then written against the Pope.

The Bishops in person declare the King's style.

As the Bishops had all subscribed to the King's supremacy the last year, so the King now required them, by his letters, to publish and declare as much in their own cathedral churches, and to set forth the King's title of *supreme head, under God, of the Church of England;* and to see the people in their respective dioceses effectually instructed in this point by the Clergy in their parishes. These letters bare date in the beginning of June this year. Which, with a declaration to be read to the people, were sent by Crumwel to all the Archbishops and Bishops. And they, how willingly I know not, but outwardly, complied with these commands, perceiving well how bent the King was upon this matter. Therefore they wrote their letters of answer to Crumwel, signifying their respective receipts of the King's

CHAP. XXVI.

and his letters in this behalf, together with their promise of yielding obedience thereto, and accounts of their so doing.

Anno 1535.

But Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, took great joy hereat, as appeared by their letters.

Nic. Bishop of Sarum.

The latter, in his letter to Crumwel, dated June the 4th, from Mortlake, shewed, "how he rejoiced, that the King "had writ so earnestly to his Bishops in this cause: and "that he concluded, that God had made use of his wisdom "to stir up the Prince thereunto. Thanking God for it, "and beseeching him to go on still from one thing to an-"other, till the usurped power of that man of Rome were "clean abolished, and put out of the hearts of the King's "subjects. And that he, for his own part, would apply "with all diligence to this so godly a commandment."

Robert, Bp. of Chichester.

Robert, Bishop of Chichester, June 13, preached at his cathedral; and there declared openly the King's commandment concerning the uniting of the title of supreme Head of the Church of England unto the imperial crown of this realm; and also the abolishing and secluding the enormities and abuses of the Bishop of Rome's authority, usurped within the same. He likewise sent forth his Suffragan to preach and publish the same within the populous towns of his diocese. And took effectual care, by the 28th of June, that all Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates in his diocese, had commandment to publish the same in their churches every Sunday and solemn feast. And intended to see and cause them to do their duty in that behalf. And all this he signified to the Secretary in a letter, dated June the 28th, from Selsey; and prayed him, that by reason of his great age, being now ninety years and upwards, he would move the King, that his further doing in these premises by other sufficient persons might suffice for his discharge.

The Bp. of Lincoln.

John, Bishop of Lincoln, also set forth the King's title, dignity, and style of supreme Head; and caused the same to be declared through his diocese; and the declaration to this purpose, which Crumwel had sent: copies whereof, to

be dispersed to every Curate in his diocese, he caused his clerks to write out, as many and as fast as they could. But his diocese being so large, he caused two thousand to be printed. And of all this he certified the Secretary from Woburne, June 25; but praying that he might know his pleasure and approbation, whether he should in that manner send them forth. Anno 1535.

Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, had an university within his diocese. And for the execution of the King's letters there, he took this course, as it seems, enjoining every Master and Fellow in each college and hall, according to their seniority, every Sunday and festival to preach in the parish church, within whose bounds the college stood; and there to set forth to the people the King's style of supreme Head, and to renounce the Pope. As seems to appear from a letter sent from the Bishop of Ely, dated June 27, at Somersham, to Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter House; signifying, "that having received an honourable letter from the "King, to charge all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, and "other ecclesiastical persons, abiding within the precinct of "his diocese, to preach every Sunday and solemn feast the "very sincere and true word of God; and to set forth his "title, dignity, and style of supreme Head, as the truth "thereof may thoroughly shine and appear to the people "and subject; and to declare also unto the same his re- "nunciation of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, "and all other foreign potentates: I do therefore charge "you, (as the letter runs,) on the King's behalf, as you "would answer unto his Highness for the same, not only "to preach in proper person, but also to command the Fel- "lows of your house to do the same in order every Sunday "and solemn feast in your parish church in Cambridge. "So that the parishioners thereof may have, every of the "said festival days, the word of God, and other things "above mentioned, either by you or by one of your Fel- "lows, shewed unto them. Thus the Lord keep you." Bp. of Ely's order for the University. E Biblioth. C. C. C. 187

The same commands were despatched to the Bishops of the province of York by Sir Francis Bagot. The Archbishop of York.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1535.

bishop of York was commanded, in his Majesty's name, to give this charge to all the Prelates and ecclesiastical persons within his province. Which was but a backing and reinforcing of what had been given the year before, when the King by word of mouth enjoined these things upon him as well as the rest. And but a little while after his departure home, Archbishop Cranmer, by the King's command, sent him a book, wherein was an order for preaching, and a form for bidding the beads. In which the King's title of supreme Head was contained. And therein it was enjoined every Preacher, after Easter, once in a solemn audience, to declare the Pope's usurped jurisdiction within the realm, and the King's just cause to decline from the same. And also to open and declare such things as might avow and justify his Highness's refusal of marriage with the Princess Dowager, and lawfully contract with Queen Anne.

The King blames him for his backwardness.

It was told the King, that Lee, the Archbishop of York aforesaid, was negligent in all this, and that he had not done his duty in teaching these things himself, nor causing them to be taught by others within his province and diocese. For this, the King in his letter twitted him, telling him, that he had forgotten his consent given to the abolishment of the Pope, and to the King's supremacy in his profession and subscription, signed with his own hand and sealed with his seal.

He vindicates himself.

But this was but misinformation. For (as the Archbishop, by a letter he wrote to the King in his own vindication, dated June 14, the next Sunday after the receipt of Bishop Cranmer's book, had said) he went from Cawood to York, and there declared the King's title concerning the matrimony, and his refusal of the Pope's jurisdiction. And that the thing might be the more public, he sent to York before he came, that he would be there next Sunday: requiring also the Mayor and his brethren to be there present, with two of his Majesty's Chaplains, Mr. Magnus and Sir John Lawson by name. So that there was a very great multitude met together; and the greater, because it

was noised he should preach. And he began not till other churches in the City had done, that there might be the greater confluence to hear his sermon. He took for his text that part of the Gospel of the day, *I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.* Thence he took occasion to explain, declare, and open both the abovesaid matter, and the injury done to the King by Pope Clement. And the King's Chaplains that heard him thought the audience was well satisfied. But however, something now gave occasion to a report at the Court against the Archbishop; and that was, that he meddled not with the King's title of supremacy, neither in his sermon nor prayer. Whereof he gave the King this reason, because there was no order given then, but only to make mention hereof in the prayers or beads. And the reason he mentioned it not in his prayer, was, because it was his known custom, ever since his coming into his diocese, for the getting more time for the uttering his sermon, that he made no prayer at it; but proceeded forward in it without stop. There was present among others, at his sermon, the King's two Chaplains aforesaid, the Abbot of St. Mary's of York, and Sir Francis Bagot, Treasurer of York. 188

His orders given in his diocese;

He also caused his officers that could write, to transcribe a great number of copies of the book aforesaid, to be delivered to every preacher within his diocese; charging them withal to do according to the instructions thereof: and to every Curate a book was also delivered, comprising as much as touched their charge. And the Curates accordingly followed their book in every point; praying for his Highness as chief Head of the Church, and doing all other things required. To a great number the Bishop himself delivered the book, and spake to them, giving them their orders by word of mouth. And to the Curates he gave charge, that they should suffer none to preach in their churches: on purpose, that those that would preach should be constrained, first to come to the Archbishop, that he might deliver them the said instructions. As any came to him for licences to preach, he gave them the book. In the

CHAP. XXVI.

religious houses, where any of the Friars were preachers, he gave books there likewise. And so did he to all that he knew within his diocese, with charge to follow the book. When any religious man came to him, he told him what he had done, and gave them counsel to do the like; as divers had come to him, both Observants, Carthusians, and others. Upon Good Friday he charged the Treasurer of York church, that he should leave out the Collect *pro Papa*; and the Deacon that sung the hymn *Exultet Angelica* in the hallowing of the Paschal, that he should leave out mention therein made *pro Papa*.

Anno 1535.

All this the Archbishop of York, in a letter, informed the King that he had done; telling him, "that what was "imputed by his Majesty to him, was taken from inform- "ation peradventure of his enemies: that he had somewhat "known him: that he had been always open and plain: "and he dared avow, that hitherto he never deceived him, "nor never would in any thing that he took upon him, as "his learning and conscience would serve."

And in his province.

Moreover, upon the King's foresaid letters to him, he sent his letters to his province, *viz.* to the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and to all Archdeacons; giving them strait commandment as the King had given him; and charging them to deliver books to all Curates and others of the old instruction: adding thereto what was now increased in these last letters. All this beforesaid is the sum of this Archbishop's letter, as I found it in a volume of the Cotton library.

Cleop. E. 6. p. 286.

189 This Archbishop was much suspected by the King, (and probably not without grounds,) having some privy accusers of him; as appears by the said letter. And therefore he thus concluded:

His words upon the King's suspicion of him.

"I trust your Highness shall never find in me, but that "I promise I shall fulfil; and all things do with good "heart, that I may do at your Highness's commandment, "God not offended. And most humbly prostrate, I be- "seech your Highness to be so gracious good Lord, not to "believe any complaints of me, afore you have heard my

" answer. The time is now such, that some men think they " do high sacrifice when they may bring into your High- " ness's displeasure such a poor Priest as I am. But I trust " in our Lord, that your Highness doth not so take it: and " that our Lord will continue your Highness's gracious " mind towards your poor Priests and Chaplains; and that " he should send to them, that causeless provoke the griev- " ous displeasure of your Highness against your said Priest, " better grace hereafter. For which, and for the continual " keeping of your Highness in his governance, I shall, as I " am most bound, continually pray. From Bishopthorp, the " xiv. of June, 1535.

Anno 1535.

" Your Highness's most humble
" Priest and Bedeman,
" Edoward Ebor."

The Archbishop makes two books for his Clergy.

And that he might set himself right, if possible, with the King, and with Crumwel the Secretary too, he soon after (*viz.* July 1.) wrote to the latter; giving account to him what he had done as to this business of the King's supremacy. That he had made two books (which he then sent up to Crumwel) for the use of his Clergy. One whereof comprised articles, which every Curate and all other ecclesiastical persons should read and declare to their audience, and every preacher should extend and furnish [that is, enlarge upon] as his learning should serve. The other book he conceived, was a brief declaration to the people, as well of the King's style and title of supreme Head, as also that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm by the law of God. Which he had spread abroad and dispersed, that all Curates and others might at least read it to their audience. But the Archbishop said, " that many " of the Curates could scant perceive it, their benefices were " so exile, of 4*l.* 5*l.* 6*l.* per ann. that no learned man would " take them. And therefore that they were fain to take " such as were presented; so they were of honest conversa- " tion, and could competently understand that they read, " and minister sacraments and sacramentals, observing the

The Clergy of York poor and ignorant.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1535.

"due form and right; although otherwise they were not "all perfect, but must resort for counsel. And that in all "his diocese he did not know of secular Priests any num- "ber, that could preach, necessary for such a diocese; "truly not twelve. And that they who had the best bene- "fices were not there resident. Which considered, he "trusted the King's Highness would be content, if he did "the best he could." This he wrote, because the King in his letters had commanded him to charge all ecclesiastical persons, "to teach and preach the very sincere word of "God, and to declare and set forth his title, dignity, and
190 "style of supreme Head, and also his Highness's just re- "nunciation of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority." Therefore, in excuse of himself, though this were not exactly obeyed, he assured the Secretary, that he did not know in all his diocese twelve secular Priests preachers, and few Friars, and almost none of any other religion. But as for himself, he promised him, that he would not fail to preach every Sunday and solemn feast, in one place or other, and now and then at the cathedral church. He also took order with the Dean of the church to do his duty: and that all Rural Deans should hearken, whether men did their duty; and if otherwise, to advertise him thereof.

The Pope's injuries to the King to be declared.

And because in the King's instructions sent to the Archbishop last year, concerning the injuries done him by Pope Clement, in relation to his marriage, he proceeded thus in his letter to Crumwel, "that he durst not overpass those "injuries: and therefore he put them into his book, that all "the Curates and other ecclesiastical persons might de- "clare, as well the justification of the King's cause of ma- "trimony, as also the express injuries done to his Highness "by the Bishop of Rome. Hitherto, he said, preachers had "only declared this once; but in his mind it was not to be "forborne: and desired therefore to know how long it was "the King's pleasure it should be still declared." And all this diligence had the Archbishop taken to satisfy the King.

Notwithstanding, within less than half a year after, new suspicions arose of him, as though he favoured not the King's title: it was reported, that he spake certain ill words to the general Confessor of Sion, or to some other which that Confessor sent, about the King's taking the supremacy upon him: as that he should say, that *he would stand against the King's title of supreme Head even to the death, if he thought he might therein prevail.* Upon this he was strictly examined by Dr. Layton and Dr. Leghe, the King's visitors. This occasioned another letter, which he wrote to the King from Cawood, Jan. 14, to clear himself. "I avow "(writeth he) and assure your Highness *in verbo sacerdotii,* "and by that faith that I owe to God and you, I never "spake with the said Confessor, ne sent any counsel to him, "ne received any message from him, or from any in Sion, "for any such matter, neither touching that style or title of "supreme Head, &c. And he added, that his counsel he "gave to those that came to him tended to the King's "service; and particularly to four Chartereus, *viz.* of Rich-"mond, Coventry, Hull, and Mountgrace, he always said, "What counsel shall I give you, but to do as I have done "myself; and as many others have done, both great learned "men, and taken for good men?"

Anno 1535.

New suspicions of the said Archbishop.

His letter hereupon. Cleop. E. 6.

The Priors of Hull and Mountgrace were sore bent rather to die, than to yield to the King's royal style. But the former he turned from his stiff opinion, and made him yield with thanks: and he of Mountgrace desired that he might allege before the Archbishop such things as moved him. He heard him at length, answered his allegations; and afore two or three of his Chaplains the said Prior of Mountgrace said he was well satisfied. And to confirm him, the Archbishop shewed him two or three things, whereof he took notes; and said he would do his best to turn some of his brethren, which were yet stiff, albeit after recovered.

He satisfieth certain scrupulous Priors.

And as to what was laid to his charge, that he should say, *he would stand against the King's title to the death,* and encouraged others so to do, he added in his letter, "that "it was more likely he should say to such as pretended they

191

The Archbishop's judgment of Bishop Fisher's death.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1535.

"would or should rather die than yield, that as it is allowable to die for the truth, when the cause is good, and the ground sure; so it is folly to die, the cause being evil, and the ground unsure. For that he had often said, that these causes be no causes to die for. And this his Chaplains had heard him say. They heard him say, moreover, concerning the late Bishop of Rochester, that he marveled he was so stiff to die in these causes without good ground; whereas in other high matters of his faith, and errors against the same, he had dissembled, and had not been content with such as had written against them," [meaning Erasmus, I suppose; and that name is by some pen inserted in the margin: for this Archbishop Lee had wrote against him; whom, it seems, Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, favoured not, but Erasmus and his writings rather,] "for the favour which he bare to the party, in whose book they were found. In which cause, saith this Archbishop, he should not only not have dissembled, ne have favoured the party, but rather have died than have suffered such errors to grow. Of which sort there were divers and sundry in one man's books. Against which many Clerks in divers regions, and some Universities have written."

Surrenders Pomfract to the rebels. Lord Herb. Hist. p. 477.

But notwithstanding all this, in the northern rebellion the next year, this Archbishop and the Lord Darcy surrendered the strong castle of Pomfract to the rebels, pretending want of furniture and provisions to hold out a siege; and took an oath, which they gave him, to enter into their *pilgrimage of grace*, as they termed their rebellion.

Tonstal, Bishop of Durham.

There was also another Bishop of fame in these northern quarters, I mean Tonstal, Bishop of Durham; who likewise received the King's letters, by the hand of Sir Francis Bagot, to the same purpose as the Archbishop had done. Tonstal had once before, in obedience to command, *viz.* the last year, set forth the King's title, and caused others to do the same. And the King accordingly was prayed for in his diocese with his titles. Upon these new letters he preached again at Durham, before a great company, setting

CHAP. XXVI.

forth the King's title, and declaring the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. And as he had done so before, so from time to time he intended to do in his diocese. In the King's letter before mentioned, he girded him, as he had done the Archbishop of York; telling him, that *he looked for a new world, or a mutation*, as though Tonstal had desired the restoration of the Pope. This inwardly grieved him, that the King should entertain some sinister thoughts of him. And he told Crumwel, in a letter to him, "that if "the King knew his mind, as God did, he would not have "used those words: for that he had been as sore, he said, "against such usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, as daily "did grow, as any man of his degree in the realm. And "that it was not likely that he should now look for the "renewing of that, which he withstood as heretofore, as far "as he might, in his most flourishing state. That he looked "for no mutation nor new world, but the change of this "transitory life for the life eternal." Some of these letters of the Bishop's before mentioned I have preserved in the Appendix, for the service of such as shall be minded to peruse them. 192

Anno 1535.

N°. XLIX. L. LI. LII.

The Bishop's sermons sent to the King.

And that the King might see and know what these and the rest of the Bishops had preached upon this argument of the supremacy, there was a command, that they should send up to Court their sermons. These sermons were not long after delivered to Dr. Barnes, the King's agent to the German Princes; together with the book for the King's supremacy, made by Richard Sampson, Dean of the chapel; to be shewed to them; to satisfy them how cordial the King was in rejecting the Pope's authority, and casting it out of his kingdom.

CHAP. XXVII.

The northern Clergy backward. Some of them taken up for seditious preaching.

Anno 1535. The Clergy in the north great friends to the Pope.

IT was mentioned before, how suspicious the King was of his northern Bishops; as was manifest by certain expressions in his letter to them. Nor could the King well be otherwise, while in their dioceses the Clergy were endued with such earnest minds and inclinations to Rome: which the King had well observed, and took notice of to the Earl of Sussex two or three months before. The Priests and Religious in these parts uttered many things, reflecting upon the King and his orders; and intimating their very affectionate opinion and devotion towards the Pope. They did use much to set forth his jurisdiction and authority; they prayed for him in their pulpits; they made him a kind of God, to the seducing of the subject, and bringing the people into error and sedition, and into a murmuring and grudge against the King and government: which occasioned the King to despatch a letter to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant (if I mistake not) in those parts, in the month of April, to inquire diligently after such seditious preachers and promoters of the Pope's usurpations, and to apprehend them and commit them to ward, to remain without bail or mainprize, until the King and his Council should further direct him what to do with them. The letter is transcribed into the Appendix.

No. LIII.

A Priest in Holderness taken up.

But notwithstanding this strict letter, they could not be restrained; for about June, or the beginning of July, a Priest of Holderness spake these words; *They say there is no Pope: I know well there was a Pope.* The occasion of which speech, I suppose, was, because it was now strictly enjoined, that the Bishop of Rome should not be called Pope. But upon this he was taken up, and examined before Sir Ralph Evers and Sir John Cunstable, and others: and maintaining before them that he said so, he was, because he lived within the Archbishop's liberty of Beverly, sent to the

Archbishop's gaol, where he was commanded to be kept till the King or Council's pleasure were known. And July the 9th, the said Archbishop sent up word to Crumwel of him. Anno 1535.

Doctor Langrige, Archdeacon of Cleveland, who was also Chaplain to the Archbishop of York, repaired to his archdeaconry, setting forth the King's commandment, and delivering books to Preachers and Curates, as was ordered by the King's letters before mentioned, and among the rest to the Prior of Mountgrace. But now he allowed not the supremacy, and said, he trusted that none of his brethren would allow any such thing. The Archdeacon tried to persuade him, but could not: notwithstanding, a little before to the Archbishop he had declared himself satisfied, as hath been mentioned. Whereupon the Archbishop sent a letter to him. Four Curates came to the Archdeacon to the monastery of Gisbourn, and told him, that they were sore threatened, if they published any such thing as they were commanded to do: and prayed the Archdeacon to spare them until St. Thomas's day, that they might see whether those that threatened them would continue in their opinion so long; and if they did, then they would certify the Archbishop. And all this was certified up to Court by the Archbishop. 193

The Prior of Mountgrace.

It was mentioned before, how the King, on the 3d of June, sent letters to the Bishops to preach and publish him supreme Head, with a declaration to that effect, to be pronounced in all the churches, and by all the Curates and Preachers in their respective dioceses. But the King, as though he suspected his Bishops and Clergy in their faithful discharge of this command, thought fit to set spies and monitors over them; and they were the Justices of the peace. To whom he issued out his letters, dated June 9, giving them in strict charge to watch and see whether the Bishops and Clergy did truly and sincerely, without any cloke or dissimulation, execute their charge to them committed, in causing the King's authority and supremacy to be maintained, and the Pope's usurpations laid open. And they were to certify the King or his Council, if any of them

The justices appointed to inform against the Bishops.

CHAP. XXVII.

Anno 1535.

should omit, or leave undone, any part of their duty in this behalf; or if it were done coldly and feignedly, or any untoward or sinister interpretations or additions were used. And hence, I doubt not, sprung the information against Archbishop Lee before mentioned, which gave him so much pains to vindicate himself. This letter to the Justices is preserved by Mr. Fox.

Acts and Monuments, p. 963.

Another letter to them to the same tenor.

And this letter the King backed with another to the Justices, or Judges, I cannot tell whether, about fourteen or fifteen days after, for their direction in their sessions and assizes. The contents of which were, "again to make "search and inquiry, whether the Bishops and Clergy "preached to the people, as was their duty, in the aforesaid "causes. And that in their assizes and sessions of peace, "they themselves should declare to the people the pur-"pose of the premises. And that they should at the said "sessions shew them particularly the treason committed "against the King and his laws by the late Bishop Fisher, "newly executed, and Sir Thomas More; who endea-"voured, as the letter runs, to sow among the people a "most mischievous and seditious opinion. And that if "they found any manner of person deficient in duty in this "part, they were to signify it to the King and Council. "And they were threatened, that if they should be slack in "these commandments of the King, he would so punish "them, that it should be an example to others not to "frustrate and disobey the commands of their Sovereign,
194 "contrary to their allegiance and oaths; and especially "when such things did so much import to the unity, con-"cord, and tranquillity of the public state of the realm."

Numb. LIV. This letter may be seen at length in the Appendix.

A book for the King's supremacy, to be read by Curates; with a declaration. Another book for Curates.

We heard before of a book, sent by the King to the Bishops, to be by them dispersed among their Clergy; which contained orders for preaching, and the beads, and acknowledging the King's supremacy; to which was joined a notable declaration in the King's favour, setting forth how he had been wronged and affronted by the Bishop of Rome; which was to be read to the people. Of the same nature,

about this time, was another book also framed for the use of Curates: which book, a month or two afterwards, was thought fit to be revised and corrected, and enlarged, and somewhat altered; being judged to be of good service for the bringing the people to the true understanding of the King's right and the Pope's usurpations; that it might be ready to be carried along with the King's visitors, who were this year going a general visitation by the royal command. For that purpose the book was sent to Thomas Bedyl, who was Clerk of the Council, a learned man, and much made use of by Crumwel. In the month of August he sent it back again, with his own emendations and additions, to them that employed him in it, the visitors, I suppose. In what he had done, he consulted with Fox, the King's Almoner, a learned, wise, and moderate man; and then fully employed at Lambeth with the Archbishop of Canterbury, about some affairs of the Church: to whom he shewed the alterations he had made, and had his approbation. His design herein was so to frame the book, that it might be accommodated to the capacity of the auditors, and supply the ignorance of Curates. What alterations Bedyl made, may be seen by his letter, preserved in the Appendix. Numb. LV.

CHAP. XXVII.

Anno 1535.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Some executed for refusing to swear to the King's supremacy. The Charter House Monks. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More executed.

AND as the King had used these milder means to draw his subjects to own his supremacy, and to challenge this right of his crown against the Pope's invasion thereof; so he neglected not sterner courses also. And as the Parliament had the last year by an act made it high treason to adhere to the Pope, a foreign potentate, and to deny the King to be supreme Head of the Church in his own dominions, so he let

Some suffer death for the Pope.

CHAP. XXVIII.

that act take its effect upon some, even of the chiefest rank and reputation.

Anno 1535.

The Prior of the Charter House.

When this act was first made, it put many, the religious men especially, into a very terrible concern, being persons so devoted to that foreign Prelate. Such were they of the Carthusian order particularly. John Haughton, Prior of the Carthusian Monks of the Charter House, London, a devout man in his way, the year before had much contest with the King's Commissioners, who were sent to his house, 195 to take the consent and oath of him and his Monks to the King's second marriage, and the dissolution of the former with Queen Katharine. For the King's act absolutely required the consent of all his subjects hereunto, from sixteen years old and upwards. The Father answered at first, "that it belonged not to him, nor to any of those under "him, to meddle with the King's business: nor that it con-"cerned him whom the King would divorce, and whom he "would marry." But the Commissioners charged him, that he should call the convent together immediately; who were all required under their oath to affirm the former marriage to be unlawful, and by the same oath to profess to yield obedience to this second marriage and the issue thereof: the Prior said, "for his part he could not apprehend how the "former marriage, celebrated according to the rites of the "Church, and so long continued, could be void." Whereupon he was clapt up in the Tower, and Father Humphrey, Procurator of the house, with him, for a month. Afterward some learned man persuaded them, that this present controversy was not a lawful cause to expose themselves to death for it. This learned man, I suppose, was Lee, Bishop of York: for this he used to affirm. So they promised to yield to the command of the King; and thereupon were dismissed, and came home; and then propounded to the brothers to take the oath. Which, it seems, they could not yet be persuaded to do. But at length, when the King's counsellors, and the governors of the city, came to the convent again with officers to carry them away prisoners, unless they would swear by the counsel and exhortation of the

The Priory of Charter House swear to the succession.

Prior, they submitted and took the oath with this condition, *as far as was lawful.* This was done May 4, 1534.

Anno 1535.

The Prior and Chapter consult what to do.

But however they got over this act, another that followed in the beginning of the next year, of renouncing their great patron the Pope, they could not: for the Prior having called a Chapter, and declared to the convent what was coming, they were extremely troubled in their minds. And by a mollifying speech of the said Prior, taking much compassion especially on the youngest sort of Friars, that were in great danger to be corrupted by the world, they all fell a weeping, and made a resolution, that they would all die in their simplicity. But the Father said, "that he would willingly "expose himself to God's mercy, and would be an anathema "for these his little brethren, meaning the younger of them; "and would yield to the King's will, if he might lawfully "do it, to preserve them from so many and great dangers. "But if they should decree to do otherwise, and demand "the consent and oath of the whole house; and if the death "of one, that the whole people perish not, will not serve "them, the will of God, saith he, be done: and I wish "there may be a sacrifice of us all. And then he advised "them all to prepare themselves by a general confession; "giving liberty to every one to choose what Confessor he "would in the cloister." The next day, that they might die in charity, the Prior having first given them a sermon of charity and patience, they were all reconciled to one another; which was done after this manner. The Prior preached upon Psalm lix. and the fifteen first verses, beginning, *Why hast thou cast us off, O Lord,* &c. At the conclusion of his discourse, he desired them all to do as they should see him do. And presently rising up, went to the 196
senior of the house sitting by, and kneeling on his knees, asked him pardon and indulgence for all his excesses and sins any ways committed against him, in heart, word, or work. And the other did the like to the Prior. And so the Prior going on did to every one, to the very last. And so in like manner did the rest to one another.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Anno 1535. The third day they celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost, to obtain his grace, to be able to accomplish his will and pleasure. And a popish historian tells us of a great miracle that now happened, namely, that as soon as the elevation was done, there was heard a small hissing wind; whereat every man's heart was filled with a sweet operation: which they would have to be the descent of the Holy Ghost into them, as he once fell upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. And so after this time they continued instantly in devout prayer and supplication night and day.

They celebrate the Mass of the Holy Ghost, to prepare them for suffering.

Hist. Martyr. Angl. 1550.

About this very time came to London, Robert Laurence, Prior of Belleval, but professed of that house; and Augustine Webster, another Prior, and professed of the house of Shene. And both now lodged at the Charter House; where they consulted together all three, and resolved to prevent the coming of the King's counsellors to them: and so went themselves to Crumwel, desiring him, that they might be exempted from this act, or obtain some mitigation from the rigor thereof in taking the oath. But Crumwel sent them to the Tower as rebels. And within a week after, he, with several others of the Council, came to them, demanding their oaths to the King. The Fathers answered, they would consent to all things which, and as far as, the divine law would allow. But Crumwel would not allow of any exception. Then these urged, that the Catholic Church did always hold and teach otherwise: and against that, because of the fear of God, they dared not to go, nor to forsake the Catholic Church.

Three Priors sent to the Tower.

Condemned of treason, and executed.

In fine, being brought to their trials afterward, they said, they would by no means go contrary to the law of God, and the doctrine and consent of holy Mother Church, in the least matter. But it seems the jury had such a reverence for these three Fathers, that they deferred their verdict till the next day: to whom Crumwel sent to know what made them so long, and what they intended to do. They sent this answer back, that they could not bring in such holy persons guilty as malefactors: which when Crumwel

heard, as saith their abovementioned historian, he sent them word immediately, that if they found them not guilty, they should suffer the death of malefactors themselves. But they still persisting in their former judgment, notwithstanding Crumwel's threatening, he came to them himself, and so overawed them with his threats, that they at last brought them in guilty of treason. And five days after, they were executed at Tyburn, being May the 4th. Prior Houghton being upon the ladder, when one of the Council assured him of a pardon, if he then would obey the King and the Parliament's decree, he replied; "I call the Omnipotent God "to witness, and all the good people, and beseech you all "to attest the same for me in the terrible day of judgment, "that here being to die, I publicly profess, that it is not "out of obstinate malice, or a mind of rebellion, that I do "disobey the King; but only for the fear of God, that I "offend not the Supreme Majesty: because our holy 197 "Mother the Church hath decreed and appointed other-"wise than the King and Parliament hath ordained. And "I am here ready to endure this, and all other torments "that can be suffered, rather than oppose the doctrine of "the Church. Pray for me, and pity my brethren, of "whom I was the unworthy Prior." It was said, that after he was cut down, he spake these words, *Most holy Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me in this hour.* And then, when the executioner pulled out his heart, he said, *Good Jesu! what will ye do with my heart?* And being quartered, one of his arms was set upon the house where he was Prior.

Anno 1535.

Prior of Charter House his speech.

This arm, two days after, fell down; which the Friars looking upon as a miracle, took up, and laid it with his bloody shirt in a coffin: and so disposed it in a place under ground with an inscription of the cause of his death; intending, no question, in times more favourable, to bring it forth as an holy relic.

His arm.

At the same time also were executed Robert and Augustine, the two other Priors; and with them one Reignolds, or Reinolds, a Monk of Sion, of the order of St. Bridget. The

Laurence, Webster, and Reinolds, executed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ordinary report went among the common people, that these had combined together to kill the King, and therefore they justly underwent this punishment.

Anno 1585.

Hist. Martyr. Angl. fol. 11.

They were hanged in their habits: which a Popish author makes a great matter of, as though there were no reverence shewed to the order, or the priestly garments; for it was done without any degrading. He saith also, that they were hanged with a great rope, that they might not quickly be strangled, to endure the more pain when they should be cut down and ripped up. At their deaths they professed,

Their speech.

" they never were disobedient to the King, unless in mat-
" ters that were repugnant to the holy Gospel and the Ca-
" tholic Church; and therefore that they took their death
" not only patiently, but cheerfully: acknowledging, that
" they had obtained great favour from God, that he had
" given them to die for the truth, and for the assertion of
" the evangelical and catholic doctrine; namely, that the
" King is not supreme Primate in spirituals, and the Head
" of the Church of England."

Houghton and Reinolds famed for piety.

Two of these, Houghton and Reinolds, were of celebrated fame for their piety: of the former, Crumwel, in the chapter-house of his convent, said before a great many, that he was a just and holy man. Of the latter, the foresaid author of the History of the Martyrs of England saith, that he was Dr. of Divinity, *a man full of the Spirit of God, and looked like an angel;* the character given to St. Stephen, the first martyr. At his trial, which was April 15, he said,

" that he had determined to imitate the Lord Jesus, when
" he was brought before Herod to judgment, and not to
" answer any thing. But, said he, because ye urge me,
" that I may satisfy my own conscience, and the consciences
" of these that are present, I say, that our opinion, if it
" might go by the suffrages of men, would have more plenty
" of witnesses than yours. For, for some, which you
" (speaking to the Lord Chancellor) produce from the
" Parliament of one kingdom, I have with me the whole
" Christian world, except those of this kingdom; I do not
" say *all* of this kingdom, because the less part is with you.

" And granting that the major part of the nation followed " not my opinion, it was, he said, in external dissembling " only, and for fear of losing their dignities or honours, or " for hope of obtaining the King's favour." Upon this the 198 Secretary charged him, upon pain of incurring the rigour of the law, that he should declare who those were that he spake of. To which he answered, It was all the good men of the kingdom. And then he went on; " that as to testi- " monies of the Fathers, he had on his part all the general " councils, all the Pastors and Doctors of the Church, which " were for fifteen hundred years past; particularly Hierom, " Ambrose, Augustin, Gregory. And I am sure, said he, " that after his Majesty shall have known the truth of this, " he will be offended above measure with some Bishops " who have given him this counsel." Then he was asked, why he did, contrary to the King's authority within his kingdom, dissuade many, that they should not consent to the opinion of the King and Parliament. He said in answer, " that he never declared this his opinion to any man living, " but to those that came in confession; which he could not " resist in discharge of his conscience. He said, if he had " not declared his mind then, he would now declare it. Be- " cause in that part he was obliged to God and his con- " science; and that in such things he could not offend just- " ly." After he was brought in guilty by the jury, he said with great constancy, *This is the judgment of the world.*

Three Monks more of the Charter House executed.

The 19th of June, three more of the aforesaid house of Carthusians, London, being found guilty of high treason, for denying to take the oath of supremacy, were executed, (whose names were Humphrey Middlemore, then Vicar of the house, William Exmew, Procurator thereof, and Sebastian Newdigate, Priest and Monk,) after a fortnight's imprisonment; where they were said to be bound with chains about their necks and legs. Being brought before the Council, they constantly professed, they would not go against the decrees and customs of the holy Mother Church. They alleged before the Bench from places of Scripture, that the King could not claim to himself duly, and by authority of

CHAP. XXVIII.

God's law, that supremacy and primacy of God's Church, that Jesus Christ had given to the Pope and the Priests. So they were condemned to suffer the same death with the former. These three were young men, and of good families; and Sebastian had been brought up at Court.

Anno 1535.

The King endeavoured to reclaim them.

The King was loath to put these men to death, but more loath to have his supremacy disowned, considering the ill consequents that might thereupon ensue. This made him send several to them in prison, to convince and gain them over, if possible. But they stood too firmly to be stirred in the least. Nay, though these very men had agreed not long before in Convocation, as the rest of the nation had, with one consent to the act, that all the King's subjects should revoke the Pope's superiority: but now they affirmed the contrary, that the Pope's superiority was necessary to be held in order to salvation; and that it was according to God's law, and instituted by Christ, as necessary to the preservation of the unity of the Church: and that the Pope was immediately judge under Christ, on whose determination all Christians should of necessity depend. Secretary Crumwel sent Starky, a very learned man, to Reynolds, to hear his reasons: which when he heard, he found that they were nei-

Starky sent to Reynolds.

199 ther strong, nor was his learning great in the defence of them. But nothing that could be said to him nor the rest, could bring them to reject the Pope: and so they were put to death as rebels. And the said Starky, writing to Pole (with whom he had conversed and contracted a friendship in Italy) concerning them, to justify the proceedings in England, which had been so heavily censured in those parts where Pole was; and to satisfy him, who conceived an high veneration for Reinolds; and that he might the better vindicate his Prince and country, dilated upon these men and their deaths, and said, that to him it seemed that *they sought their own death, and of it none could be justly accused but themselves.*

A popish book printed 1550. of the history

One Friar Maurice Channey, or Chauney, of the house of Carthusians aforesaid, fled afterward beyond sea, and there wrote a relation in Latin of these sufferings of his fel-

low Monks; dedicating it to John, the Prior of the greater house of Carthusians, and Primate of the whole order. Out of which I have made some of these collections. This relation was in the year 1550. printed with the lives of More and Fisher, in a book entitled, *Historia Martyrum Angliæ*, by Vitus a Dulken, Prior of the house of Mount St. Michael near Mentz; and printed again under another title, with additions, 1573.

Anno 1535. of the martyrs of England.

After the death of these, were set two Seculars over the house; who handled the Friars hardly; cutting them short in their commons, but pampering themselves. Others also were sent to have an eye upon them. And they cut off an aqueduct, fed from a spring in the south suburbs, that supplied the house with water. They took away books from them, which they had in their cells, that they might not prove the right they had to that spring. All this severity was exercised upon them, because it was known how ill affected they stood to the King's proceedings: and several of them even now writ against the King. The King's Counsellors after came to them, and used both threats and flatteries: permitting liberty to any of them that would go out of their house: but none would. Once Crumwel caused four of them to be brought out of their house, even when they were at high mass, to be present at the cathedral, to hear a Bishop preach, (I suppose in behalf of the King's supremacy:) but they could not be convinced: thus the foresaid author writ of the present condition of the Charter House: but this that follows is more certain, which I take out of original papers.

The condition of this house after this.

An order for the Charter House of London.

First, That there be five or six Governors of temporal men, learned, wise, and trusty; whereof three or four of them shall be continually there together every meal, and lodge there every night.

Temporal Governors set over the Charter House. Cleopatra, E. 4. p. 6.

Item, That the said Governors shall call all the Monks before them, and all the other servants and officers of the house; and to shew them that the King's Grace hath par-

CHAP. XXVIII. doned them of all heresies and treasons by any of them committed before that day: giving them warning, that if they eftsones offend, to die without mercy: and that there be a pardon purchased for them all under the King's Great Seal.

Anno 1535.

200 *Item*, That the same Governors take the keys from the Proctors and other officers; and to govern the house, and to receive all rents, and make all payments, and to be countable to the King's Grace thereof.

Item, That the said Governors call all the Monks to them severally, one after another, at dinner times; and to examine them of all their opinions, and to exhort them to the truth. Shewing them, that if any of them will, he shall have a dispensation to leave that order, and to live otherwise; and to have a convenient stipend for a year or two, till he have provided himself of a living; so that he conform himself to the King's laws. And to endeavour himself to learn and to preach the word; which every Priest is bound to do. And yet by their religion, as it is said, they have professed falsely the contrary, that none of them shall ever preach the word of God.

Item, To put all the Monks to the cloister for a season: and that no man speak to them but by the licence of one of the said Governors.

Item, To take from them all manner of books, wherein any errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Item, To cause them to shew all their ceremonies: and to teach them, and to exhort them to leave and forsake all such ceremonies that be naught,

Item, If they find any of them so obstinate, that in no wise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison, till the Council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the company of the obstinates, and to be gently handled; and to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them.

Item, There should be three or four times every week, during this visitation, a sermon made by some discreet, well

learned man; and all the Monks, officers, and servants, to be caused to be there present; none exception, save only sickness: and the said preachers to have their chambers there, and meat and drink; that they might quietly study therefore during that time.

Item, The lay brethren be more obstinate, and more froward, and more unreasonable than the Monks. Therefore they should be likewise examined; and the obstinates punished or expulsed; and the others kept for a season, for knowledge of divers points of them to be had.

Bp. Fisher executed.

June the 21st, according to the popish author of *The Martyrs of England*, or the 22d, according to the Lord Herbert, died Bishop Fisher, having been laid up in the Tower the last year. This Bishop was an earnest man on Queen Katharine's side, against the divorce, and would freely dispute for the lawfulness of her marriage, and declare his mind freely in that matter. Once, namely in the year 1528, Bishop Staphileus, Pope Clement's Ambassador to King Henry, returning home, in part of his journey, happened to be accompanied by Fisher and Doctor Marmaduke, one of the King's Chaplains. Between them fell out by the way an earnest dispute, wherein the Italian took the King's part, and Fisher the Queen's. Wherein Staphileus thought at least he had so completely baffled Fisher, that he sent Cardinal Wolsey news of it; and wished he and the King and Queen had been present, for their satisfaction on both sides. 201 An account of which, he said, Dr. Marmaduke should acquaint him with.

And Sir Tho. More.

And the next month, July the 7th, according to the forementioned author, or the 6th, according to Lord Herbert, Sir Thomas More was executed for the same crime. It was reported by the Papists, that Fisher's head, which was set upon London Bridge, looked fresher every day, and seemed alive; which made them take it down, and hide it, or as others, threw it into the Thames. Whether it were or no, I know not; but if it were, the true reason thereof was rather, because it was by so many resorted unto, and, it may be, some veneration was paid unto it as a saint's relick.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Anno 1585.

And to prevent such a thing in Sir Thomas More's head, they boiled it in water, and set it up, that it might appear the more ghastly, (saith the popish historian;) or rather, that it might not putrefy, and be offensive; and which is no more than is ordinarily done in those cases.

More plainly speaks his mind. Hist. Martyr. Angl.

When Sir Thomas was condemned, he took liberty to speak his mind of the act of supremacy: of which he was before more tender of saying any thing. He said, "that "he had for seven years bent his mind and study upon this "cause. But as yet he found it no where writ in any ap- "proved Doctors of the Church, that a layman, that is, a "secular, could be the head of the spiritual or ecclesiastical "state." Here the Chancellor interrupted More's speech. "Mr. More," said he, "will you be reckoned wiser and of a "better conscience than all the Bishops, the whole nobility, "and the whole kingdom?" To which More; "My Lord "Chancellor, for one Bishop that you have of your opinion, "I have an hundred of mine; and that among those that "have been saints. And for your one council, (which "what it is, God knows,) I have on my side all the general "councils for a thousand years past. And for one king- "dom, I have France, and all the other kingdoms of the "Christian world. Moreover he told them, that their act "was not well made, because they swore professedly to do "nothing against the Church: which through the whole "Christian jurisdiction is one, entire and undivided: and "that they alone had not any authority, without the con- "sent of other Christians, of making laws or assembling a "council against the union and concord of Christendom. "But I am not ignorant why ye have adjudged me to "death, namely, because I would never assent in the busi- "ness of the King's new matrimony."

More a great persecutor.

The truth is, many thought More was severely dealt with, and might have been winked at, considering the eminency of his person, and the good service he had done his King before. But surely somewhat of the secret hand of Divine justice might be discovered herein. For he had been a very rigorous pursuer after the blood of such as pro-

fessed the Gospel, and was the cause of bringing many of them to the flames; using rigours and torments likewise upon their bodies, before he brought them to their cruel ends; and bespattering them after their deaths with false suggestions, as though his passion had not been satisfied with their blood. After that holy man, Mr. Bilney, was committed to and consumed in the flames at Norwich, More reported, that he had a scroll in his hand, wherein was written his recantation; and that he read it at the stake, revoking his former opinions. Which Dr. Parker, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present at his burning, and knew him well at Cambridge, did confute: testifying under his hand, that Bilney had no such scroll in his hand, nor read any recantation. And this testimonial, Fox, the author of the Acts and Monuments, had from Parker himself, when he was Archbishop.

Slanders Bilney the martyr.

202

More indeed had that ill quality, irritated by his zeal to his own party, that he would (I will not say invent, but) make use of false tales and stories, to defame the memories of those good men that professed and died for the pure religion, after he and his party had ridded them out of the world. As he gave out, and I think printed, that of Bilney aforesaid, so, a year or two after, when he had caused Richard Bayfield to be burned in Smithfield, he raked in his ashes, to spy out what sparks he could find to reproach and vilify him: and at last publicly laid two crimes to him; the one was, that he went about to assure himself of two wives, one at Brabant, and another at London; the other was, that after Bayfield was taken, while he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was contented to forswear his doctrine, and to disclose his brethren and associates. Very black charges. For the manifestation of the falsehood of both, there was an apology set forth in this holy martyr's behalf and vindication. Upon which occasion Fox gave this character of More: "That he was so blinded in the zeal of "Popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so par- "tially affectionated unto the other, that in them whom he

Apt to slander the professors of the Gospel.

Acts and Mon. p. 934.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Anno 1535.

"favoured, he could see nothing but all fair roses and sweet "virtues; in the other whom he hated, there was never any "thing could please his fantasy, but all as black as pitch."

Petit, a worthy patriot of London.

He would sometimes go himself in person, while he was Chancellor, and the Lieutenant of the Tower with him, to apprehend such as he suspected to favour the Gospel, and search their houses for New Testaments and other books. Thus he once in the year 1530. or 1531. surprised John Petit, an eminent good citizen: of whom I will here make some larger relation, to retrieve his most worthy memory, in effect hitherto buried and lost. "He was one of the first "[I follow the words of my MS.] that with Mr. Frith, Bil-"ney, and Tindal, caught a sweetness in God's word. He "was twenty years burgess for the city of London, and free "of the Grocers; eloquent and well-spoken; exactly seen in "history, song, and the Latin tongue. King Henry VIII. "would ask in the Parliament time, in his weighty affairs, if "Petit were of his side: for once, when the King required "to have all those sums of money to be given him by act of "Parliament, which afore he had borrowed of certain per-"sons, John Petit stood against the bill, saying, I cannot "in my conscience agree and consent that this bill should "pass: for I know not my neighbours' estate. They per-"haps borrowed it to lend the King. But I know mine "own estate: and therefore I freely and frankly give the "King that I lent him.

Persecuted and sent to the Tower by More.

"This burgess was sore suspected of the Lord Chancellor "More, and the prelacy of this realm, that he was a fautor "of the religion that they called *new*, and also a bearer "with them [of the said religion] in printing of their books. "Therefore Mr. More cometh on a certain time to his house
203 "at Lion Key, then called Petit's Key, and knocking at the "door, Mrs. Petit came toward the door, and seeing that it "was the Lord Chancellor, she whipped in haste to her "husband, being in his closet at his prayers, saying, Come, "come, husband, my Lord Chancellor is at door, and "would speak with you. At the same word the Lord

" Chancellor was in the closet at her back. To whom Mr. " Petit spake with great courtesy; thanking him that it " would please his Lordship to visit him in his own poor " house. But because he would not drink, he attended " upon him to the door, and ready to take his leave, asked " him, if his Lordship would command him any service. " No, quoth the Chancellor; ye say ye have none of these " new books. Your Lordship saw, said he, my books and " my closet. Yet, quoth the Chancellor, ye must go with " Mr. Lieutenant. Take him to you, quoth the Chancellor " to the Lieutenant. Then was he laid in a dungeon upon " a pad of straw in close prison. His wife might not come " to him, nor bring him any bed. After long suit and daily " tears of his said wife, named Lucy Petit, she obtained " licence to send him a bed, and that he might be brought " to his answer; where they had gotten a little old Priest, " that should say, he had Tyndal's Testament in English, " and did help him and such other to publish their hereti- " cal books in English, as they termed them. But now at " last, when Mr. Petit had caught his death by so naughty " harbour of the Lord Chancellor, he was called openly, " and the Priest that should have accused him asked Mr. " Petit forgiveness; saying, Mr. Petit, I never saw you " afore this time; how should I then be able to accuse you. " And so he was suffered to go home. But he died imme- " diately after upon the same ill harbour. He thought his " pain came over his chest like a bar of iron."

Dies of the hard usage.

Let me mention a few more particulars of this worthy patriot. He lay in the Tower at the same time that Bilney did, and lodged underneath him. " And so much favour " he obtained from the under-keeper, that sometimes, by re- " moving a board, he allowed them to dine and sup toge- " ther, and to cheer one another in the Lord, with such " simple fare as Papist charity would allow them. And be- " fore this, when John Frith was in the Tower, he came to " Petit's Key in the night, notwithstanding the strait watch " and ward by commandment. At whose first coming, " Mr. Petit was in doubt, whether it was Mr. Frith or a

Some remarks of him.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Anno 1535.

One Ph—.

204

" vision, no less doubting nor otherwise than the disciples " were, when Rhoda the maid brought tidings that Peter " was out of prison. But Mr. Frith shewed him, that it " was God that wrought him that liberty in the heart of " his keeper, Philips: who, upon the condition of his own " word and promise, let him go at liberty in the night to " consult with godly men. And this was the same good " keeper that granted Petit and Bilney the liberty before- " said. Mr. Petit would needs be buried in the church- " yard: whereat the Priests took advantage to frame a re- " ligious cheat. For they poured soap ashes upon his grave, " which hindered the grass from growing; and then affirm- " ing, that God would not suffer grass to grow upon such " an heretic's grave. And many of the Balaamites came to " see and testify the same. In fine, Mr. Petit, albeit he had " great riches by his first wife, being his mistress and a wi- " dow, and especially by his second wife, Lucy Watts, " daughter and heir unto the King's grocer, Mr. Watts; " yet he died not rich, for two causes. The one, for that " the Lord Chancellor made him pay the debt of one, for " whose appearance Mr. Petit stood bound in law. The " party was sick of a tympany, therefore Mr. Petit was " forced to bring him in a cart to London, an hundred miles " by estimation, whereof he died. But the Chancellor, of " his popish charity, would needs let the principal go, and " take it upon the surety. Another cause was this, Mr. Petit " gave much to the poor, and especially to poor preachers, " such as then were on this side the sea, and beyond sea. " And in his debt-book those desperate debts he entered " thus, *Lent unto Christ:* and so commanded his executors to " demand none of those debts. His will therefore amounted " to not above eightscore pounds for his two daughters un- " married, Audrey and Blanch, over and besides those des- " perate debts, and his land in Shoreditch and Waltham- " stow. One William Bolls, the last husband of Lucy Petit, " being alive in the year 1579, enjoyed the land in Shore- " ditch, and received sevenscore pounds of Sir Geffery Gates, " a debtor of Petit's; and so much goods besides, as he there-

" with was able to buy the receivership of Chester, Derby, " Nottingham, and Lincoln. And little of it came to Mr. " Petit's children." But to give a few more instances of More's zeal (shall we call it?) or cruelty.

Anno 1535.

Teste ipsius uxore Lucia Petit.

In his house in Chelsea, anno 1531, the sentence of condemnation was read by the Bishop of London against Tewksbury, a leatherseller, living in the parish of St. Michael the Quern, London; an excellent proficient in the Gospel by reading the books of the Scripture. And from More's house one of the sheriffs of London took him, and carried him to burning, without the King's writ for his warrant.

His cruelties towards Tewksbury;

He had been brought into trouble, April 1, 1529, before Tonstal, Bishop of London. Before whom he was convented for reading Tindal's New Testament: and that he had the Bible written. He told the Bishop, that he had studied the Scripture this seventeen years. May 8, he submitted himself, and was abjured. Two years after, he was brought into trouble again, and, for revoking his former abjuration, was burnt. About the same time, one Bainham, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, of good quality, and student of the law in one of the Temples, was brought before More at Chelsea; who cast him into prison in his own house there, and whipt him at a tree in his garden, called *the tree of troth*; and afterward sent him to the Tower to be racked: and so he was, More himself present at it, till in a manner he had tamed him; because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would shew where his books lay. After indeed, by terror and suffering worn out, he recanted. But he revoked publicly his recantation soon after; upon which he was brought again before More to Chelsea, and there was chained to a post two nights, and at last burned.

Martyrology, first edit.

And Bainham;

In the next year, 1532, he prosecuted to death John Frith, a young man, once elected from Cambridge, for his excellent learning, to the Cardinal's college in Oxford. The poor man fled from place to place, absconding himself; but More persecuted him both by sea and land, besetting the

And Frith.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ways and havens, and promising great rewards to any that would bring him any news or tidings of him. And at length he satiated his misguided zeal upon the poor innocent, and burnt him at a stake. Yet he shewed mercy to one for his wit, as I have read in an old MS. For examining a Protestant, whose name was Silver, he told him, after his jesting way, that *Silver must be tried in the fire.* *Ay*, said Silver, *but quicksilver will not abide it.* With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him.

Anno 1535.

205

Spared one for his jest.

CHAP. XXIX.

Crumwel now the King's great instrument. The Benedictine order visited: and all other religious houses. Visitation of the dioceses; and both Universities.

Crumwel both loved and hated.

AND these were some of the resolute steps King Henry made towards the obtaining again this long struggled for, and almost lost right and prerogative of Kings, in their own dominions, of being supreme, against the encroachments of the Bishops of Rome. Secretary Crumwel had the great stroke in all this. And all these counsels and methods were struck out of his head. For which, as he received the curses, and drew upon himself the hatred of many, so, many more, well affected to a reformation of superstitions in the Church, extolled him as highly. Of these was one William Overbury, an honest zealous man, who applauded him for his care of the reformation of Christ's religion; and upon his urging the Bishops and Clergy to renounce the Pope, and acknowledge the King's supremacy, he wrote him this congratulatory letter:

" Immanuel,

Overbury to Crumwel. Cleop. E. 6.

" Faithful, trusty, and dear beloved Minister unto the " high power of Almighty God: of that which you have " ministration under our sovereign Lord the King, here in " earth the only high and supreme Head of this his Church " of England, grace, peace, and mercy be evermore with

" you. Laud and thanks be to God the Father Almighty
" for the true and unfeigned faith that you have in our
" sweet Saviour Jesu. Paul, the true preacher of Christ,
" saith, *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id*
" *quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus.* Whosoever
" believeth Jesus Christ to be the only Saviour of the whole
" world, pacifier of God's wrath, mediator between God
" and man, the bearer of sins, and the true Lamb of God,
" that taketh away the sins of the world, hath now set this
" foundation. Therefore it is to be trusted upon, that
" where Christ is the foundation, there must needs follow
" the edifying and building of good works, as testimonies
" of the true foundation. Also Christ saith, *Ego sum osti-*
" *um.* He entereth in by this door, the which feeleth the
" truth, and preaching the same to others, followeth and
" keepeth it himself. Paul ix. Corinth. *Væ enim mihi est, si*
" *non evangelizavero. Necessitas enim mihi incumbit. Si*
" *enim volens hoc ago, mercedem habeo. Sin autem invitus,*
" *dispensatio mihi credita est. Quæ est ergo merces mea,*
" &c. This doth some take upon them, diligently execut- 206
" ing the office of the ministration of the word of God,
" plainly, sincerely following the gracious will and mind of
" our gracious sovereign Lord the King, being only high
" head and governor next God. *Quomodo audient sine præ-*
" *dicante? Quomodo vero prædicabunt, nisi mittantur. Sed*
" *non omnes obediunt Evangelio.* For there be many per-
" verse men, which do dilaniate the flock of Christ: yea,
" and of them which seem to be pillars, or bearers up of the
" Church: which do rather diminish the faith than any
" thing augment it.

" I have many things, which I would fain declare to
" your goodness; but I consider your great and manifold
" care and business, and mine own impediments, by the
" custom and trade of men ordained, that let me not only
" this time, in this mind scribbling to you, but also almost
" at all times, from both study and exercise of the holy
" Gospel. The true faith and doctrine of the which I pray

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1535.

" God augment to his honour; who ever preserve and keep " you. Amen.

" Your obedient,

" William Overbery."

A visitation of Benedictine convents and others.

The refractoriness of those of the Benedictine order to the King's proceedings, made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their behaviour, and to animadvert upon their irregularities, of which there were reports enough. And this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all convents, and religious societies besides, visited also. Some memorial of this, especially as relating to Canterbury, I transcribe out of a MS. Annal of a Monk of St. Augustin's, Canterbury, as followeth:

Fox. MSS.

" This year, 1535, the King sent many Doctors, &c. and " others, throughout all England, to visit all the houses of " Saint Benedict's order, and all the monasteries of every " order, hospitals, colleges, and chanteries, &c. Amongst " whom, Dr. Layghton, being a Professor in the Laws, and " the chiefest, did visit this our house. Mr. Bartlet be- " ing his scribe, and of counsayl with him, the xx. day of " October.

" In this visitation, all men utterly renounced the name of " the Pope, his privileges, and exempt places, &c.

" The same time the new house of the Prior of the church " of Saint Saviours was set on fire and burnt, Doctor " Layghton the visitor, and Mr. Bartlet the scribe, with " others, being present, the xvi. day of October, at myd- " night.

" The issue of this was, that the next year all the " monasteries and religious houses through all England, " that were not above the yearly revenue of 300*l.* (all " charges deducted,) were by act of Parliament given to the " King's Majesty, for the amplifying his Crown, and to his " successors for ever."

Monasteries visited.

There was a general visitation of religious houses this

year instituted, in which Crumwel, Vicar General, was chief; who appointed under him Dr. Leighton, Dr. Legh, Dr. Petre, and Dr. London; and they had many others accompanying them. Anno 1535.

The visitors appointed for the monasteries had certain rules given them to observe in their visitation, and to enjoin upon all the members of those houses strictly: drawn up, as it seems to me, by Dr. Layton, or Leighton, one chiefly appointed by Crumwel in this business. The rules were as follow, *viz.*

Primum, Ut omnes et singuli Fratres uniuscujusque cœnobii intra regnum Angliæ in domo sua capitulari, ut vocant, personaliter præsentes, una congregentur.

Deinde, ut seorsim et separatim singuli examinentur super quibus visum fuerint, &c. That is:

Rules for the visitors of the religious houses, Cott. lib.

First, That all and singular of the Friars of every religious house within the kingdom of England, being personally present in their chapter-house, be assembled together.

Then, that, separately and by themselves, each be examined upon such things as shall be thought convenient.

That an inquisition be made; and every one be compelled to give an account of his fealty and obedience towards our King, Henry VIII. of that name.

That all and singular be bound by oath to perform entire and perpetual fealty and obedience to the same our King, and Queen Anne his wife; and towards the issue of the said Anne, as well begotten, as to be begotten.

That all and singular be obliged by oath, to notify, preach, persuade all the foresaid matters to the people; whensoever place and occasion shall serve.

That they hold for confirmed and ratified, that our foresaid King Henry is Head of the Church of England, as it is decreed and ratified, as well in the Convocation of the Clergy as in Parliament.

That they confess the Bishop of Rome, who in his bulls used the name of Pope, and arrogates to himself the principality of chief Bishop, to be esteemed of no greater dignity than any other Bishops in their respective dioceses.

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1535.

That none of them, in any sermon privately or publicly preached, call the same Bishop of Rome by the name of Pope, or chief Bishop, but by the name of the Bishop of Rome, or of the Roman Church. Nor to pray for him as Pope, but as Bishop of Rome, as is aforesaid.

That none of them all presume, in any sermon, either public or private, to wrest any thing taken out of the holy Scripture to another sense. But that every one preach Christ, and all his words and deeds, simply, openly, sincerely, and according to the rule of sacred Scripture and the truly Catholic Doctors.

That diligent inquisition be made, how many preachers be in every monastery, and who. Then that all the sermons of each be severely examined; whether they be catholic and orthodox, and worthy of a truly Christian preacher or no: if they shall be found catholic and orthodox, then he shall be admitted a preacher; and his sermons approved. But otherwise they shall be burnt forthwith.

Let all and singular, as many as be preachers, be admonished, that in their prayers and supplications, made according to the custom, they first commend to God and the prayers of the people, the King, as supreme Head of the English Church; then Queen Anne, with her issue; and then afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other orders of the Clergy, as shall seem good.

208 Whatsoever gold or silver, made into plate, and graved, and whatsoever other moveable goods of any kind, any monastery shall be found to possess and have, they be compelled to produce, and shew it; and deliver a true and faithful account and bill of all and singular the things.

That all and singular monasteries, and the Friars living in them, or in any of them, shall oblige themselves and their successors, by the tie of conscience and an oath, and each by the seal of their convent, given in their chapter-houses, confirm it, that they will faithfully observe all and singular the things aforesaid.

The King declareth that the

Upon the visitation of those religious houses, some of the members desired of the visitors, that they might be allowed

to depart thence, as weary perhaps of that idle course of life: and some of them, better disposed, seemed to be willing to go abroad, and preach the Gospel. And some governors and whole companies did voluntarily surrender up their houses to the King; who allowed them pensions for their future subsistence. But it was thought, that it was the King's mind and intention to take them all, with their lands and revenues, into his own hand; and to turn out all the Monks and Friars to shift for themselves: and so it was given out. But the King meant no such thing: and shewed himself displeased with such as reported it; and ordered them to be taken up, and committed to custody. And pacified and quieted these religious persons with assurance to the contrary, in case they lived in due order, and shewed themselves true to him, and acknowledged his supremacy. And accordingly he sent out a declaration unto the said houses to the same effect. And after these fears still continuing, circular letters were sent to the Abbots and Priors by the King's great officer Crumwel, to assure them thereof; bidding them to repose themselves in quiet; and to serve God devoutly; to provide duly for the sustentation of their houses, to provide for the poor, to keep up hospitality, and not to spoil and waste the revenues of the houses. Which letter, being a further confirmation of that from the King to the same import, may be found in the Appendix. N°. LVI.

Anno 1535.

monasteries shall continue.

I find also a royal visitation of the dioceses in the realm, (which I think to be in this year also,) to make round work. Being about to begin their visitation, Thomas Legh, and John Ap Rice, and the rest, issued out their inhibition, forbidding and restraining all Bishops to exercise episcopal authority for the visitation time. And this might be the reason, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, being minded to make his metropolitical visitation this year also, was fain to obtain the King's licence so to do, as we read in the History of the Reformation. Vol. i. p. 195.

Royal visitation of the dioceses.

These inhibitions the Bishops had complained of before to Crumwel, being drawn up in somewhat an extraordinary manner; depriving them of their power during the King's

Inhibitions to the Bishops.

CHAP. XXIX.

pleasure. And now again the visitors did imagine they would make fresh complaints. Whereupon they thought it convenient to prevent the Bishops, and render in writing the reasons to Crumwel of their so doing. Which were, that so the King taking all the episcopal jurisdiction and power into his own hands for a time, and exercising the same, it might serve as a perpetual monument of his supremacy. And that they, receiving their power again from the King, might recognise him for the spring and foundation of it. That they might shew whence they claimed their authority, by suing to the King's Majesty for the restoring of it again to them. But behold the reasons themselves at large in the Appendix, as the visitors themselves penned them, and sent them in their letter to Crumwel.

Anno 1535.

209

N°. LVII.

The visitors make injunctions for Cambridge.

By the conclusion of the said letter, it appeared also that they visited the University of Cambridge, and were now drawing up injunctions for it. For they mention two articles, which they then sent up to be added to the rest of the injunctions; and prayed him, that, after he had perused and corrected the whole, he would cause them to be drawn out fair in parchment, and sealed, and sent down to them for the University. The sum of the first article was, that they should observe, and cause all other to observe, all and singular the contents in the oath of succession, which they had taken, and in the statute for the extirpation of the Roman Bishop's authority, and for the establishment of the King's supremacy; which they had professed by a public instrument with their own hands and seals annexed. In the conclusion of these injunctions, the King (for in his name they ran) reserved to himself, and Thomas Crumwel, his Visitor General and his Surrogate, a power of giving other injunctions, and doing whatever else should by their prudence and discretion be thought meet. But for the words themselves I refer the reader to the Appendix.

N°. LVIII.

There was also this year a royal visitation of the University of Oxford by Dr. Layton, and others appointed by Crumwel, the King's chief Secretary. And what he had done there in several of the colleges for promoting good

learning, appointing Latin and Greek lectures to be read in several colleges; and obliging all students in other lesser colleges to be present at those readings; also giving divers injunctions to be observed upon penalties; and also repairing to some of the colleges to redress disagreements and matters of complaints; his letter to the said Secretary will shew, as it follows, taken from the original:

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1535.

" Please it your Goodness to be advertised, that in Mag- Oxford visited.
" dalen college we found established one lecture of divinity, An account
" two of philosophy, one moral, another natural, and one of that visitation.
" of the Latin tongue; well kept, and diligently frequented. Faust. C. 7.
" To these we have adjoined a lecture in the Greek; that
" is, the grammar in Greek, perpetually to be read there;
" and all the youth thereunto to have confluence for the
" principals.

" In New College we have established two lectures pub-
" lic: one in Greek, and another in Latin. And have made
" therefore for evermore an honest salary and stipend.

" In All Soulen college we have in like manner esta-
" blished two lectures; one of Greek, and another in Latin,
" with a good stipend and salary thereunto assigned for
" ever.

" In Corpus Christi college we found two lectures esta-
" blished by the Founder, one in Greek, another in Latin;
" public for all men thereunto to have converse.

" We have further established a lecture in Latin tongue,
" public, in Marten college; and another in Queen's col-
" lege: and have assigned and made a sufficient stipend
" for either of these for evermore.

" Because we found all other the colleges not able in 210
" londes and revenues to have within them lectures public,
" as the other afore rehearsed have, we have enjoined the
" foresaid poor colleges, that they and every of them shall
" frequent and have daily concourse unto the said lectures.
" *Panam imposuimus* to every scholar within the Univer-
" sity, not hearing at the least one of these lectures. So
" that day that he shall be absent from one of the said lec-
" tures, to be punished in the loss of his commons for that

CHAP. XXIX.

Anno 1535.

" day: the said pain every day, *totiens quotiens absens* " *fuerit, nisi concurrente causa aliqua legitima, appro-* " *banda tamen per Præpositum collegii sive aulæ.*

" We have set Dunce in Bocardo; and have utterly ba- " nished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses: " and is now made a common servant to every man; fast " nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement: " *id quod oculis meis vidi.* And the second time we came to " New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we " found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of " Dunce, the wind blowing them into every corner. And " there we found one Mr. Greenfield, a gentleman of Buck- " inghamshire, gathering up part of the same book leaves, " as he said, therewith to make him sewers or blawnshers, " to keep the deer within his wood, thereby to have the " better cry with his hounds.

Religious students.

" We have also, in the place of the *canon* lecture, joined " a *civil* lecture, to be read in every college, hall, and inn. " We have also, in visiting the religious students, among " all other injunctions, enjoined, that none of them for no " manner cause shall come within any tavern, inn, ale- " house, or any other house, whatsoever it be, within the " town, and the suburbs of the same, upon pain once so " taken, by day or by night, to be sent immediately home " to his cloister, whereas he was professed. Without doubt " we hear say this act to be greatly lamented of all the " double honest women of the town, and especially of their " laundress; that may not now once enter within the gates, " and much less within their chambers, whereunto they " were right well accustomed. I doubt not, but for this " thing only, the honest matrons will sue unto you for a " redress.

" Other things more, which are too tedious and long to " conceive by writing, we have done. Which all I shall de- " clare unto you at my coming. This Sunday, by night, we " shall make an end. For all this day we repair to colleges " for the redress of divisions and complaints put unto us.

" To-morrow, by seven a clock in the morning, I will be

" at Abington. And I trust to bring you the truth of CHAP. XXIX.
" every thing for that house, and thereof doubt ye not. On
" Wednesday by night at uttermost, I trust to be with you Anno 1535.
" at Winchester, God willing; who send you as good health
" as your heart desireth.

" We find here all men applying, and glad to accomplish
" all things. From Oxford, this Sunday the 12th of Sep-
" tember. By your most assured poor Priest and servant,

" Richard Layton."

Superscribed, *To the Right Honourable Master Thomas Crumwel, Chief Secretary to the King's Highness.*

CHAP. XXX. 211

The valuation of benefices taken; for the first-fruits and tenths, given to the King. Commissioners sent abroad for that purpose. Their letters. How the Bishops now stood affected. Bishop Shaxton's case.

THE last year the Parliament had, for the augmentation Anno 1533.
of the King's royal estate, given him the first-fruits of all A commission to take the value of benefices.
spiritual livings throughout the realm, and the tenths. For the better execution of this act, the King sent abroad his Commissioners to take the true value of the benefices through the whole land: several Commissioners for each county; and the respective Bishops seemed to be put into these commissions in their dioceses. There was also a certain number of auditors joined with them. Thus I find Commissioners for Yorkshire, and Commissioners for Northumberland, and Commissioners for the archdeaconry of Richmond. And among the Commissioners for the bishopric of Durham, Tonstal, the Bishop thereof, was one. When the valuations were made and taken by the Commissioners, they were all returned to Crumwel, now Master of the Rolls. In this commission the King gave a special order to the Bishops to give no institution to any livings till the King were agreed with for the payment of the first-

CHAP. XXX.

fruits; that so he might the better be secured of them. What the Bishop of Durham with his fellow-commissioners had done in this business, he thought fit to signify up to Crumwel, in a letter dated from Aukland, July 20; therein he excused himself from having stayed so long before he sent up the account for the bishopric. For the Court was now very intent upon any imaginary remissness in the Bishops. He said, he would follow the King's commandment, to give no institution till the King were agreed withal. But he thought it would light very chargeably upon the poor Clergy, to take a long journey up to London to give bonds. Therefore he advised Crumwel, that there might be some appointed in the country to take bonds, for the greater ease of the Clergy. The letter may not be unworthy to be perused: which I have therefore preserved in the Appendix.

Anno 1535.

N°. LIX.

Crumwel shews the use the King might make of the first-fruits. Cott. libr.

Upon the Commissioners bringing in the values of all the livings in England, and computing thence the incomes by first-fruits, I have seen a notable paper of Crumwel's; wherein he set forth the conveniences accruing to the King hereby, (which happened soon after the surrender of the lesser monasteries,) as followeth:

There will by this account remain to the King's Majesty to be annexed to his crown, over and besides all his monasteries lately surrendered, 40,000*l.*

And besides that, his Majesty may either reform the hospitals already founded, or erect new, to the yearly charge of 10,000 mark.

His Grace may furnish two hundred gentlemen, to attend upon his person. Every of them to have 100 mark yearly, 20,000 mark.

212 His Majesty may appoint for certain garrisons, 20,000 mark.

And his Highness may assign to the yearly reparation of highways in sundry parts, or the doing of other good deeds for the commonwealth; whereby the valiant beggars may be set a work, 5,000 mark.

And yet his Grace's tenths, besides the first-fruits, will by estimation amount yearly to 20,000 mark.

And it is to be remembered, that sithence the suppressions, there have come monasteries to the King's Highness's hands, and been given away by his Majesty, near to the value of twenty thousand pounds, with those that be agreed at this present to be surrendered.

But how many of these good works were done by these ample revenues coming into the King's treasury, it is worth inquiry.

Method of taking the values of benefices by the Commissioners.

Upon the act of Parliament that granted the King the first-fruits and tenths of all spiritual preferments, Commissioners (as was said) were appointed and sent forth to all parts throughout all the dioceses, to take a just account of the true yearly values of them, whether preferments in the cathedral churches, or parsonages, vicarages, colleges, &c. And further, how these Commissioners discharged their trust in this weighty affair for the King's benefit; and what reasonable favours and abatements were desired by the incumbents and possessors, to be shewn and made by the Commissioners; may be partly seen, by a letter of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, one of the Commissioners for that side; and by another from the Archbishop, and Commissioners, on the side of York; both writ to Secretary Crumwel in the month of May.

In the former the Bishop shewed, how earnest he had been in this affair, for the more advancing the King's revenue arising hence; and inquiring about some allowances, on the account of alms, and education of youth, and such like charities, payable out of some benefices or preferments. His letter ran to this tenor:

Bishop of Winchester to Crumwel, with the certificate taken of them in his diocese. Cott. libr.

" Master Secretary, After my most hearty commenda-
" tions; forasmuch as I send up at this time by my servant
" this bearer, the certificate that hath been done by me
" and others, to whom the King's Highness directed his
" Grace's letters of commission concerning the valuation of
" the spiritualty in this country; I have thought good to
" send the same first unto you, and to desire your judg-
" ment now in the inspection; as I required your advice in
" mine entry and beginning thereof. For if any thing be

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1585.

" otherwise than it should be, it may and shall be easily " amended. I assure you there hath neither wanted good " will ne diligence; and dividing the charge committed " unto us in two parts: whereof the one was, to know " the true value; the other, to allocations and deduc- " tions. As I dare affirm that in the first part no default " shall be found, but that every promotion is extended " to the utmost, so have we in the deductions and alloca- " tions followed, in our judgment, as our duty is, the words " of our instructions; and regarding any such reasons as " have been made upon the words of the act; being much " more favourable, as they said, than we have shewed our- " selves in that behalf. Whereof, by the advice of the rest " of my colleagues, I have made an institution, which I " send unto you to be weighed, as ye should think good.

213 " The title of *almes*, although in our judgment we un- " derstand it, and have made allocations thereafter, in the " finding and nourishing of old and impotent and lame " men; yet we have not so deemed it in the finding of " young children to school; and yet is it so called also as " the other is, *almes*. We used herein a distinction of *find-* " *ing*. Which in poor and impotent men is without other " shift necessary to live by. But in children no such neces- " sity to find them to school. Finally, we satisfied them, " and ourselves also, with this resolution, that albeit our " certificate in the extent of their lands, if we made the " sum more than we found, it might grieve them: where- " fore we would take heed, and deal uprightly: yet in the " allowance we could neither do good ne harm to them. " For if we allowed further than we had commission, it " would be comptrolled there with our rebuke. And if we " allowed too little, the remedy lay open to be sued for, if " they thought good.

" We have past over all things quietly, without miscon- " tentment shewed by any party, and without any other " suit than as shall be thought agreeable to the statute " made in that behalf. Ye shall see in the valuation of " my bishopric a good portion; but whereof I shall not re-

" ceive now very little above the one half to mine own use.
" I am in some men's judgment too strait in charging my-
" self; but I will have mine own will therein: that I may
" be called *self-willed*[a] for some things. I am bold to
" trouble you with my long letters; in which I talk with
" you as I were present familiarly. My servant shall shew
" you the book; and farther do as ye shall command us.
" And thus most heartily fare ye well. From Marvel, the
" 2d day of May.

" Your assured friend,
" Ste. Winton."

[a] So, it seems, he was usually styled.

To this were subjoined, of the same Bishop of Winton's writing,

Articles, wherein the Commissioners have not shewed such favours to the parties here in their allowances, as, they pretended before them, was due by the act of Parliament in that behalf.

" First, Whereas diverse benefices, as appeareth by the
" particular books, have some one, some two, some three
" chapels, besides the parish church: in which chapels they
" be bound to find priests: albeit the Commissioners in the
" valuations have esteemed all such profits, as arise and
" grow in any of the said chapels; yet they have allowed
" no deductions of the Priest's charge, who is necessary, and
" perpetual serving in that chapel.

Allowances to be made.

" *Item*, It hath been alleged, that such chauntries as be
" not perpetually assigned to any spiritual man, should not
" be charged by this act of Parliament; especially where
" there groweth no profit to the incumbent by any special
" revenue; and that the incumbent may be removed at
" pleasure. And this case is alleged in the chapel of the
" Holy Ghost, in the Isle of Wight, and the chauntry of
" Tichborn, in the deanery of Alresford.

" *Item*, It hath been alleged, that considering the act 214
" maketh mention of all alms to be allowed, given by foun-
" dation; therefore, finding of poor children in the New

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1585.

" College, beside Winchester, ought also to be deducted; " being their portion so little, that it cannot be less.

" In which matters, albeit the Commissioners have, with " the best reasons they could, defended their own doings, " in execution of the King's Highness's instructions ac- " cording to the said act; yet, finally, they promised to " make relation of their suit to be remedied by mercy, if it " shall be thought convenient."

I add, for a further explanation of the course and method used by the Commissioners, for the execution of this great trust, a letter of the Commissioners for the diocese of York to Secretary Crumwel, concerning their taking the value of the benefices, with notice of the names of the said Commissioners as they are subscribed. Where may be observed, that with the Commissioners were also sent instructions in these proceedings. And auditors were also appointed to examine and write out fair all the valuations taken in parchment; to be sent up to the Secretary. The letter follows:

The Commissioners for the diocese of York to Crumwel.

" Right Honourable, Like it you to understand, that " where by the King's commission and instructions, " charge is given to us, to make certificate *octovis Trini-* " *tatis*, of the view and examination taken by us of the " yearly clear value of all manner of spiritual promotions: " we have done our diligence according to our most " bounden duties, to the uttermost of all our powers: and " had now at this time of our meeting, the 24. of May, " been at full otherwise ready to certify by our day limited " in our said instructions, if we could have had such au- " ditors, as by the King's commission were joined with us. " But some of the said auditors for sickness could do no " service: some as yet came not to us: some be appointed " also in other places. So that at this our meeting, albeit " all the books came in, yet divers of them were not written " in parchment, for lack of auditors. Some, although by " the best diligence that the Commissioners could use were

" written in parchment, yet they were not in due form after " the auditor's fashion. CHAP. XXX.

" Which thing hath now so stayed us, that we cannot Anno 1535.
" certify at the day appointed: and much doubt, whe-
" ther we shall be ready to certify in any part of this
" term. And forasmuch as Mr. Blitheman is coming to
" know your mind for sundry doubts which be among us;
" to the intent that our book may come forth the more
" perfectly, we have thought convenient, or ever we cer-
" tify, to understand your resolutions for the said doubts
" at the return of the said Mr. Blitheman. It may there-
" fore like you to be so good to us, that seeing they to-
" wards us cannot be arrected herein, any negligence or de-
" fault, to provide that we run in no damages in the Ex-
" chequer. And furthermore, that we may have a new
" commission to a further day; and that large enough: so
" that we may be not again constrained to sue for a new
" commission. And for the said doubts, it may like you to
" be so good to us, that Mr. Blitheman at his return may
" come by this city, and advertise us of your pleasure; 215
" which we shall follow, God willing; who have you in his
" continual governance. From York, the 24. day of May,
" 1535.

" Edouard Ebor. Roger Cholmely.
" Will^m Wright, Mayor of York. Geo. Lawson.
" Geo. Carey. Rob. Bowes.
" T. Magnus. Rob^t Chaloner.
" Bridy. Hastinges. Cha. Grue."

About this time the King became highly offended with the Bishop of Winchester, which Fox, the King's Almoner, acquainted him with. The occasion is obscure, but seemed to be this. The King was minded to have all his spirituality, Bishops as well as the inferior Clergy, to depend upon him for the exercise of their ecclesiastical function and jurisdiction; and to have it so believed and acknowledged by the word of God. And some books were published by the King's order in proof of it. To one of which an answer

The King offended with Winchester.

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1535.

came forth. This answer was committed to Winchester to confute, or correct it, where it argued against the King's mind and judgment. But it seems the Bishop did allow the opinion set down in the book. This was the thing that gave great disgust to the King; namely, for standing so high upon the episcopal jurisdiction, as that Bishops received their authority from God, and could not part with it to the King. The inhibitions above mentioned, I verily believe, gave the ground of this dispute.

His course to reconcile himself.

The Bishop, understanding the King's wrath against him, thought rather to plead for himself by a letter to the King, than by personal conference with him. In which letter he cunningly managed himself to regain the King's favour, after this manner. "First, he shewed extraordinary de-"jection at the King's displeasure against him: acknow-"ledging the mighty favours he had received from him; "and that he could rather choose to die, than to live in his "Majesty's indignation. And secondly, he vindicated him-"self, by shewing that he held according to the opinion of "a number of learned men, and according to his Majesty's "own book against Luther, and a decree of the Council "of Constance. But lastly, in conclusion, he hinted his "readiness to be instructed by the King, being, as he con-"fessed, not learned in divinity. Adding, that he was de-"sirous to do what might be done to his Highness's con-"tentation, and appliable to learn the truth, what ought to "be done, and that he should be glad to confer with any "of the Council in this matter." He that pleaseth may find this Bishop's letter in the Appendix.

N°. LX.

The Bishops now, how affected to a reformation.

As for the Bishops at this time, however zealous they pretended to be in their subjection to the King and his supremacy, and opposition to the Pope's claim in these dominions; yet few of them but cherished his religion, and held fast the corruptions practised in the Church of Rome, and gave little countenance to the reformation of it. Among these few, were Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latymer, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury. Of which last I have something to add, namely, that as he was a man of good learn-

Bishop Shaxton's affection towards it.

ing, and Master of a college in Cambridge, so he was very cordial and diligent in endeavouring a reformation of the abuses and errors introduced into religion, by preaching, and instructing, and government of his diocese, and took such pains therein, that he told Crumwel, the King's Vicar General, that upon occasion he would give way to none therein, but the former two; exciting him to aid them with his authority, who applied themselves to serve God and the King in their callings. Among whom he said himself was one, and would not give place to the best Bishop in England for his talent, except Canterbury and Worcester. Anno 1535. 216

And because the abbeys and religious houses especially stuck to the Pope, and kept up as much as they could to the old superstitions; Bishop Shaxton especially watched them, according to injunctions sent by Crumwel to all the Bishops, though some more coldly observed them. Among the rest, there was a Monk of Reading in his diocese, that read lectures in the abbey; whom for good cause he forbade to read any more. Notwithstanding, the Abbot bade him continue his reading: this occasioned a contest between the Bishop and the Abbot; who having some favour with Crumwel, related his case so advantageously in a letter to him, with complaint of the Bishop's dealings with the Monk and him, that Crumwel took the matter out of the Bishop's hand into his own, by virtue of his power committed to him by the King in all spiritual matters. And writ him an angry letter; using many expressions therein, that did in no small measure afflict the Bishop, even to tears, thus to be checked in the execution of his office in his own diocese. So it provoked him to write a long expostulating letter in answer. Wherein were some sharp words, and somewhat too free to be used with a person of so great quality as Lord Privy Seal and Vicar General; justifying himself in what he had done; and charging him with partiality towards the Abbot against him, the Bishop, and with encroachment upon his episcopal authority in his own diocese. That hereby he apprehended he was displeased with him, and loved him not, whatever he pretended. And that in divers other things he

Inhibits a Monk of Reading to read lectures there.

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1535.

had thwarted him in his good intentions; though he, the Bishop, had made it his endeavour to obtain his good liking. And that he sided with a popish Abbot rather than with him. And besides, that he had written divers sharp letters to him before, which made him weep. And now the Bishop venteth his grief at large by this letter: now and then dropping a passionate expression; yet revoking it again; and generally writing with much respect and deference.

Shaxton's letter censured by Bishop Burnet.

But Bishop Burnet, (one of his successors,) in his excellent History of the Reformation, having read this letter of Bishop Shaxton, took Crumwel's part, and censures the said Bishop for a *proud, ill-natured man;* and omitting the Bishop's letter, prints Crumwel's answer to it, drawn up mildly indeed by Morison, his Secretary; which ensueth that of Shaxton's MS. letter in the Cotton library. There that author calls Shaxton's letter, *provoking language.* "And that therein he added many insolent praises of him-"self. And that his whole letter was as extravagant a piece "of vanity and insolence as ever he saw." But perhaps it will not seem so to others, who consider all circumstances; and can excuse some heats to good men, when they are hindered in the impartial execution of their function, as this good Bishop was. And therefore I have left it to be read and considered in the Appendix, whereby both the Bishop and this his present case may be better known and judged of: especially, since in the conclusion of his letter he begs his pardon, desires the continuance of his favour, and submits himself and his cause wholly to him.

Hist. Reformation, vol. i. p. 340.

217

Nº. LXI.

Doctrines vented by the Monk, the Reader of Reading abbey.

But more particularly, the true case was this. Three Friars of the house had accused this Monk, the said Reader, whose name was London, that he had in his lectures vented some heretical opinions; namely, these: That the Scripture is not sufficient of itself for a Christian. That though a man can preach the word of God sincerely and truly, yet he is not sufficient to take a cure, unless he is skilled in cases of conscience, and able to resolve them. That faith justifieth not without works. And that men

may deserve grace and justification by their own works. Upon this information the said Monk was summoned before the Bishop, who shewed him his errors; and afterwards dealt very gently with him, only requiring him to make a revocation of them; and so took his subscription, and then dismissed him: but thought fit to restrain him from reading his lectures; and thought to have put one of his friends, a priest (but degraded for having a wife) of better learning and principles, in his room; which the Abbot, it seemed, liked not of. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1535.

Crumwel, before this, had shewed his displeasure against this Bishop, because he had mentioned to him, on some controversy between the city of Salisbury and him, a certain grant of King Edward IV. to the Bishop of Sarum, that the mayor there was the Bishop's mayor, and the citizens the Bishop's citizens; which Crumwel reproved him for saying so, since, notwithstanding such grants, all the power he had depended upon the present King's confirmation; which the Bishop in answer acknowledged freely, and added, how little he lifted up himself upon such grants. This also will be read more at large in the Bishop's said letter.

CHAP. XXXI.

The King's Primer, for the better instruction of the Laity. Seditious books called in. Sir Tho. Eliot's letter to Crumwel on this occasion. Some account of this learned Knight.

A SECOND edition of the Primer in English came out this year in quarto, with divers additions, and was styled *King Henry's Primer*, to give the better countenance and authority to it; put forth by Doctor Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham; but the Archbishop of Canterbury, in all probability, had a great hand in it, both in the revising of it, and in compiling some of the treatises it consisted of. The The King's Primer.

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1535.

drift of it was double; as well to make the common people understand their prayers and divine worship, as to cure some gross errors in religion, that were then by popish craft generally entertained by the vulgar, by putting superstitious books into their hands: which, in the Admonition to the Reader, the publisher called, *pestilent and infectious books and learnings*. The good design therefore was, that the laity might be furnished with a better direction for prayers and devotions than they usually had before. "In those "books they had learned with much foolish superstition, "and as great scrupulosity, to make rehearsal of their sins "by heart. They abounded in every place with infinite "errors and perilous prayers, slanderous both to God and "all his holy saints." They were garnished with glorious titles and with red letters, promising much grace, and many years, days, and lents of pardon, which they could never indeed perform, to the great deceit of the people, and the utter destruction of their souls. And so the author descended to the superstitious prayers used to the Virgin Mary; and particularly considered that promise, that whosoever said a certain prayer before her image, called, *The image of our Lady of Pity*, should see her visage, and be warned both of the day and also of the hour of his death, before he departed out of this world. He shewed also the great danger the people ran into of idolatry in these prayers to the Virgin Mary and saints; and took the boldness to write thus: "That it was not meet, comely, nor fitting, that in our "prayers we should make a God or Saviour of any saint "in heaven, no, not of our blessed Lady; neither was it "meet to make them check with our Saviour Christ, much "less then to make them check-mate. He wished they "that were learned should here call to mind the honour of "*latria*, wherewith they were wont to say and preach, and "in disputations to declare and teach, that it was both sin "and shame to honour any creature. That the distinction "of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, in contentious disputa-"tions, swam ever in their lips. But when they came to "practise the matter in their petitions and prayers, then

218

"seemed it as clean forgotten with them, as they had never "spoke it, read it, nor heard of it in their lives."

Anno 1535.

In this Primer was amassed together divers tracts, with several admonitions and prefaces to the readers thereof: and, as it seems, set forth at several times, and now collected and printed together, as a useful book of necessary devotions for ordinary Christians. But it gave great offence to the Papists, and as soon as the times favoured them, and the Lord Crumwel was despatched, they procured some of the tracts to be prohibited, and brought in upon pain of heresy. It began,

A particular account of it.

I. With an exposition upon the Ten Commandments: wherein the second is, after the old popish way, swallowed up into the first, without any distinction. Next was,

II. An exposition of the Creed.

III. Then a general confession for every sinner, wherein he acknowledgeth how he had broke all the Ten Commandments. And here it is to be marked, that there was a plain distinction (though there were none in the first tract) between the first and the second; for the penitent is brought in speaking thus under the second article of his confession: "I have divided thine honour and worship from thee, and "given it to thy creatures, and dead things imagined of "mine own fantasy; I mean, in the misusing of images." 219 Which makes me conclude this third tract, and that first, had different authors.

IV. An instruction how and in what manner we ought to pray to Almighty God. And this ushered in,

V. A goodly breve interpretation or declaration of the Lord's Prayer. And that accompanied with a plain and true relation of the sense of,

VI. The *Ave Maria*, or the angel's salutation of our Lady; which began with this caution: "Here first of all "take heed, that no man put his sure trust and hope in the "Mother of God, or her merits; for this sure confidence is "due to God only, &c. The grace and favour that was "given her of God, giveth us an occasion to praise God, "and give him thanks. We ought none otherwise to praise

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1535.

" and love her, than one which hath received such goodness, " without her own deserving, of the pure liberality and favour of God: even as she herself doth knowledge in that " song, *Magnificat*." And after the recital of the *Ave* in English, to correct the superstition of those that make it a meritorious prayer, follow these words: " Here thou seest, " that in these words no petition, but pure praises and ho- " nours are contained, &c.: therefore we cannot call this " salutation a petition or prayer properly, &c.; because it is " not lawful for us to expound these words further than " they sound, and than the Godhead did make them."

VII. A very pious, devout prayer to God, beginning, *O Maker of heaven and earth*, &c.; being an application to God under the consideration of him as our great Creator.

VIII. The office of all states: bishops, rulers, commons, husbands, wives, fathers and mothers, children, masters, servants, widows.

IX. A short treatise of good works.

X. A little declaration of principles, being an exhortation to expect the cross, and patiently to bear it.

XI. Mattins and even song in English; beginning, *O Lord, open thou my lips: and then shall my mouth shew forth thy praise.*

XII. The seven penitential Psalms Englished.

XIII. The Litany; with a preface before it, giving a reason why it was left out in the former edition: which was, because it being an application to the blessed Virgin and the saints, many worshipped them in a vain superstitious manner, and thought that God by Christ would none otherwise gladly hear and accept their petitions, but by his blessed mother and saints. In the same preface is answered the ordinary plea for addressing to saints, *viz.* that if a man have a suit to any temporal prince, he must first make a means unto him by somebody that is in his favour. But the author answered, " It was not between God and us, as it is " between an earthly prince and his subjects; because God " is in all places, and at all times doth both know and hear " our petitions: which any earthly prince doth not, or cannot,

"without another means. And that there was no commandment of holy Scripture, that we must of necessity "pray to our blessed Lady and saints, or that otherwise we "cannot be heard. Though it is true, we must needs have "a peace-maker, or mediator; which is his only Son." And after the preparatory preface, follows the Litany in English, but after the old strain, with addresses to the Virgin Mary first, then to the angels, then to the twelve Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, to pray for us, with their several names. 220

XIV. An Exposition, after the manner of a contemplation upon the 51st Psalm.

XV. A prayer to our Lord Jesus; beginning, *O bountiful Jesu, O sweet Jesu*, &c.

XVI. The passion of our Saviour Christ: being the history of his passion, related at length out of the Evangelists, digested together in a continued story. In ten distinct parts or sections.

XVII. A devout and fruitful remembrance of Christ's passion. This discourse is levelled against such as made no other use of the thoughts of Christ's death, than to wax wood and furious against the blind Jews, and Judas their guide. But this, saith the author, might better be called a remembrance of the Jews' wickedness, than Christ's passion. And secondly, against such as carried about them images, painted papers, carved crosses, to help them to behold the passion of Christ, because of the external benefits that would accrue to them thereby; thinking themselves thereby to be safe from fire, water, and other perilous jeopardy: as though, said he, the cross should deliver them from such outward troubles, and not rather the contrary. He blamed also the preachers, which, when they treated of the passion, "leaped out of "the fruitful and wholesome story, into these common "places; how Jesus took his leave of his disciples, and "with what dolorous sighs his mother Mary pitied him, "and such other things. On these, said he, they babble at "length, and descant their pleasures, rather to the wearying "than edifying their audience. In this rank he numbered

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1535.

"them who instructed others what excellent commodities "are in the Mass: insomuch, that rude and ignorant people "persuaded themselves, that it was sufficient salve for all "sores, if they heard a mass; and that they should have "good luck in whatsoever they went about, good or evil. "They considered not, as he went on, that the Mass was "instituted of Christ to make us more holy through the de-"vout remembrance of his passion, with a pure faith," &c.

XVIII. A fruitful and very Christian instruction for children; with prayers at their rising in the morning, and at their going to bed at night; and graces to be used before and after meat.

XIX. A dialogue between the father and the son; being a plain exposition upon the Creed and the Ten Commandments. And here the second commandment is recited at large, and distinguished from the first. This was one of the books that was afterwards prohibited to be read.

XX. A prayer for the mollifying and suppling of our hard hearts, the afflicting of our blind hearts, and the true converting of our impenitent hearts.

XXI. An effectuous prayer, very needful these last and perilous days, to be said with tears and deep sighs from the bottom of our hearts, (being the prayer of the Prophet
221 Esay, chap. 63 and 64 of his prophecy,) for the restoring of Christ's poor Church, scattered abroad with persecution, and as it were forsaken: beginning, *Lord, look out from heaven*, &c.

XXII. The song of Anna, Helkana's wife: beginning, *My heart is pleasantly set at rest with the Lord*, &c.

XXIII. The prayer of the Prophet Daniel for the restoring of Christ's Church, under the figure of Jerusalem and the children of Israel being in captivity: beginning, *Haste thee, Lord God, which art great*, &c.

XXIV. Prayer peaseth God's wrath. A short discourse on that subject; exciting to prayer in those perilous days on that account.

XXV. The Dirige, in English; which was the office used to be said for the souls of the dead. With an admonition or

warning prefixed, for the true understanding and meaning of the Dirige: wherein he hath these words; "Among "other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein we "have blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides "many days and years, I account this not one of the least, "that we have ronge and songe, mumbled, murmured, and "piteously pewled forth a certain sort of psalms, with re- "sponds, versicles, and lessons to the same, for the souls "of our Christian brethren and sistern departed out of this "world. Which psalms and lessons, I beseech God I dy, if "they make any more for any such use and purpose, that "is to say, that they ought or may be used rather for them "that be departed, than for them that be in life and in good "bodily health, then may *Te Deum* or *Gloria in excelsis*." And again, "There is nothing in the Dirige, taken out of "the Scripture, that makes any more mention of the souls "departed, than doth the tale of Robin Hood."

Anno 1535.

XXVI. The Commendations in English; which was an office wherein all Christian souls were commended unto God. Consisting of several psalms: whereof the first is the 119th.

XXVII. The Psalms, in English, of the passion of Christ: beginning with the 22d Psalm.

XXVIII. The prayer of Jonas delivered out of the whale's belly.

XXIX. A goodly exposition upon the thirtieth Psalm; being made by Hierome of Ferrarie, and translated into English.

This book did excellent service, no question, in this ignorant age; especially while it was allowed freely to be read by all. And this was one among the many good services the Lord Crumwel did for religion. And by this means also, the King this year issued out a proclamation for calling in *seditious books;* among which were reckoned, and now chiefly intended, such books as favoured the Bishop of Rome. And Crumwel, where he saw occasion, directed his letters to particular persons to bring in their books of this nature upon their peril. And though Sir Thomas Elyot, the learned knight, and in the year 1532 the King's

A proclamation against popish books.

Sir Tho. Elyot.

CHAP. XXXI.

Ambassador to Rome, was his old friend, and very well known to him, yet he, suspecting him to be favourable to the old religion, and knowing him to be a great acquaintance of Sir Thomas More, writ to him, warning him to send in any popish books that he had. Whereat Elyot wrote to the said Crumwel a letter, wherein he declared to him his judgment of the need of a reformation of the Clergy, and concerning Papists and popish books, to clear himself of any surmise the King or the Secretary might have of him. This letter may be found in the Appendix.

Anno 1535.

222

N°. LXII.

Some account of him.

From this knight I cannot pass without taking a little more notice of him, being one of the learnedest and wisest men of this time. He was one, who as before he served his King and country in embassies and public affairs, so devoted these latter years of his life in writing discourses for the public good, and for promoting true wisdom and virtue among his countrymen. He had from his younger years a great desire after knowledge, and an earnest affectation of being beneficial to his country. When some gallants had mocked at him for writing a book of physic, crying, that Sir Thomas Eliot was become a physician, in the next edition of that book, in the preface, he gave this answer; "Truly, "if they will call him a physician, which is studious about "the weal of his country, I vouchsafe they so name me; "for during my life I will in that affection alway continue." And in the proeme of another of his books[a], he writ, that "he was naturally, even from his childhood, disposed to a "desire of knowledge; to which he joined a constant in- "tent to profit thereby his natural country: whereunto, "according to the sentence of Tully, we be, said he, espe- "cially bounden." He applied the most part of his life in perusing diligently all ancient works, Greek and Latin, that he could come by, that treated of any piece of philosophy necessary to the institution of a man's life in virtue. And having well digested his reading, he set forth such parts of his studies as he thought might be profitable to such as should read or hear them: so that he was an excellent historian and philosopher.

[a] Knowledge that makes a wise man.

CHAP. XXXI.

Among the books he wrote, one was entitled, *The Governor:* which was a treatise instructing men, great men especially, in good morals, and reproving their vices. It consisted of divers chapters, some of them concerning *affability*, *benevolence*, *beneficence*, and of the diversity of *flatterers*, and such like. In which chapters especially were some sharp and quick sentences, which many of the sparks could not well bear. They complained of his *strange terms*, as they called them. These Elyot compared to a galled horse abiding no plaisters, that were always knapping and kicking at such examples and sentences as they felt sharp, or did bite them. They said, it was no little presumption in him, that he would, in noting other men's vices, correct *magnificat*. By which phrase, I suppose, they meant, that however bold he made with the vices of the meaner sort of men, it was an insufferable affront to meddle with those of the nobler rank; that was, to *correct magnificat*. Others there were that conjectured he wrote to rebuke some particular person; designing thereby to bring him or his works under the indignation of some man in authority. "Thus unkindly," said he, "is my benefit re-"ceived, my good will consumed, and all my labours de-"voured." But to this book King Henry did the honour to read it, and much liked it; making this observation upon it, "That Sir Thomas Elyot intended to augment our English "tongue, whereby men should as well express more abun-"dantly things conceived in their hearts, (wherefore lan-"guage was ordained,) having words apt for the purpose; "as also interpret out of Greek, Latin, or any other tongues 223
"into English, as sufficiently as out of any of the said "tongues into another. The King observed also, that "throughout the book there was no new term made by "him of a Latin or French word; that no sentence through-"out the said book was thereby made dark, or hard to be "understood."

Anno 1535.

His books. The Governor.

The King's censure thereof.

Another book of his writing was entitled, *Of the Knowledge which maketh a wise Man*, in five Platonic dialogues between Plato and Aristippus.

CHAP. XXXI.

He wrote divers others, but I will only mention his book of physic, called the *Castel of Health.* In what year the first edition was, I know not; but the second was in 1541. Neither for this book could he escape the detraction both of the gentry and of those of the faculty. The former sort mocked at him, saying, *A worthy matter; Sir Tho. Elyot is become a physician, and writes in physic, which beseems not a knight.* The physicians were angry, that he should meddle in their science, and write of physic in English, to make the knowledge thereof common. To the gentry he made this answer, " That many kings and emperors, and " other great princes, (whose names he there sets down, as " Juba, Mithridates, Artimisia, &c.) for the universal ne- " cessity and incomparable utility which they perceived to " be in that science, did not only advance and honour it " with special privileges, but also were therein studious " themselves." And that it was no shame for a person of quality to write a book of the science of physic, any more than it was for King Henry VIII. to publish a book of the science of grammar, which he had lately done. And, " that " his Highness had not disdained to be the chief author " and setter forth of an Introduction into Grammar for the " children of his subjects. Whereby, said he, having good " masters, they shall easily and in short apprehend the un- " derstanding and form of speaking true and elegant Latin." For which he breaks out in praises of the King: *O royal heart, full of very nobility! O noble breast,* &c. To the physicians he answered, " that his book of physic was in- " tended for their benefit, that the uncertain tokens of urines " and other excrements should not deceive them, but that " by the true information of the sick man, by him instruct- " ed, they might be the more sure to prepare medicines " convenient for the diseases." And as for those that blamed him for writing in English, he on the other hand blamed them for affecting to keep their art unknown. Insomuch that there were some of them, that would have some particular language devised, with a strange cipher, or form of letters; wherein they would have their science written.

Anno 1535. His Castel of Health.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1535.

Which language or letters no man should have known, that had not professed nor practised physic. But to others of the college that made reflection upon his skill, and charged his book with errors about some herbs and medicines, them he lets understand his study in this piece of learning: that before he was twenty years old, one of the most learned physicians in England, perceiving him by nature inclined to knowledge, read to him the works of Galen, of temperaments, natural faculties, the introduction of Joannicius, and some of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Paulus Celius, Alexander Trallianus, Plinius both the one and the other, with Dioscorides. He read also Avicen, Averrois, and many more. And though, he said, he had never been at Montpelier, Padua, or Salern, yet he had found something in physic, whereby he found no little profit for his own health. 224

The wisdom of this Knight.

The wisdom of this Knight appeared in those wise and weighty sentences that often fell from him. For example: in excuse for himself in dealing plainly with vicious men, he said, "Man is not yet so confirmed in grace, that he "cannot sin: and I suppose no prince thinks himself to be "exempt from mortality. And forasmuch as he shall have "many occasions to fall, he ought to have the more friends, "or the more instructions to warn him." Concerning our laws he had this expression; "Some do prefer the study of "the laws of this realm, calling it the only study of the "public weal; but a great number of persons, which have "consumed in suit more than the value of that they have "sued for, in their anger do call it *a common detriment*. "Although undoubtedly the very self law, truly practised, "passeth the laws of all other countries." Of reading the Scriptures, which in his time began to be used, he would say, "Some do chiefly extol the study of the Scriptures, as "it is reason; but while they do wrest it to agree with "their wills, ambition, or vain-glory, of the most noble and "devout learning they do endeavour them to make it ser-"vile, and full of contention." Once more, speaking of the English gluttony, and feeding on sundry meats at one meal,

In preface to his book of knowledge.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1535.

Castel of Health, p. 44.

he hath these words: "The spirit of gluttony triumpheth "among us in his glorious chariot, called *welfare*, driving "us afore him, as his prisoners, into his dungeon of *surfeit:* "where we are tormented with catarrhs, fevers, gouts, plu- "risies, fretting of the guts, and many other sicknesses; "and finally, cruelly put to death by them, oftentimes in "youth, or in the most pleasant time of our life, when we "would most gladly live. For the remedy whereof, how "many times have there been devised ordinances and acts "of council; although perchance bodily health was not "the chief occasion thereof, but rather provision against "vain and sumptuous expences of the mean people. For "the nobility was exempted, and had liberty to abide still "in the dungeon, if they would, and to live less while than "other men. But when, where, and how long, were the said "good devices put in due execution, for all that thereof "should succeed double profit, that is to say, health of body, "and increase of substance, by eschewing of superfluous "expences in sundry dishes? Alas! how long will men fan- "tasy laws and good ordinances, and never determine them? "Fantasy proceedeth of wit, determination of wisdom. Wit "is in the devising and speaking, but wisdom is the per- "formance, which resteth only in execution." And thus we take our leave of the learned and wise Sir Tho. Elyot in that age.

225

CHAP. XXXII.

The King's embassies to Scotland, France, and Germany: to draw other princes from dependance on the Pope.

Ambassadors sent to Scotland.

BUT to look abroad: the King, having assumed the supremacy, as was said before, laboured to draw other his neighbour princes from dependance on the Pope, and to vindicate their own original right and power. And thereby to strengthen himself with their friendship, in case of any attempts against his kingdom by the Pope, which was very

severely threatened. Therefore this year he sent to all places and princes, to give an account of this bold action. And particularly he sent to James, King of Scots, his Ambassadors; who were William Barlow his Chaplain, Bishop Elect of St. Asaph, and Tho. Holcroft, the same, I suppose, that was afterwards a Knight and Knight Marshal. There was a very notable letter or declaration made to him by the King's command, setting forth the encroachments and usurpations of Popes upon sovereign Kings and Princes; nay, and thrusting God out of his place too, as well as Princes, by his dispensations, false miracles, and relics. And that all these things considered, it might please him to take notice of the King's gracious affection toward him, to allure him to the favourable entertainment of God's word. The copy of the said declaration may be found in the Appendix. This, that king was desired to read over, and to consider well the arguments thereof. But he was so wedded to the Pope, or so prejudiced on the other side, that, instead of reading it himself, all he did was to deliver it to his Clergy. And so nothing came of it: as the Lord Herbert from Buchanan writes.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

No. LXIII.

Life of K. Henry, p. 423.

And as the King had set on foot this agency in Scotland, so he ordered Sir John Wallop, his Ambassador with the French King, to resort unto him, to expostulate with him for giving his advice to the Germans, to own the supremacy of the Roman Bishop; and to shew him the book writ by the Dean of his chapel, Dr. Sampson, and several of his Bishops' sermons, against the supremacy; and to let him know how dishonourable it was to yield himself a subject of the said foreign Bishop, and to move others so to do. To certify him also, that he took it strange that he should exhort the German Princes to condescend to a thing contrary to the judgment both of themselves and of his Grace: and that he must think the amity much touched, in that he should move any state or country to do a thing so much against his Highness and his own promise. Finally, that he should do his utmost to dissuade the French King from

Message to the French King.

CHAP. XXXII.

obedience to the Pope, and to incline him to the King's opinion in that behalf.

Anno 1535.

Fox and Hethe sent to Germany.

But the King now applied himself most of all to Germany: thinking it very conducible in this juncture of his affairs to strike up a league with those Princes: who had also renounced the Pope, as he had done. They were now assembled at Smalcald. Thither he sent Dr. Fox, Bishop
226 of Hereford, accompanied with Dr. Hethe, (to whom was joined Dr. Barnes, that came into Germany before,) who after their message done from the King to them, exhorting them to unity in doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistance by conference with their Divines, and warning them, that they were not to expect a free council of the Pope's calling, desired that they would appoint some, with whom they might hold a more private communication of these matters. And accordingly there were some appointed to confer with them.

The German Princes, their petitions to the King. N°. LXIV. Life of K. Henry, p. 441.

In the latter end of December were divers petitions made to the King, from the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, in the name of the confederates, in order to a league. They may be seen at large in the Appendix under thirteen articles. The Lord Herbert contracts them into nine propositions: as, 1. That the King would approve the Augustan Confession. 2. That he should defend it in a free Council. 3. That neither part should admit summons for a Council without the others' consent. 4. That they should protest against the Pope, if he should proceed otherwise. 5. That the King should join unto their doctrine and league, and accept the title of *Patron* and *Defender* of it. 6. That the opinion of the Pope's primacy should be for ever rejected. 7. That in case of invasion of either party, neither should yield aid to the invaders. 8. That the King should pay an 100,000 crowns towards the defence of the league. And that if the war be long, 200,000. The remainder to be restored, when the war was ended. 9. That when the King had declared his mind, they should send an embassy of learned men to him.

The Bishop of Winchester was now the King's Ambassador in France. To him, being a Privy Counsellor, (I suppose,) the Secretary wrote for his opinion of these articles. To which, like a subtle underminer of the intended league with the German Protestant Princes and States, he wrote an answer, utterly disapproving them, but upon plausible arguments: as, "That hereby the King would be "bound to the Church of Germany, and might not do ac- "cording as God's word should direct, without their allow- "ance. That as the King was the Head of the Church of "England by the authority of Scripture, so by the same "authority the Emperor was Head of the Church of Ger- "many: and that therefore the German Princes, who were "subject to the Emperor, could not consent to any agree- "ment with the King without his consent. And if they "should do it without him, it would derogate the King's "cause of supremacy. That their promise to the King "could not be sure, nor to be relied on, they being in sub- "jection to the Emperor. That the word *association*, "which the Princes used, sounded not well, and to the dis- "paragement of the King, who should rather be called the "principal and head of the league, and the rest adherents "or dependents. That whatsoever the King stipulated to "them, they were not able to make a reciproque. That "whereas they spake of sending their ambassadors hither "about the controversies of religion, this looked con- "temptibly towards us, as though they were to teach and "instruct us; not to sue to us, nor to learn of us, but to di- "rect our Church in its ceremonies." But the paper is worth the reader's perusal, as Winchester sent it by way of letter to Crumwel. He shall find it in the Appendix. 227 No. LXV.

The judgment of the Bishop of Winchester concerning them.

In fine; by the answer the King returned to the German Princes, it appeared Winchester's counsel aforesaid weighed but little with him. For about the month of January he sent his resolution to their petitions: which was expressed in very fair and amicable words, *viz.* "that he acknowledged "the goodness of God in giving them such steadfastness.

The King's answer to the German articles.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

" That their wondrous virtues ravished and drew his mind " to love them. Insomuch that he would never pass any " occasion of doing what might conduce to their godly pro- " ceedings. That though there were some things in their " articles, that he would not easily grant to any prince, " though never so great; yet for his affection towards " them, thinking they meant nothing but the reformation " of the Church, he condescended to. That he desired only " the third and ninth articles to be more amply declared, " *viz.* that, without mutual consents, neither part should " agree to the Roman Bishop's indiction of a Council: and " that if either part should be invaded, the other part " should not assist the invaders. That he would contribute, " according to their desire, for the defence of the league. " That whereas the princes mentioned sending their am- " bassadors, the King gave way thereunto, and prayed that " they would send them fully instructed, and with sufficient " power and authority, and that they should have reasonable " and friendly answers. That he was willing to accept " the honour they would do him, to entitle him *the De-* " *fender* of their religion, for the glory of the Gospel, and " being desirous to do them pleasure. And because he " much desired his Bishops and learned men should agree " with theirs, he required that some of their excellent and " learned men might be sent hither with their orators, to " confer and treat together, for the mitigating of some points " in their confession and apology. Lastly, he desired of " them, that in case his kingdom were invaded, they would " furnish him with five hundred horsemen, or ten ships of " war, to serve him for four months. And that they should " retain at the King's cost a certain number of horse and " foot: the horse not passing two thousand, and the foot " not passing five thousand. Or, instead of the foot, twelve " ships in good order finished. And that the King might " hire and retain them as long as he should please. And " lastly, that they would in all councils and places defend " Dr. Martin [Luther,] Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran,

"Melancthon, in the cause of the King's marriage:" I suppose, in a free deliberation and declaration of their minds upon it. This answer is at length wrote out in the Appendix. Anno 1535. N°. LXVI.

Dr. Fox, the King's Ambassador, tarried all this winter at Wittenburgh, transacting the King's business, conferring with the learned men, and among other things persuading them to allow the King's divorce. The next year the Princes, according to the King's desire, sent their orators over: and what they did, we shall see under that year. The Ambassadors at Wittenburgh. Languet's Chron.

But that we may have a more perfect account of this remarkable embassy, let us represent some passages of it from the archives and acts of the Germans, as well as from our own. The industrious Seckendorf writes, that in the month of December a more solemn legation came from England, as Dr. Barnes had given them notice, who was there before, concerning the Ambassadors and the company with them. What opinion was then had of them may be learned from the judgment of Melancthon, expressed in a letter to Camerarius, wherein he somewhat valued Heth the Archdeacon, (as he styled him,) as having a savour of religion and learning, but scarce any of them else. "[a] Nicolas Heth, "the Archdeacon, alone excels in humanity and learning "among our guests. As for the rest of them, they have "no relish of our philosophy and sweetness. Therefore," saith he, "I shun, as much as I can, converse with them." However, they were received with all honour, and much deference given them. They related to the Elector what the King had given them in commandment, *viz.* of concord in religion, and of making a mutual defence against the Pope. Some further account of the King's Ambassadors. 228

It was further noted of these Ambassadors as an absurdity they were guilty of, that when certain articles, dated December 25, were to be subscribed, the three Ambassadors subscribed before the Elector and Landgrave, they writing Censures of them.

[a] Unus Nic. Hethus Archidiaconus humanitate et literis excellit inter hospites nostros: cæteri ἀγευστοι κωτιγας φιλοσοφιας και γλυκυτητος.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

their names under them. Which form would, saith my author, hardly hold at this day. It was also observed in this subscription, how little our learned men then regarded orthography, Heth writing Nicholaus for Nicolaus. Fox also, the other Ambassador, was animadverted upon, who in May 1536, writing to the Elector, subscribed thus, *Electoralis Celsitudinis vestræ bonus amicus:* that is, *Your Electoral Highness's good friend*, (without that sense of distance and good manners that became him.)

Fox declares the King's mind as favouring the Lutheran opinions.

But as to their business; Fox, during his stay, went often to Pontanus's house, and there did boldly assert, that the King would altogether allow of the opinions of those of Wittemberg: nor would he himself so willingly assent, but that he was certain of the King's mind. But he did vehemently insist, that a legation should be despatched into England, consisting as well of Divines, as others of the chief nobility; and desired George of Anhalt, above all, might be one, being a nobleman, and chief governor of the town of Magdeburg.

Conference with the Wittenburgh Divines.

In the conference held between the Ambassadors and the Wittemburg Divines, they drew up this doctrine of the Lord's Supper, taken from the Augustan Confession; (which the Ambassadors received, and took along with them, when they departed into England,) "We constantly believe and "teach, that in the Sacrament of the body and blood of "Christ, the body and blood of Christ is truly, substantially, "and really under the kinds of bread and wine." And in the form of the league, propounded by the Ambassadors to be entered into, it was thus set down concerning the Pope:

The articles of the Lord's Supper,

And of the Pope.

"Neither shall the most serene King, nor the illustrious "Princes or States, ever hereafter acknowledge or defend, "that any primacy or monarchy of the Roman Bishop doth "now obtain, or ever hath obtained, by Divine right: nei-"ther shall they ever consent to that opinion, that it is pro-
229 "fitable or expedient to the Christian commonwealth, that "the Roman Bishop is above all other Bishops; or that he "exercise for the future any jurisdiction in the kingdoms, "dominions, and territories of the said King and Princes."

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

To beget the more favourable opinion of the King in the minds of these German Protestants, Fox, in an oration he made to the confederates, asserted, "that an abrogation "was made by the King of the impious popish abuses, and "that pardons or indulgences were abolished. And he did "confidently determine, that no peace could be made, the "Pope's kingdom standing; which he called, *The Ba-* "*bylonian tyranny.* And he said moreover, the Pope "was the true Antichrist, who sought after nothing but "honour and profit, and nourished the seeds of discord "among princes."

Fox shews how the King abolished popish abuses.

Beside the repetition of the Augustan Confession before mentioned, concerning the Lord's Supper, the Divines of Wittemburgh laboured other articles with the Ambassadors, in single dissertations drawn up by Melancthon, as it seemed. Together with these were two other dissertations added, and sent the King, and brought when the Ambassadors came home; one of the marriage of Priests, and the other of the Mass. In the end of which they had these words, that *they wondered much at the English decree, when no amendment of abuses was propounded.* For the Ambassadors had shewn the decree of King Henry published against some abuses; in which the lighter of them were only touched, and the chief and capital ones omitted and let slip. Wherefore these Divines did with a masculine courage declare against them. And in a copy yet remaining, which Melancthon had perused, there be several of his obelisks marked in the margins; and in some places he writ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς, that is, *nothing found.* There was also one most laborious discourse more, concerning monastic vows: which with the rest are still preserved in the German archives: and as yet never published.

Which notwithstanding the Wittemburgh Divines are not satisfied with.

But whatsoever was pretended of the King's care of religion by this embassy, the German historian makes the great reason of it, and that which indeed the King chiefly intended by it, to be the respect he had to his own cause of matrimony: which he chiefly minded, and for the sake of which, sought therein not only the approbation of these

The King supposed to mind his own cause, under the pretence of religion.

CHAP. XXXII.

Divines, but the society of the Duke of Saxony and the confederates. That by their help he might be able the better to resist the Emperor, being about to revenge the wrong done to his aunt. And to make this the more probable, although Fox by letters to the King had related what was done at Wittemburgh, yet he received commands, by which the business of religion was deferred and prolonged.

Anno 1535.

The Ambassadors returned home in January, excepting Fox, as it seems, who stayed behind. And February 8, 1536, (that is, 1535, according to the English Church's computation,) the King wrote letters, dated at Greenwich, to the Elector, with great humanity, and many thanks for the civil treating of his Ambassadors, leaving the further negotiation of matters to Fox: the chief of which was concerning the King's marriage. But the judgment of the Wittemburgh Divines, (though they held the unlawfulness of his marriage,) went against the King's divorce; which judgment the Bishop of Sarum hath printed out of Mr. Ri. Smith's MSS. It was drawn up in writing, and the Ambassadors returning brought it along with them. A German copy whereof, drawn out by Caspar Cruciger's hand, and sent from Wittemburgh to the Elector, is preserved in the archives of Smalcald. In which copy were certain words, which were left out in that which the Ambassadors brought to the King; to put him in hope, as it seems, to have hereafter the assent of the Wittembergians. Which words were these: "Although we agree with the Ambassadors, that the "law of not marrying the brother's wife is to be observed; "yet it remains in controversy among us, which the Am- "bassadors assert, that there is no place for a dispensation, "[but that there must be a divorce of such an unlawful "marriage.] But we think there is place. For the law "cannot more strictly oblige us, than it did the Jews. But "if the law admitted a dispensation, the bond of matrimony "is stronger than the other law concerning marrying the "wife's brother." This may more clearly be understood by a letter of Martin Luther to Dr. Barnes, one of the Ambassadors; which begins, *En! habe tibi, mi Antoni*, &c.

The Ambassadors return with the judgment of the German Divines concerning the divorce.

230

Hist. Ref. vol. i. Coll. p. 94.

Luther's judgment therein.

Wherein he vehemently opposed the dissolving of the King's matrimony consummated with the widow of his brother; and he would, "that the fame and right, as well of the wife "as of the offspring from that marriage, should be spared. "And his chief argument was, that Moses's law doth not "oblige Christians, unless as far as it takes in the divine "and natural law. But matrimony with the brother's wife "doth not fight with the law of nature." Melancthon also was of the same judgment, and wrote largely thereof. Anno 1535.

The princes are in a demur about the King.

After the Ambassadors were gone home, many messengers of the princes and cities confederate were against a treaty with the King of England. And the Elector in July 1536. signified to the Landgrave his solicitude: persuading to make delay, or that some spy should be sent into England, or that the matter should be left to Æpinus, the Superintendent of Hamburgh, who was very great with Crumwel, that he should inquire diligently what was done in England. And that because letters from Barnes were brought to Melancthon, in which he signified a change of things, and dissuaded him from a journey into England, who was almost determined to be sent. Others there were that accused the Bishop of Hereford, Fox, the late Ambassador, of a lie, [as though he made the matter of King Henry's inclination to the evangelical doctrine more than indeed it was.] At length the Princes met, and wrote letters to the King, dated Sept. 1, composed by Melancthon; in which they prayed, that the King would explain his mind concerning the articles about which his Ambassadors and the Divines of Wittemburgh met the last year, as also concerning the Council; of whose indiction a report now went. But these letters came slowly to the King. These matters are most what collected from that German author before mentioned, who seems to be a man of great integrity as well as learning, and to have had great opportunities of knowing the matters transacted in these times, by his access to records.

231 Dr. Barnes and Derick sent into Germany.

The King, before this despatch of Fox last mentioned, had in May or June sent Dr. Barnes and one Derick into Germany, and Mount and Haynes into France, upon this

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

occasion. The German Protestants were inclined to put their matters into the hands of Francis of France, and Henry of England. And both were willing, for their own ends, to embrace a friendship with them. Du Bellay, the French Ambassador, had so dealt with the Germans at Smalcald, that he had persuaded them, as was believed here by some intelligence from Sir John Wallop, the Ambassador in France, to send Melancthon thither to confer with that King about matters of religion, and to receive that King's instructions to reduce the Germans to the Pope, Melancthon himself now inclining to own his primacy. Our King was very earnestly desirous to stop that learned man's going to France; and instead of travelling to that nation, to divert his course hither, if he could by any means possible. For King Henry had an high opinion of his learning, as well as of his other accomplishments: and moreover did hope, that by his means (if he could but come to speech with him) he might the easier bring him off from this purpose of persuading the Protestants to submit to the Pope. Wherefore, for the compassing this design, the King ordered Crumwel to despatch away by post Dr. Barnes (he who was afterwards burnt for his religion) into Germany, to meet with Melancthon, if he was on his journey, or ready to go into France, and to dissuade him from it, with certain arguments that he was furnished with to use to him; and to endeavour to persuade him to direct his journey rather into England. If he should chance to miss of Melancthon, then he was instructed to go forward towards the Princes of Germany, with certain messages to them: partly to assure them of the King's steadfast resolutions, not to vary from his actions against the Bishop of Rome, and partly to take them off from depending upon the French King.

Account of Barnes's embassy. Hist. Luth. per Seckend.

This passage will be illustrated by what hath been collected from German acts and records by the said Lutheran historian. Who writes, that the said Dr. Robert Barnes (better known in Germany by the name of Antonius Amarius) came to Wittemberg in the month of July, and brought letters from the King, dated at Windsor, to Prince

John Frederick, Elector; wherein he was styled, *Doctorem Barnes, Capellanum nostrum, et S. Theologiæ Professorem.* But at Wittemberg the plague so raged, that he found the greatest part of the Professors and Scholars removed to Jene, in Thuringe. Barnes then got letters written and signed by the hands of Luther, Jonas, Crucigger, and Melancthon; wherein they commended him as already known to the Prince, and signified that Melancthon was by him solicited to go into England to the King, who offered him *egregiam cautionem, imo et obsides;* "suffi- "cient caution, yea and hostages" for his safety. This call into England Melancthon mentioned in a letter to Camerarius. Of this journey, to which the King had invited him, Luther conceived good hopes. For thus he writ; "Who "knows what God will effect? His wisdom is greater than "ours, and his will better." He added, "That care be taken "of Philip [Melancthon,] that he might not be afflicted by "too much sorrow, otherwise sad, he supposed, for the re- "pulse which a little before the Elector gave him, in for- "bidding his journey into France." But Melancthon took this opportunity to insinuate himself into the King's good opinion, sending him in August letters, and his commentary upon the Romans, by his Secretary Alexander Alesius, a Scot, the book being dedicated to him. The King kindly accepted Melancthon's book and letter, and sent him two hundred crowns: and both the King himself, and Crumwel, by his command, wrote letters to him: the King's letter, dated October 1, as it was collected by Valentinus Bevasus in his *Compilatio*, ran in this tenor:

Anno 1535.

The King sends for Melancthon.

232

"Henricus Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei "Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, ac supremum Ecclesiæ "Anglicanæ in terris sub Christo Caput, Philippo Melanc- "thoni Sanctæ Theologiæ Professori eximio, amico nostro "plurimum dilecto.

The King's letter to him.

"Quod Christianæ religionis ipsiusque veritatis propug- "nandæ studiosissimum te percepimus, sic eo nomine sin- "cerissimo istius tui animi instituto afficimur, ut nihil æquè

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

" in votis habeamus, ac aliquam sese offerre occasionem " sanctissimos istos tui pectoris conatus quacunque nostra " opera juvandi et promovendi. Ad hujus verò nostræ in te " dilectionis non vulgaris animum quàm maxima nuper ac- " cessit ex literis abs te per Alexandrum Alesium ad nos " datis. Quæ etsi tui candoris et amicissimi erga nos studii " indices essent satis locupletes, id tamen non obscurè egre- " gii destinati muneris testimonio pulcherrimo testari vo- " luisti. Munus certè ex suipsius excellentia dignum, quod " boni omnes complectantur, et quod nostro nomini di- " catum est, nobis omnium quàm maximè charum et accep- " tum. Ob igitur istam benè erga nos affectæ voluntatis " significationem, ingentes et quantas possumus ex animo " gratias tibi habemus, persuasumque esse volumus: nos " rectissimè istis tuis et cum Deo conjunctis studiis, nullo " unquam tempore aut loco, defuturos esse. Cætera ex fide- " lissimi ac intimi Consiliarii Primariique Secretarii nostri " Thomæ Cronvelli literis, uberius cognosces. Quibus ro- " gamus ut cunctam fidem habere velis: et benè ac diu " valeas. Ex regia nostra Vintoniensi, d. 1. Octobris, " 1535."

His answer, lib. i. ep. 27.

To this royal letter Melancthon wrote an answer, dated December 1, which whoso pleaseth may read in his epistles.

The Elector's letter to the King.

But to take up all Barnes's embassy together. He had his audience of the Elector at Jene. September 18, the Elector gave him his answer. And September 28, sent letters to the King; wherein he praised Barnes's diligence, and acknowledged thankfully the King's good-will towards him: and that there was a great access made in his love to his Majesty, when he and the rest with him understood how greatly he endeavoured the emendation of the doctrines of religion. The same Barnes had been before with George Duke of Saxony, and expostulated with him about a book of Cochlæus's writing, put forth against the King; and requested that he might be brought to disputation. And this for Barnes's embassy, before the coming of Fox and Heth. But to look a little back.

Anno 1535.

Haynes and Mount were to be despatched in post to Sir John Wallop in France secretly, as his friends to visit him. And by this means they were, if Melancthon were come thither, to resort to him, and to persuade him to depart from France, as soon as might be, and to allure him over. All this whole matter particularly was the effect of some instructions that the Council, being in progress with the King, wrote from Langley to the Secretary Crumwel, giving him orders for the managery of this despatch. The Council's letter shall be found in the Appendix. 233

Haynes and Mount sent into France, to persuade Melancthon to come over.

No. LXVII.

But Sir John Wallop, in his next despatch of letters, dated August 17, signified that Melancthon was not like to repair to France. However, the King sent Mount without any delay, to take a journey where Melancthon was; and to get to him before Monsieur De Langie should, who it seems was sent by the French King to solicit Melancthon to come; that he might persuade his stay, and divert him into England. And the King had assurance almost, that it would take effect accordingly. Heynes, being now with Mount in France, was ordered to go to Paris, there to understand the opinions of the learned, and their affection, how they stood inclined both to the King's proceedings and the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority.

Their business here.

The King was the more desirous to obtain the favourable sense of the learned in France, because King Francis had lately some conference with King Henry's Ambassador, the matter whereof was not acceptable to him; as though that King had not liked of the King's doings. Which discourse began upon this occasion. The Ambassador, according to the King's command, had urged the payment of his pensions, which the French King had been backward in doing. Upon the Ambassador's demand whereof, that King promised it should be despatched; yet the Ambassador well observed, how he presently fell into a discourse of his great friendship towards the King of England: and that he had at all times answered for him, and namely, to Pope Clement at Marseilles; and shewed to him the King's matrimony to be just and lawful. As

Communication between the French King and English Ambassador.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1535.

though he meant that in requital of these kindnesses, King Henry should forgive him the debt. He spake then also to the Ambassador concerning the late execution of Fisher and More, and some others; which he looked upon as things extremely done by the King. He pitied More, and mentioned the good manner of his death, and what he said to his daughter as he was going to his judgment; and how he exhorted the King's subjects to be true and obedient to the King. Which, it seems, was false: but a formal relation of this was framed, and sent into France, and there fell into the great Master's hand, who promised the Ambassador a copy thereof. Francis also, in his speech at this time with the Ambassador, uttered some words, signifying rather his dislike of the late laws made, than enacting them in his kingdom, as King Henry moved him to do. He said, that it was not meet one Prince should desire another to change his laws; adding, that his laws were *too old* to be changed; giving a jerk at King Henry's laws, because of the *newness* of them. He disliked the severity of them, and advised the King, that he would rather use banishment than death. And that he for his part did intend to cease those extreme executions that were lately practised in his realm, and to call home his banished subjects that were fled for speaking against the Pope.

Instruction to the Ambassador hereupon.

The King of England was greatly nettled, when he understood by his Ambassador this discourse, and gave him instructions to take some opportunity to enter into communication of these matters again, and what to answer to each head of the French King's talk; and particularly as to the execution of More and Fisher. As, that it was not so extreme, considering their treason and conspiracies practised within his realm, and without, to move and stir up dissension, intending both the destruction of the King, and subversion of the realm. And that it was so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not deny it. But I refer the reader to Crumwel's letter to the Ambassador concerning this whole matter, which I have reposited in the Appendix.

234

Numb. LXVIII.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Pole dealt withal to acknowledge the supremacy, and the lawfulness of the King's divorce. Letters between Starky, a learned Divine, and Pole, thereupon. Katharine, Princess Dowager, dies. Some remarks of her. Her last will.

THE King was jealous of Reginald Pole, his kinsman, now abroad, not standing right to neither of his causes, as well that of his matrimony, as that of his supremacy. But knowing the high opinion generally conceived of him, he was very desirous to gain him over. For this purpose the Secretary had sent to him Sampson's book against the Pope's supremacy, and for the King's being Head of the Church, and desired him, in the King's name, to write in favour of the same. There was one Thomas Starky, a learned and ingenious man, called in by Crumwel, lately in some service about the King, (in quality of his Chaplain, if I mistake not,) who was an old friend and dear acquaintance of Pole's, and had been with him in Italy, and there left him; and professed to love Pole better than his brother. This person the King called one day before him in this present year, and knowing him well acquainted with Pole, fell into discourse about him; as, of his studies, and of his sentence and opinion in the King's weighty causes. To which inquiries Starky answered accordingly. He told the King, "that he was sure that "Pole's mind, heart, and desire, was to do his Majesty true "and faithful service. But as touching his opinion in his "weighty causes, the one of his matrimony, and the other "of his authority, because Pole used a prudent silence in "such matters, he could affirm nothing to the King. But "he said, he surely thought, that as for his learning and "judgment, it was by time and diligent study somewhat "altered and increased: and that touching the discerning "betwixt God's laws and man's, he would stretch and ex-"tend all his power and knowledge, which, by the good-

Anno 1535.

The King discourses with Starky concerning Pole.

Cott. libr. Cleop. E. 6. p. 361.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535. 235

" ness of God, and his Grace's liberality, he had obtained, " and would gladly confer to the maintaining of such things " as his Grace's wisdom, by court of Parliament therein had " decreed, to the honour of his Highness, and the wealth of " his realm."

Commands him to write to Pole, for his judgment.

But the King, not satisfied with this uncertain account of Pole, desired to hear Pole's sentence from himself. And therefore commanded Starky to write this to him; " That " it was the King's pleasure that he should, like a learned " man, ponder and weigh the nature of the things as they " be in themselves, and setting apart all successes and dan- " gerous effects, which of them may ensue, leaving all such " things to the King's own wisdom and policy, declare his " sentence truly and plainly, without colour or cloud of dis- " simulation: willing him, not to make of these things any " great volume, but briefly to gather the most effectual rea- " sons, which in his stomach be of most weight; setting them " forth after his plain fashion of writing."

Which he does.

Starky accordingly soon signified all this to Pole by letter, and withal bade him consider with himself, and prudently weigh, how princely a request this was of the Prince, and then he was sure he would employ himself with all diligence to satisfy his noble desire. He told him, that Secretary Crumwel also gently exhorted him to the same, wishing him in any case, whatsoever his sentence should be, to use his wonted plainness in the causes; and withal, that the said Secretary certified him, that in case his learning and judgment did stretch to the satisfying of the King's mind and desire, that then his return hither to his own country would be to the King's pleasure, and to his comfort, and profit of his friends. And if his learning and knowledge would not serve him to this purpose, yet that he, the Secretary, would advise him of a loving mind, to prepare himself towards his return, doubting nothing, but that the King would use him in other causes and affairs. For that he was sorry that his virtues should be drowned, and, as in a stream, vanish away among strangers. Thus Crumwel.

Crumwel's message.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

Starky's argument with Pole.

To which messages of the King and Secretary, Starky, in his own name, added two words. One was, "That he would "be intreated to ponder well the Levitical law, how it is "rooted in the law of nature, and how by general councils "it hath been many times declared and authorized thereby. "And upon the other side, the slenderness of the abused "authority of the Pope; which, by patience of Princes, "simplicity of the people, ambitious avarice of his predeces- "sors, and process of time, was grown to this intolerable "iniquity: and he doubted not, he would see in these "causes the judged truth and plain equity. He added, "that whereas when he parted from him, and was not sure "that he should return to his own country in England, to "hear the common rumours, [in his travelling home through "Italy and other parts,] that the Prince had not only with- "drawn himself from the authority of the Pope, but also "slipt from the grounds of Scripture, from the honour "of the sacraments, and from all other the Pope's laws, "yea, and rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church: this he "told him, he knew the Prince and nation was slandered "with, and that they were cunningly moved to be slidden "to such damnable impiety. And that if at his return he "had found these things true, he would never by any means "have entered into the service of such a Prince. But he "certified him this of the King's mind and of his laws; 236
"that like a most noble and Catholic Prince, he did not "only stand in the grounds of Scripture, and defence of the "sacraments, but by law had commanded the ancient cus- "toms, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, after the old "manner here, to be observed. Yea, and this, boldly he "dared to say, his Highness would do, till it should appear "to his Grace's wisdom, and most noble Council, them to "abrogate, and others to substitute by common consent; "more convenient to this time, to the nature and manner "of this our country and place. So that as yet, touching "the Church, there was almost nothing altered, but that "which was of all other most necessary."

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

Pole's answer to Starky. Cott. libr. ubi supra.

This letter of Starky Mr. Pole answered, being then at Venice, and promised that he would write his mind upon the subjects desired. In a letter of his to Starky, dated June the 3d, he more at large opened his affection and will to serve the King in the cause required. It was somewhat long before this letter came, which Starky at first attributed to his not liking of the cause. But Pole pretended, that he stayed for more instructions from the Secretary's letters, which were bringing by an Ambassador sent to Venice, who was somewhat long on the way. But he said, "that in his "writing on this cause, he would weigh Scripture, laying "apart all authority of men." To which Starky answered,

And Starky's to him again.

"That he doubted not, but that he would withal put aside "all such prejudice, as by custom and time in simple minds "be reputed of great weight. Whereof, he said, they had "lamentable experience in England, by the blindness of "many which had lately suffered: having nothing of mo- "ment to say against the authority of law, but only long "custom and usage of many years, and ancient opinions, "wherein their fathers had died. That they lacked the "true judgment of politic things; which be of this nature, "that of necessity, in process of time, and in many years, "ever by little and little grow to unjust extremity: none "otherwise than the body of man, by the course of nature, "ever in time falleth in decay and natural debility. This "example he was sure would weigh nothing with him, "whom he had known ever, without any exterior and vain "respect, to look with a constant and stable mind to truth "and honesty. That of his judgment he was certain, that "by his diligent pondering of stories and Scripture on this "behalf, he would soon see, how that Christ's doctrine de- "termined no one kind of policy; but might in all states "be established and grounded. So that this superiority "and unity of Head was not to be required of necessity, or "hung only upon mere policy. For as much as Christ said, "*Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo:* and in another "place, *Who made me a divider between you?* By the root

"whereof, as I take it, said he, Christ would declare all "such things to be left to the governance of men and "worldly policy."

Starky to Pole again, of the supremacy.

In another letter of Starky to Pole, (still in expectation of a letter of his judgment in the King's matter,) he had these words: "That as touching the matter of the Pope's "authority, he told him, that his friends put no doubt, but "therein he should, to the full satisfaction of the King's "mind, see the judged truth. For never can I think, said "he, when I consider your judgment and learning, that "you can be of this sentence, that such an head, or such 237
"superiority, should be of the law of God, and to the sal-"vation of men of high necessity, the which St. Jerome "plainly affirmeth to be constitute *in remedium schismatis*, "and not to be of such necessity. And if I have any judg-"ment in any other kind of letters, or divinity, this I dare "say, that this superiority, of long time given to the Pope, "which was only by the patience of princes, *et tacito quo-"dam Christiani populi consensu*, by process of time is "grown in, as a thing convenient to the conservation of "Christian unity: but in no case of such necessity, that "without the same, Christian minds may not attain to their "salvation, nor keep the spiritual unity. Yea, and if you "weigh the matter, you will, I think, further find that su-"periority, (as it hath been of many years used,) to be no-"thing at all convenient to the conservation of the politic "unity. The which thing, as you know better than I, to "whom stories are better known, hath been the greatest "break, that in memory we have, to all Christian civility. "For what Christian princes have we, who one against an-"other have not drawn their swords for the maintenance of "this authority? And daily I beseech Him that governeth "all, that in our days we see not the same. But after my "poor fancy, better it is, though it be with some danger, "to cut up such a root of sedition in a Christian civility, "than let it remain to the continual destruction of our pos-"terity. He told Pole moreover, that his Highness would "be sorry to see him not to reach so manifest a truth, as

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

" he had perceived, as he said, of the King at sundry times, " when it pleased him to talk of Pole, to the declaration of " the noble affection which he bore to him.

The King's marriage.

" And touching the matter of the first marriage, he " doubted not, but when he laid together, without any af- " fection, the weight of such marriage between brother and " sister, and the slenderness of such power as the Pope had " in such cases to dispense, he should shortly by his wisdom " see the inconveniency of that marriage. So that in both " parties great hope he had to see him satisfy the King's " pleasure and mind: and then shortly after, with great " comfort both to himself and friends, to return into his " native country.

The Monks of the Charter House, and Reynolds of Sion.

" And where he was sure it was blown abroad in Italy, " how here were Monks of the Charter House put to death, " men noted of great sanctity; he gave him to understand " in few words the nature of the same, to the intent that he " might stop such misreports, as might be made to the " slander of the nation. First, saith he, you shall under- " stand in the last Parliament an act to be made, that all " the King's subjects should, under pain of treason, revoke " the Pope's superiority. To the which act, as the rest of " our nation with one consent did agree, so did these Monks, " three Priors, and Reynolds of Sion. The which now of " late, contrary to their oath, and also to the act, returned " to their old obedience, affirming the same by their blind " superstitious knowledge, to be to the salvation of men of " necessity, and that this superiority of the Pope was a sure " truth, and manifest by the law of God, and a thing which " was of Christ institute, as necessary to the conservation " of the spiritual unity of the mystical body of Christ. In
238 " this blindness their superstitious minds were stabled: lack- " ing judgment to distinguish between the unity *spiritual* " and the unity *political*; which they thought should run to " ruin for lack of this head, whom they made immediate " judge under Christ: on whose judgment, as of the Vicar " of Christ, all Christian men ought of necessity to hang. " In this opinion sturdily stood Raynolds, whom I have

" heard of you many times praised: who was so rooted
" therein, that he could admit no reason to the contrary.
" Divers were sent to them in prison, by the King's com- Anno 1535.
" mandment, to instruct them with the truth. But in that
" opinion, both he and the rest were so blinded and sturdy,
" that neither could they see the truth in the cause, nor yet
" give convenient obedience due to [from] such persons, as
" of themselves cannot see the truth. Wherefore, according
" to the course of the law, as rebels to the same, and diso-
" bedient to the princely authority, and as persons, which,
" as much as lay in them, have rooted a sedition in this
" communalty, they most justly have suffered this worldly
" death. Whose sin and blindness I beseech our Lord
" pardon.

" This is the truth of this matter; whereof I can certainly
" assure you. For, by the licence and commandment of
" Master Secretary, I was admitted to hear Raynolds's rea-
" sons, and to confer such light as God had given me in the
" same cause with him. In whom, I promise you, I nei-
" ther found strong reason to maintain his purpose, nor yet
" great learning to the defence of the same. With him I
" conferred gladly. For sorry I was for many causes, that
" a man of such fame, as he was here noted both for virtue
" and learning, should die in such a blind and superstitious
" opinion. But nothing could avail, but that he would, in
" that opinion, as a disobedient person to the King's laws,
" suffer his death with the other of the same minds; where-
" fore they themselves were the cause, insomuch as it seem-
" eth to me they sought their own death: of the which no
" man can be justly accused, but they themselves. This
" thing, Sir, as occasion, time, and place doth require, you
" may common there, as you shall think it expedient, and
" to such as you may perceive by misreport are otherwise
" informed. For this is the truth, that I have briefly
" touched by these letters unto you." Under the next year were more letters passing from Starky and others to Pole, and from him to them: which I shall then give some account of.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

Those of North Wales pilled by pretence of indulgences.

Although divers laws were made the last year for cutting off the Pope's power, the nation could not easily deliver itself from the prejudices the people had in his favour. And especially the most ignorant sort had a great veneration for his *indulgences;* being such convenient things for the upholding them in their sins. So that although in the year 1534. there was an act made for taking away all the Pope's exactions and pensions, and that no payment should from thenceforth be paid to the apostolic chamber; and that all bulls and dispensations from Rome should cease; yet I find about this time, as I guess, (and guess I must sometimes,) *indulgences* in North Wales. For there was one Robert Oking, Clerk, Commissary to the Bishop of Bangor, licensed under his hand and seal, the Proctor of St. Lazar; that the said Proctor should declare and publish (in exalting the Bi-
239 shop of Rome's name and authority) the indulgence, pardon, and privileges of St. Lazar, [a Welsh saint, it seems,] heretofore granted by the Bishops of Rome. Whereby the inhabitants of North Wales, (where these indulgences were chiefly granted,) by colour of the said feigned *pardoner*, were exacted and polled of their money, contrary to the King's acts, and ordinances, and provisions therein duly provided. One Gibbons, Register to the Bishop of Bangor, perceiving the said abuses, and for the indemnity of the Bishop, having with him the King's Bailiff of the town of Caerver, on Palm-sunday took away from the said feigned *pardoner*, as well all his papistical muniments, as the letters and proxy of the said Oking; authorizing the said feigned privileges and pardon, in as ample manner and form, as they were before contrary to the King's commandment and provision. But hereupon Oking suspended the Register on the Wednesday after, and so caused him to be declared on Easter-day following; and directed letters to one Robins, Clerk, (concerned, I suppose, with Gibbons,) menacing him to molest and trouble him by virtue of his pretended authority. Whereupon Gibbons appealed by a petition, as being a mere temporal matter, to Richard Bulkely, the Chamberlain of North Wales; who, as he said, was the King's Chancellor in North

Cotton libr. Cleop. E. 6. p. 395.

Wales; "to cause Oking to surcease, and no further to "proceed in vexing of Gibbons by his pretended authority, "and by colour of the decretal laws: and for so much as "Oking was a stranger, to put him under sufficient sureties "to answer to the premises, according to the King's laws, "for usurping of the same." CHAP. XXXIII. Anno 1535.

For all these bold proceedings of King Henry against the Pope, as have been already related, as some railed on him, so others as highly extolled and nauseously flattered him. And there was one Gibson did it, by making the King to be a fulfiller of famous prophecies. He got together a parcel of fond prophecies, somewhere met with in those times, that shewed of a king that should win the holy cross: which many would have had to belong to the Emperor Charles; but this man assigned them to have been foretold of King Henry VIII. Moreover, that this king should conquer and subdue many realms, and that by such kind of miracles as are read in Scripture, the people of Israel did over their enemies. As, that God should raise the swords of the King's enemies one against another; and that he should do as Gideon, that is, put to flight a mighty host, as the sand of the sea-shore, with three hundred persons. This also was to be made good in King Henry. That the Papists should seek their own confusion, and suddenly should find it. And ere it once be thought like to come, men should be drowned in their own blood, as Pharaoh was in the Red sea. And that God will take one of the King's men, strong enough to fight in his quarrel, for ten others that fight against him. And then he proceeded in repeating his prophecies. "St. "Thomas calleth him that shall win the holy cross, the "king of virgins. John, the hermit, called him the king "of fords. Another called him the king of broad passage: "and another the king of works: and another the lion of "the air; and the like." All which this man laboured to apply to King Henry: and said, that these prophecies meant not literally, that the King should go to Jerusalem to fetch the cross which our Saviour Christ suffered upon, but that his Majesty should win victory over the Devil's minister, the Old prophecies of K. Henry. Cleop. E. 6. p. 369.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

Bishop of Rome; and should be unto all realms a lantern of light, whereby they might truly and faithfully see the sincereness of the Gospel, which is the glory of God: which glory had been darkened by the Devil's ministers, the Papists, with beggarly baggage, (I use my author's words,) whereby the prophecies of Amos was fulfilled, that an hunger should come on the earth, for lack of God's word; which was set out by the true minister of God, King Henry VIII.

The sickness and death of Queen Katharine.

This year, and the next within five months after, put an end to two Queens, *viz.* Queen Katharine Dowager, and Queen Anne that succeeded her. To give some short notes concerning the former, with respect only to the last months of her life. In October her residence was at Bugden; being then not well in health: and seemed desirous to move to some other place. So the King ordered her departure thence to Fotheringah. Which when Thomas Vaux, one of her officers, told her of from Crumwel, she had no mind, whatever was the cause, to go thither: (whether she thought it looked like putting her under restraint in that castle:) telling him, that she would not go thither, unless the King sent her thither a prisoner, with ropes bound; notwithstanding all the provisions that were made and prepared for her. Yet from the place where she was, she fain would remove. Which the said Vaux in a letter to Crumwel informed him of; and that she was desirous to have some place appointed for her nearer London.

She would be styled Queen still.

She was still styled Queen by her servants: and so she commanded them to call her. Nor would she admit any about her to address to her in any inferior title. This the King hearing of, gave him great offence. Insomuch that he sent a charge to Vaux by his own letters, to inform him, "whether there were any about her that so styled her; "and who they were that obstinately and wilfully, contrary "to the determination taken in that behalf, did not desist "nor forbear calling the said lady by the name of *Queen*: "that further order might be taken therein. To which, in "a letter to Crumwel, the said Vaux signified, that at that "season he could not well and approvedly name any parti-

"cular person that so obstinately called the Lady Dowager "by the name of *Queen*. But generally he dared boldly to "say and prove, that all women, priests, and ministers of "the Princess's chamber, as sowers, hushers, and such "other about, that did her any manner of service, did so "call her. And that so she had both willed and commanded "all that were her own servants, and served her: or else "she would receive nothing of them. That the household-"officers that were there, delivered all things called for with-"out such denomination. But that both men and women "there were much persuaded by the Priests there, as he "thought, upon their consciences, how they ought to call "her *Queen* still; considering, that all that did appertain "to the chamber especially, were sworn to King Henry and "Queen Katharine. Yea, and further, that they were the "more animated so to do, because they had learned and "heard say in the house there, since his [Vaux] coming, "that there was a letter sent from the Princess's Proctor "at Rome, how that the Pope had given sentence upon her 241
"party. And the effect or copy of the said letter had been "read and shewed to divers there. But that he could "come to no sight thereof; because he was partly mis-"trusted among them. That he saw her Grace was merry, "and bore good and joyful countenance: and much more "resort of people come daily thither, than had done in any "other place heretofore. But that if she were to be removed, "it was requisite she should be removed shortly: otherwise "the country would be so foul, that no carriages of house-"hold provision should pass or come." Hence it seems she removed to Kimbolton, where not long after she died.

Her officers here, besides Vaux, were Edward Chamberlain and Edmund Bedingfield. Inquiries were not wanting concerning her; and what visitors she had coming to her. Upon Crumwel's letter to them to inform him thereof, they shewed him the names of such as lately gave her visits, *viz.* the Emperor's Ambassador came Jan. 2, who immediately after dinner came into her chamber, and so into her pre-

Her officers. Her visitors. Cott. libr.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1535.

sence; there remaining scarce a quarter of an hour. At which time both of them [Chamberlain and Bedingfield] were commanded to be present. That upon his coming, he saluted her in the Spanish tongue: which they, as they said, understood not. But, as they added in their answer, Mr. Vaughan, another there, could declare to him the effect of their communication at that time. At five in the afternoon she sent her doctor of physic for him. And then and there entered no man but the said Ambassador, beside the doctor and the steward to the Ambassador. Then he was with her about half an hour, and departed to his chamber. And again, the next day, about seven a'clock at night, about an hour. At those two last visits, none were present but the personages afore-mentioned, and her old trusty women; who either understood not the Spanish tongue, or if they did, or if they could, the matter being of importance, they [the officers] could get no manner of knowledge of it from them.

Lady Willoughby visits her.

The Lady Willoughby also came thither on New-year's-day, about six o'clock at night: with whom these officers met, and demanded a sight of her licence to repair thither. She said, she would deliver next morning letters sufficient for their discharge. But at present she desired them, being in such a case, (by reason of a fall, as she pretended, from her horse,) to repair to the fire; and so was immediately conveyed to the Princess. And since that time they never saw her, nor any letter of licence to repair thither was shewed them. She appeared in her countenance at her coming to be greatly dismayed, saying, she thought never to have seen the Princess alive, by reason of such tidings as she had heard by the way.

Her death.

As to her state of health, these two gentlemen further informed the said Lord Crumwel, that they understood by her doctor, that she had somewhat of comfort by the coming of those folks, and fell to somewhat more rest in the night than heretofore; but that he feared it would be a long continuing sickness ere she recovered, as far as he could

judge, if God so disposed. This their letter was dated from Kimbolton, the 5th day of January; and three days after she died. Anno 1535.

By the postscript it appears how strait they were kept of money, Bedingfield thus writing; "Sir, I beseech you send "me some relief of money by Mr. Gostwick, [who it seems "brought the letter,] for I have none left." 242

This sickness then carried her off: which, when the King heard of, he ordered the Lord Privy Seal, that she might be buried decently, in the port of a person of her quality; and appointed her corpse to be interred at the abbey of Peterborough. Concerning this, he despatched his letters to the aforesaid gentlemen; and that they should acquaint him with the preparations made for her funeral. The sum of their answer was, "that the boweling and cering "was done in the best manner: the leading and chesting "was preparing, not lacking any thing; and that it should "be finished with all speed." And the King having sent Mr. Comptroller thither, to order all things belonging to the interment, they shewed themselves very joyous at his coming. Order about her burial.

Crumwel also gave them in command to preserve for the King's use, what treasure, goods, gold, and jewels, the deceased left. And for that purpose to look carefully to the gates. And that they should inform him what the sum thereof might amount to, in order to the bearing the expenses of her funeral from thence. To this the answer they gave was, "that according to their power, they had commanded the "safe custody of the gates: so that nothing had or should "be suffered to issue. And further, that they had com- "muned with all such persons as in her lifetime had the "custody of any jewels, plate, or other things of charge: "whom they had found to their conscience, just and plain, "in the declaration of all such parcels as they had in their "keeping. And that they had declared much more than "ever they [Chamberlain and Bedingfield] saw or knew "before. And that upon consideration thereof, every thing Her treasure to be preserved for the King's use.

CHAP. XXXIII.

" remained in their custody, until his further pleasure and " commandment should be to them known."

Anno 1535.

Persons to be sent to attend the funeral.

And whereas Crumwel had mentioned some personages of honour to be sent to attend the funeral, the said officers wrote, " that as to the entertainment of them, with others, " as should repair thither by commandment, it should be, " to the best they could devise, accomplished in as ample " manner, as provision could be had for the King's honour."

And whereas Crumwel had signified to them, what the King designed for the deceased Princess's servants, by his motion; they further added, " how they had declared unto " all the servants, how good and benevolent a master he had " been to them, in moving the King's Highness, and obtain- " ing his Majesty's favour towards them all. And that both " these [the writers hereof] and all the rest were greatly " comforted with his gracious promise. Wherein we (say " they) wholly rejoice and trust. And should pray for the " prosperous preservation of his most noble Majesty."

Prelates and Priests to execute their office.

Crumwel also gave them instructions for the preparation of the house. To which they answered, " that it should " be done with all diligence. And likewise, that the Pre- " lates and Priests should be warned to repair, for the exe-
243 " cution of all manner of ceremonies appertaining to the " funerals. And all others according to his mastership's " commandment to the uttermost of our powers, as knoweth " Almighty God, [as they concluded,] who preserve your " mastership with much honour,

" By yours ready at commandment,

" Edward Chamberleyn.

" Edmund Bedyngfield."

The Princess Katharine Dowager's will.

The Princess made a will, but without naming any executor; leaving the disposition thereof to the King: praying and desiring him in the beginning of it, to suffer her to have her goods, as well gold and silver as other things, and whatsoever was due to her in money: to the end that she might therewith pay her debts, and recompense her ser-

vants. Which she entreated as affectionately as she might, for the necessity wherein she was ready to die, and to yield her soul to God. And then she proceeded in her legacies. The first whereof was for a person to go to our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage. And in going by the way to yield twenty nobles. And then follow the rest of her legacies to her servants: which were but mean, *viz.* twenty pounds, not many above. The two last legacies were, ornaments for the church, to be made of her gowns. And the furs of the same to her daughter. The whole will I have preserved in the Appendix, as I take it from a volume in the Cotton library. Anno 1535. N°. LXIX.

The King consults about seizing her goods.

The King then was to advise what course to take to come to the legal possession of the estate of the deceased Princess. Some thought that he might seize on it as his own. And that, because she had said, it seems, *that all was the King's*, and that she had nothing to give away. But Richard Ryche, the King's Solicitor, [that was afterwards Lord Ryche, and Lord High Chancellor of England,] upon the King's demand, shewed his learning in the law. Which was, that she now being a *sole woman*, had a right to her goods. And that by the law of England, the next of kin was to administer, and to pay the debts. And the other course, that of seizure, he judged to be repugnant to his Majesty's laws. But in fine, he moved another way to the King to compass the same: namely, to send to the Bishop of the diocese, where the Princess deceased, who was the Bishop of Lincoln; to grant the administration of her goods, as dying intestate, to such as his Highness should name. And then to have the goods, from them that had administered, to himself, for the payment of her debts, and the charges of her funerals. This he signified at large to the King in his letter from Kimbolton, where he was now, to look after this affair. Which letter will be found in the Appendix. Which I have the rather reposited there, in memory of that great man, as he appeared afterwards in the State: and from whom the Earls of Warwick are N°. LXX.

CHAP. XXXIII.

sprung. And wherein also a specimen of his parts and abilities may be seen.

Anno 1535. Upon Queen Anne's death, it was doubted by the Lady Bryan, governess of the King's children, whether the young Lady Princess Elizabeth should have the same honourable retinue and service now as before. For her instruction herein, she thought fit to send to the Lord Crumwel: giving him also some account of the young Princess's ingenuity and towardness. See her letter in the Appendix, giving these things more at large.

No. LXXI.

244

CHAP. XXXIV.

The German Princes embassy to the King. A Convocation. The King, Council, and Clergy protest against it. The Council at Mantua. Papal bulls. Northern Clergy. A visitation of the province of York needful.

Anno 1536. THE Princes of Germany, according as they had promised, prepared their agents to pass over hither, in order to the striking up a league with King Henry. And these were their instructions.

The instructions given by the Princes to their Ambassadors. Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 291.

Capita eorum, quæ primo congressu serenissimo et potentissimo Regi Angliæ, exponenda sunt.

They were in Latin, but these are the contents of them. "The Ambassadors were with the greatest reverence to "carry the commendation and salutation of the Princes to "the King. To expound to him how grateful the message "brought to them by Mount was, (having lately been at "Brunswick,) chiefly because the propension of his Majesty's "mind towards the sincerer doctrine of the Gospel was "thence well understood. That the Princes doubted not, "but that God would be present to his Majesty in his pious "endeavours. And that his Majesty might persuade him-"self, that the Princes, by God's grace, would not depart

" from the acknowledged truth, nor would suffer the ty-
" ranny and impiety of the Roman Bishop, within their
" dukedoms and dominions.

" That they should add the reasons, why at this time they
" could not send that ample embassy to the King.

" That the King of Denmark, who had received the Gos-
" pel, and taken care to abolish the popish tyranny and im-
" piety out of his kingdoms, had lately at Brunswig, joined
" himself in an honourable and Christian league with the
" Protestant princes. That he would also send his Am-
" bassadors with theirs, if so be he might be certified it
" would not be unacceptable to the King. And that this
" was a cause also of the delay of a more ample embassy.

" That they should unfold to the King the causes of this
" embassy, and the reason of the confederation; *viz.* that it
" consisted only in defence of the Gospel.

" That the King, establishing the sound doctrine of the
" Gospel, and abolishing impious abuses, would promote
" among other kings and potentates the cause of the
" Gospel.

" That the decree of Brunswig should be explained to
" the King, of preserving the true religion to all posterity
" in the dukedoms, dominions, and territories of the princes
" and confederates.

" That the princes hoped, after the King's Majesty and
" the confederates should treat concerning religion, that
" his Majesty would join himself with them and the con-
" federates, in the cause of religion.

" That his Majesty would not think much to signify his
" counsel concerning a synod; and whether he judged
" any thing wanting in the confession and doctrine of the 245
" confederates. To all these the orators were instructed
" to add convenient petitions. And some other matters
" the princes gave them in commandment, to take a conve-
" nient opportunity to unfold unto his Majesty.

" And lastly, that they should again present the bene-
" volent observance of the princes and confederates to the
" King."

CHAP. XXXIV.

Queen Anne being this year beheaded, I find little more done yet awhile between the King and the Germans: the further ambassade by the Protestants appointed for England being stayed.

Anno 1536.

Convocation.

June 9. was a new Convocation: when Thomas Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, came into the church of St. Paul's. The Bishop of London sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Thence they went to the chapel of St. Mary, to hear the sermon, which was preached in Latin by Hugh Latymer. The text, *Filii hujus sæculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis*. That done, the Most Reverend, with his brethren and the Clergy, went into the chapter-house: where the Bishop of London exhibited the *certificatory* upon the execution of the mandate of the Most Reverend, for calling together the Bishops. Afterwards the Most Reverend expounded the causes of this Convocation. And then advised all the Prelates, [that is, those of the Lower House,] that they should confer among themselves at the accustomed place, and choose one person for their Referendary or Prolocutor, who might speak in their name. And to present him the next session. Accordingly, June 16, Edm. Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Will. Petre, LL. D. together with the Clergy of the Lower House, presented to the said Most Reverend, together with his brethren, the venerable Mr. Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, and Official of the Court of Canterbury; being elected by them. And the said Edmond Boner, in the name of the whole Clergy, prayed the election so made, might be approved and confirmed by the said Most Reverend. Which the said Most Reverend did confirm and approve.

Crumwel, the King's Vicegerent, present.

Extracts of Convocat. MS. D. Ep. Roff.

This Convocation was the more remarkable, in regard that the Lord Crumwel, the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiasticals, took place in it. When Dr. Petre abovesaid alleged, "that since this synod was called by the authority "of the Prince, (who was *supreme Head* of the Church "of England,) and that the same Prince ought to hold "the supreme rule in the said Convocation; and that the

"King being absent, the Honourable Mr. Tho. Crumwel, "Vicar General for ecclesiastical causes, *ejus Vices gerens*, "ought to occupy his place. And therefore prayed the "same place to be assigned to him, as Proctor to the said "Master Crumwel. And then presented the commissional "letters sealed with the King's Seal." And the commission being read, the most reverend Father assigned him [the said Dr. Petre] his place, *juxta se*, by him. And the next session Crumwel comes and sits himself in Convocation. Anno 1536.

The King and Clergy protest against the council at Mantua.

The Pope had summoned a general council to be this year, and to sit at Mantua. Though when in the year 1534, the Pope signified his mind to call a council, and the King had promised the Pope to send his Ambassador thither, yet now upon better deliberation, the council being actually called, and the King cited to appear, he published a long and sharp protestation against that council; in which he shewed, the Pope had no power to call one. It was entitled, *A Protestation in the name of the King and the whole Council and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Council at his call.* Which may be read in Fox's Acts and Monuments. The Convocation now sitting declared also against this council, in a decree signed by Crumwel and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and thirteen Bishops more, and forty-nine Abbots, Priors, and others of the Clergy. The protestation was dispersed abroad in foreign nations, as in France, Germany, and other countries. And soon after, Crumwel gave order to Richard Moryson, a learned man, whom he employed in such matters, that he should cause the protestation in some places to be altered, and some things to be left out, upon some pretended politic ends, as that it might be more agreeable with the protestation of the Germans, and take in their arguments against the said council; which may be read in Sleidan's Commentaries; and so to be printed again, that more copies might be dispersed. But this Moryson did not approve of, as reflecting upon the constancy of the nation, saying, That the sentence of a prince and a realm should either not be printed, or once printed, not changed. He

246

Fox's Acts, p. 989. edit. 1610.

CHAP. XXXIV.

perceived, no doubt, this was a fetch of Winchester, or some other secret friend of Rome. Yet he had two or three

Anno 1536.

leaves to add, opening a fraud intended by that council, and shewing that these Papists' opposition of the word of God was a sufficient argument, that they intended no good by that council. And whereas in the former copy it was said, that the Papacy was given by the consent of the Kings of England, so now it was taken away by their consent; the manner of expressing this was disliked, and Moryson mollified it. For the further illustrating this affair, Moryson's letter to the Lord Crumwel may be worth reading in the Appendix.

N°. LXXII.

A protestation of the Convocation against errors and abuses.

There was one thing more done by the Convocation of the Lower House, if so be I lay it right, when I lay it to this Convocation, which indeed I do but by some guesses, the paper I use bearing no date. The ignorance of the Priests, and the gross and abominable superstitions that were used, caused abundance of people in the nation, to give an ear to those that instructed them better, and laid open to them these corruptions and abuses. And many preachers there were, as well as others, out of hatred to the Priests and their superstitions, uttered many indiscreet and disrespectful words of sacred things. Some said, "the Sacra-"ment was not to be esteemed at all;" others said, "that "Priests had no more authority to minister sacraments than "laymen: that God never gave grace to any great or rich "men: that all things ought to be common: that children "might be christened in a tub of water, or in a ditch, as "well as in any font: that the water in the font was con-"jured: that the hallowed oil was no better than the Bi-"shop of Rome's grease: that the stole about the Priest's "neck was the Bishop of Rome's rope," and many such expressions. Many whereof might be but misreports and lies made by the Priests and their creatures, to make the preachers and professors of the Gospel odious. But these expressions and sayings, true or false, they of the Convocation made their use of. And a protestation was framed in the name of the Lower House of Convocation in the pro-

vince of Canterbury; wherein they drew out to a very great length errors and abuses, to the number of sixty-eight; which they declared in their consciences to be causes of dissension within the realm. And herein they foisted in, among the good and wholesome doctrines owned by the Protestants, a great many hasty and intemperate speeches, that might perhaps be said by some unwary men, or invented by themselves. And that they might make an easier address for their protestation to the King, they ushered it in with a preface of their profound loyalty to him, and of their owning his supremacy, and of renouncing the pretended authority of the Roman Bishop. The protestation itself I have reposited in the Appendix. Numb. LXXIII.

Anno 1536. 247

In the short Parliament that sat this summer, beginning in June, and ending in July 18, a statute was made against all Papal dispensations, clearly annulling and vacating them: and that such of the Bishops and Clergy, as held any pluralities, trialities, commendams, exemptions, &c. by virtue of such bulls or dispensations, as should, before Michaelmas next come twelvemonth, bring them before certain persons of the King's Council, or the Masters of Chancery, to be appointed by the King; and making humble suit to have the effects contained in the bulls granted to them, they were to have them again immediately from the King under the Great Seal. Accordingly I find Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, (though somewhat long first,) sent up five bulls unto Crumwel; which were all delivered into his hands: and the Bishop fearing the King would take advantage of his delay herein, to out him of his bishopric, he entreated Crumwel, "to move the King to be good and gracious "lord to him, and to consider, if he should now in his age "leave his bishopric, which he trusted his Grace meaned "not to make him do, it should not only disappoint "him of his living, but many other his servants, who had "their livings only by him: who, if he should lose his "promotion, should be clearly destitute of succour. Trust-"ing the King would be as good to him as to other Bi-

Papal bulls annulled.

Bishop of Durham sends up his bulls.

Cleopatra, E. 6.

CHAP. XXXIV.

"shops in the realm, being in the like case:" as he wrote in his letter to the said Crumwel.

Anno 1536.

For in the doing of this, it seems, the Bishops were so slow, that Crumwel by his visitors were fain to admonish them of it, and of their danger in neglecting it. But this calling upon the Clergy to exhibit their dispensations from the Pope, displeased much the province of York. Insomuch, that in their Convocation they plainly desired, that the statute lately made for that purpose might, in the next Parliament, be revoked. And when ten articles had been sent to their Convocation, for their opinions upon each of them, and concurrence therein, they returned their answer in that manner, as shewed them immoveable in their old superstitions. And in the conclusion they had the hardiness to desire, "that the laws of the Church might be read in the "Universities, as before had been, [but it seems was dis-"couraged, and grew into disuse:] that such Clerks as "were in prison and exile for opposing the supremacy "might be restored: that books for the Pope's supremacy "might be safely read and kept, and such like." This was boldly done after the acts of Parliament to the contrary. For their answers to those articles at large, I refer the reader to the Appendix.

The northern Clergy stick to their old superstitions.

Numb. LXXIV.

248 By this it may appear, that it was not without need that Dr. Layton, some months before, either in the winter of the last year, or the beginning of this, had moved the King's Vicar General for a royal visitation of the diocese of York, and the whole province thereof, as that of Canterbury was visited the year before. He was now returned to London from the visitation of the monasteries the last year; and from his house or lodgings in Paternoster-row, he wrote of this affair to Crumwel; shewing him what great want of reformation there was in those parts, and especially in the exempt jurisdictions; and that nothing would beat the King's authority sooner into the heads of that people, besotted with the frantic fancies and sermons of the religious sort, than when they should see the King seriously intending

A royal visitation for York province.

their reformation. That he had got the articles for the visitation ready wrote out by Bartlet his Secretary, and a commissional ready drawn for him to sign. And that he was ready to wait upon him to receive his or the King's charge and precepts for this purpose, and promised what great service he would do. And indeed the Archbishop of York did himself forbear visiting, because he expected the King's visitation, and left all that needed to be reformed to his visitors. But to represent all this the plainer, I will exemplify Layton's letter to Crumwel; which was as follows:

Anno 1536.

Dr. Layton to Crumwel, to hasten the visitation. Cleop. E. 4.

" Please it your Goodness to understand, that forasmuch " as York diocese was not visited since my Lord Cardinal's " time, and many things there be within the said province " now much needful of reformation, and worthy redress, " and especially among the exempts, the Archbishop hear- " ing of the King's visitation towards, tarrieth only there- " fore, not intending in any wise to visit or meddle, but all " reserving wholly to the King's reformation, and his visit- " ors. If it might please you therefore now to send me " into the said province, and Blitheman, your servant, to " be Register, we might well finish all that province by " Michaelmas, or soon after. Ye might commit to Dr. Lee, " at his return, Huntington and Lincoln shires, with Ches- " ter diocese, which he might also finish before the said " feast. If ye defer the setting forth of your visitation, till " ye may have thereunto convenient leisure, and as will, " when that day shall come, I come in great doubt. For " me seemeth your business increaseth daily more and " more. Or if you tarry till Lammas next ensuing, till my " Lord of Canterbury have fully finished his visitation, " then shall the year be far spent. And I doubt not but " my Lord of Canterbury, and his officers, would be right " well content that ye did not visit. For the Dean of the " Arches would have persuaded me to have moved you not " to visit these two or three years. In that methought, " *quod erat orator, sed parum vehemens, et sine aculeo.* " *Sed ut sim brevis*, if I were able to be of your counsel,

CHAP. XXXIV.

Anno 1536.

"so God help me, I would advise you to set forth the "King's authority by all means ye could possible. And I "am well and fast assured, and dare boldly say, that there "can be no better way devised for the rude people in the "north, to beat his authority into their heads, than that "they may plainly see, and evidently perceive, how his "Grace being supreme Head, intendeth nothing else than "reformation and correction of religion, without doubt "more superstitious than virtuous, long time accustomed
249 "to frantic fantasies and sermons, much more that regard-"ing, than other God or their Prince, right far alienate "from true religion.

"If it be your pleasure therefore with expedition to ten-"der the premises, the book of articles is clean written, and "in the custody of Bartlet your Clerk; and a commission "also ready drawn for the same. So that if it be your "pleasure, ye may shortly despatch me towards the said "province. When as ye shall find me in the exercising of "this, so shall I desire you to accept me at my return, and "no otherwise. Ye shall never know what I can do, nei-"ther what my serviceable mind is toward you, till ye have "had some experiment thereof. What charge or precepts "soever it shall please you to give me concerning the pre-"mises, shall not be in any wise transgressed. Or if it be "your mind that I shall repair to the King's Grace for any "precept or charge to be had or taken of his Highness, I "am ready thereunto to wait upon you at your next go-"ing to the Court, or to go immediately if ye command "me. Thus committing you to the tuition of Christ; to "whom I shall pray for your long life and prosperous con-"tinuance. From Paternoster-row, by the speedy hand of "your assured poor Priest,

"Richard Layton."

But this visitation, I suppose, however intended or begun this year, received a stop by reason of the rebellion that brake out this summer in the north parts.

This Layton and some others were appointed by Crum-

wel, to be the visitors of the *religious houses*; where very much irreligion was found among those that professed religion there, according to the accounts brought in by them. Insomuch that a final dissolution of those places, all the orders there being so corrupted, was thought on: for to let in some light into the lives and practices of these, both men and women: thus one that lived in those times tells the world in a book written in Italian, that it might be the better known even in Rome; thus translated: "That you "may understand what was the just occasion of the King's "suppression of them: when his Highness had found out "the falseness of these jugglers, [the monks,] who led the "people to this idolatry of worshipping saints, believing "of miracles, and going on pilgrimage here and there, "as unto this hour you see it used here in Italy, being "persuaded, &c. that these abominable Friars were the "very *false prophets* (Matthew vii.) *and ravening wolves*, "whom Christ prophesied in the Gospel, should come un-"der the apparel of lambs, to devour the flock of true "Christians; his Majesty, for the better discovery of these "hypocrites, sent forth Commissioners into all provinces of "the realm, to examine the manner of living that those ri-"balds used. And here came the matter fully to light. "For when the Commissioners had taken upon them the "charge of this examination, and began by one and one to "examine those friars, monks, and nuns, upon their oaths, "sworn upon the Evangelists, there were discovered hypo-"crisies, murders, idolatries, [false] miracles, sodomies, "adulteries, fornications, pride, envy, &c. And not seven, "but more than seven hundred thousand deadly sins. "Alack! my heart maketh all my members to tremble "with another manner of fear than is the *quartan*, when "I remember the abominations that there were tried out. O "Lord God, (speaking under correction,) what canst thou "answer to the five cities, confounded with celestial fire, "when they shall allege before thee the iniquities of those "*religious* whom thou hast so long supported! Note well "these few words, said I, and I shall tell you. In the dark

The irreligious lives of the religious.

Pelerine by Will. Thomas.

250

CHAP. XXXIV.

Anno 1536.

" and sharp prisons, there were found dead so many of " their brethren, that it is a wonder. Some crucified with " more torments than ever were heard of. And some fa- " mished unto death, only for breaking their superstitious " silence, or some like trifles. And especially, in some chil- " dren, there was used a cruelty, not to be spoken with hu- " man tongue.

" There was of the Heremits some one, that, under the " colour of confession, had used carnally with mo than two " or three hundred gentlewomen, women of reputation; " whose names, enrolled by commandment, they shewed " unto the Commissioners. Insomuch that some of the self " same Commissioners found of their own wives, titled " among the rest. With what conscience, I report me unto " you, there was working of wonders. The friars and " nuns were as whore and thief in the open stews. And " there were saints that made the barren women bring forth " children. Unto whom there wanted no resort from all " parts of the realm. Alas! alas! what should I say, when " Ptolomy's discourse, Pliny's memory, and Augustin's " pen, joined in one man, should not suffice to make him " an apt author of so detestable an history as this abomina- " tion requireth!

" Well, to my purpose; in conclusion, upon the return " of these Commissioners, when the King was fully in- " formed of the cause, incontinently he called his Parlia- " ment. But or ever the Counsellors of the same could as- " semble together, here came that Abbot, and that Prior: " now came that Abbess, and then came that Friar, from " all parts of the realm, unto the King, offering their mo- " nasteries into his hands; beseeching him to pardon them " their sins, *de pœna* only, and not *de culpa*. Insomuch " that his Majesty accepted of them, and pardoned them " all, except a few only of the most notable ribalds; " whom, for the others' example, he caused to suffer death, " in divers wise, as their horrible causes diversely merited. " And thereupon followed the said Parliament: in the " which all these matters were not only published, but also

" confessed by the false *religious* persons, brought openly " in judgment; it was concluded both by the Barons, and " also by the Commons of the said Parliament, that these " monasteries should be extirped, and the goods and re- " venues thereof disposed, as the King and his Council " should think it expedient." These were their crimes, and these their own acknowledgments; and these therefore the just proceedings against them. Anno 1536.

But Mr. Thomas, for these and such like his free discoveries of them thus in print, however he was honoured and esteemed in the next reign by King Edward himself, he was not forgotten in the succeeding, when popery prevailed again, being put to death as a traitor; how truly, I cannot say. Of this man we shall say more, under the reign of King Edward.

To which add, what another very grave and worthy writer, not long after the former, shewed concerning the first foundations of these monasteries, and what the visitors detected of them. " Truth it is," saith he, " that the founda- " tions of abbeys and chauntries, *pro redemptione animarum* " *fundatorum suorum, et progenitorum ipsorum*, &c. as in " the said foundations appeareth more at large, were so " unsure and weak, or rather wicked, that they could no " longer bear such huge superstructions and buildings as " were laid upon them. For the idolatry, superstition, hy- " pocrisy, and wickedness of monks, nuns, and priests them- " selves, were grown so great and so heavy now, that no " foundations, though sure and good, were able any longer " to bear and abide them. Let the horrible history of their " dark, dreadful, and most devilish doings, notified to " King Henry VIII. and after to the Parliament House, by " the report of the visitors, returning from their visitations " of abbeys; and the monks and nuns themselves in their " own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, be a " proof thereof. Which being registered in a black book, " might more justly be called Doomsday, than any record " this day remaining in England; revealing such matters " as they thought should have remained hid, until the great 251

The wickedness of those religious foundations, the cause of their ruin. Noel's Reproof, fol. 14.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Anno 1536.

"day of revelation of all secrets, if ever they looked for it. "No, truly, the monstrous lives of monks, friars, and nuns, "have destroyed their monasteries and churches, and not "we.—These be the true causes of such horrible destruc- "tions and desolations as have in *our time come upon mo-* "*nasteries and other houses and churches.*"

CHAP. XXXV.

A visitation of the religious houses. Visitors appointed by the Lord Crumwel. Their instructions and commissions. Many surrender their houses. The visitors' divers letters, giving accounts of the monasteries; viz. *of Reading, Glastenbury, Maiden Bradley, Bruton, Ferley; relics in those places. Leicester. Wolstrope, a pious monastery. Nunneries of Catesby, Stixwold. Monasteries in Litchfield diocese; in Kent, Folkston, &c. Pensions allowed the Monks, &c. Suitors for some religious houses. Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor, for the Spitals. Ramsey abbey. Fountains and Rivax. Papers preparatory to a suppression. Value taken of all monasteries and benefices ecclesiastical.*

NOR are these horrible deeds the relations only of some private persons, and depend upon their credit; but one may see abundance of the sinful state of those monasteries, and them that inhabited there, by the testimonials those visitors sent up, which are very many; and are still remaining under their hands, in our repositories of MSS. and archives: where we may see in what condition they found those houses; what superstitions were there used by the relics, and the numbers of them kept within their walls, and the cheats put upon the people by the means of them. And of the voluntary surrenders the superiors of those places made. I will specify some from the originals.

252

The visitors' letters of the vile state of the monasteries, extant.

Gray Friars of Reading, their surrender. Cleopatra, E. 4.

London, one of the visitors, sent up this letter following to the Lord Crumwel; shewing the surrender of the abbey

of Reading, with an inventory of their relics, and of the discharge of the friars. "In my most hearty manner I "have me commended unto your good Lordship, with my "assured prayer and service. I have sent up to your Lord- "ship the surrender of the Gray Friars of Reading, with "their plate, such as it is. I have inwardly defaced the "church and dorter. The residue of the house I have left "whole, till I know your further pleasure; and clearly des- "patched all the friars out of the doors in their secular ap- "parel; and have given to every one of them money in their "purses, and have clearly paid their debts. This is a town "of much poor people. And they fall to stealing so fast in "every corner of the house, that I have been fain to tarry "a whole week here, to set every thing in due order. And "have and shall receive to the King's Grace, as I trust, "above 40*l.* in the mansion wholly reserved.

Anno 1536.

"I have sent up the principal relics of idolatry within "this realm. An angel with one wing is brought to Caver- "sham.

Relics of idolatry sent up.

"The spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side upon "the cross. It was conveyed home to Notly. But I sent my "servant purposely for it.

"I have also three coats of the image, with such things "as I found upon them: with the dagger, which they say "slew King Henry VI.; and the knife that killed King Ed- "ward: with many other like holy things.

"I have defaced the chapel inward. And have sent home "the Canons to the Master to Notley.

"I have required of my Lord Abbot [of Reading] the "relics of his house; which he shewed unto me with good "will. I have taken an inventory of them; and have locked "them up behind their high altar; and have the key in "my keeping: and they all ready at your Lordship's com- "mandment. They have a good lecture in Scripture daily "read in their chapitre-house, both in English and Latin. "To the which is good resort: and the Abbot is at it him- "self. In any other thing I can do your Lordship service,

CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1536.

"I am, and always shall be ready, God willing. Who, with "increase of much honour, long preserve your good Lord-"ship. At Reding, the 18th of September.

"Your bounden orator and servant,

"John London."

253 *The inventory of the relics of the house of Reading.*

Imprimis, Two pieces of the holy cross.
S. James's hand.
S. Philip's stole.
A bone of Mary Magdalene, with other mo.
S. Anastasius's hand, with other mo.
A piece of S. Pancrate's arme.
A bone of S. Quintin's arme.
A bone of S. David's arme.
A bone of Mary Salome's arme.
A bone of S. Edward the martyr's arme.
A bone of S. Hierom, with other mo.
Bones of S. Steven, with other mo.
A bone of S. Blase, with other mo.
A bone of S. Osmund, with other mo.
A piece of S. Ursula's stole.
A jawbone of S. Ethelmoln.
Bones of S. Leodegary and of S. Herenei, [Irenii perhaps.]
Bones of S. Margaret.
Bones of S. Arnal.
A bone of S. Agas, with other mo.
A bone of S. Andrew; and two pieces of his cross.
A bone of S. Frideswyde.
A bone of S. Anne. With many other.

Glastenburg and convents in Bristow visited. Relics there. Cott. Lib.

Another visitor sent up to Crumwel his account of Glastenburg and the convents in Bristow; and withal sent up to him the relics found in them. Take Dr. Layton the visitor's own letters; which will give more satisfaction to the reader than the bare contents extracted from it. "Pleasyth

" your Mastership to understand, that yesterday night late " we came from Glastenburg to Bristow, to S. Austin's; " whereas we began this morning, intending this day to " dispatch both this house here, [*viz.* S. Austin], being but " thirteen chanons; and also the Gawntes, whereas be four " or five.

" By this bringer, my servant, I send you relics. First, " two flowers, wrapped in white and black sarcenet; that " on Christen Mass even, *horâ ipsâ, qua Christus natus* " *fuerat*, will spring, and burgen, and bare blossomes. " *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of Maiden Bradley. " Yee shall also receive a bag of relics, wherein ye shall " see stranger things, as shall appear by the scripture, [*i. e.* " the writings upon them.] As, God's coat, or Ladie's " smock; part of God's supper, *in cœna Domini: pars pe-* " *træ, super qua natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem.* Be- " sides, there is in Bethlehem plenty of stones, and some- " times quarries, and maketh their mangers of stone. The " scripture of every thing shall declare you all. And " all there, of Mayden Bradley. Where is a holy Father " Prior; and hath but six sons, and but one daughter mar- " ried yet, of the goods of the monastery: trusting shortly " to marry the rest of his sons, being tall men, waiting " upon him. And he thanketh God he never medled with " married women; but all with maidens, the fairest could be " gotten. And always married them right well. The Pope, " considering his fragility, gave him his licence to keep a " whore; and hath good writing, *sub plumbo*, to discharge " his conscience; and to choose Mr. Underhill to be his ghost- " ly father; and he to give him *plenam remissionem, &c.*

The holy Prior of Maiden Bradley.

254

" I send you also our Ladies girdle of Bruton, red silk. " Which is a solemn relic, sent to women travailing, which " shall not miscarry *in partu.*

Bruton.

" I send you also Mary Magdalene's girdle; and that is " wrapped and covered whith white: sent also with great " reverence to women travailing. Which girdle Matilda the " Empress, founder of Ferley, gave unto them, as saith the " holy Father of Ferley.

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536. Ferley monastery.

"I have crosses of silver and gold. Some which I send "you not now; because I have mo that shall be delivered "me this night by the Prior of Maiden Bradley himself. "To-morrow early in the morning I shall bring you the "rest: when I have reviewed all, perchance I shall find "something here. In case ye depart this day, may it please "you to send me word by this, being my servant, which "way I shall repair after you.

Charter-house.

"They within the Charter-house have protested, and "done all things, according as I shall declare at large to-"morrow early.

"At Bruton and Glastonbury there is nothing notable. "The brethren be so streit kept, that they cannot offend: "but fain they would, if they might, as they confess; and "so the fault is not in them. From S. Austin's without "Bristow, this St. Bartilmew's day, at four of the clock in "the morning, by the speedy hand of your most assured "poor priest,

"Richard Layton."

The monastery of Leicester surrendered.

Another visitor, named Francis Cave, took the surrender of the monastery of Leicester. The account whereof, and of the state and value of the houses, he sent to Crumwel in these words. "We took the surrender of the Abbot and "convent. And the writings thereof be in my custody. By "your Lordship's goodness towards me, I am now in the "possession of the house, and all the demean; which was "unlet at the time of our repair thither. Wee also found "the house indebted to divers creditors, 411*l.* 10*s.* over "and besides certain sums of money the house was in-"debted to the King's Highness. For the discharge where-"of, we have made sale of the stock and store, with the "household stuff, and ornaments of the church, which "amount unto 228*l.* The plate is unsold; and is valued "at, by weight, 190*l.* The lead, by estimation, valued at "1000*l.* The bells at 88*l.*

"For the discharging of the Abbot, convent, and ser-"vants of the said monastery, there hath been paid 149*l.*

" And forasmuch as the Abbot hath not received of his in " ready money, but 20*l.* or 20 *ma.* more, his church and " house is remaining as yet undefaced. In the church many " things to be made sale of.

" Let me know your pleasure, as well for the further " sale to be made, as for the defacing of the church, and " other superfluous buildings, which be about the mo- " nastery. A hundred mark yearly will not sustain the " charges in repairing this house, if all buildings be let " stand. Written at the late monastery at Leicestre, the 29. " of August.

" By your Lordship's most bounden,

" Frauncis Cave."

But among these herds of sinners in the convents, cover- 255
ing their wickedness under their religious professions, the visitors met with one house, that had another character sent up to the Lord Crumwel, and an earnest petition on that account for their continuance. It was the house of Wol- A pious good convent petitioned for to continue.
strope. In the behalf of which, one Gifford, a visitor, writ after this manner: " The governor thereof is a very good " husband for the house, and well beloved of all the inha- " bitants thereunto adjoyning. A right honest man; hav- " ing right religious persons, being priests of right good " conversation, and living religiously; having such quali- " ties of virtue as we have not found the like in no place. " For there is not one religious person there, but that he " can and doth use, either embrotheryng, writing books " with very fair hand, making their own garments, carving, " painting, or grafling. The house without any slaunder or " ill fame; and standing in a wet ground, very solitary: " keeping such hospitality, that except singular good pro- " vision, it could not be maintained with half so much land " more as they may spend. Such a number of the poor in- " habitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not " seen the like, having no more lands than they have. God " be even my judge, as I do write unto you the troth, and

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

"none otherwise to my knowledge. Which very pity alone "causeth me to write.

"The premises considered, I beseech you to be a mean "unto the King's Majesty for the standing of the said "Wolstropp. From Garadon the 19. day of June.

"Your bounden Bedeman at commandment,

"George Gyffard."

A good character of the Prioress and nuns of Catesby.

The like commendation was given by this visitor, as well as the rest, of the nunnery of Catesby. "Which house we "found (as they writ in their letter to the Lord Crumwel) "in very perfect order. The Prioress, a sure, wise, discreet, "and very religious woman, with nine nuns under her obe- "dience, as religious and devout; and with as good obe- "dience as we have in times past seen, or belike shall see. "The said house stands in such a quarter, much to the re- "lief of the King's people, and his Grace's poor subjects "there likewise more relieved; as by the report of divers "worshipful, near thereunto adjoining, as of all others, it "is to us openly declared. Wherefore, if it should please "the King's Highness to have any remorse, that any such "religious house shall stand, we think his Grace cannot "appoint an house more meet to shew his most gracious "charity and pity, than on the said house of Catesby.

"Furthermore, ye shall understand, that as to her "bounden duty towards the King's Highness in these his "affairs: also, for discreet entertainment of us his Com- "missioners, and our company, we have not found, nor be- "like shall find, any such of more discretion, &c. From "Catesby, the 12. day of this present month of May. "From the King's Commissioners, at your commandment,

"Edmond Knightly, George Gyffard,

"John Lane, Robert Burgoyn."

256 How these intercessions succeeded for the continuance of these houses, I cannot tell. But sometimes the King was prevailed with, as I find it happened for the nunnery of Styx-

wold, though upon pretty hard terms; and such payments, as, if exacted rigorously, the nunnery could not subsist. For thus was Mr. Heneage, one of the visitors, addressed to by the said nunnery. Anno 1536.

"Right worshipful Sir, As your poor and daily bede-"women, we humbly commend us unto you. Advertising "you, that by the goodness of my Lord Privy Seal, and by "his only means and suit to the King's Majesty, our house "doth stand, paying to his Highness 900 mark for a fine, "besides our first-fruits; which is 150*l.* and also a pension "of 34*l.* by the year for ever. Good Mr. Heneage, we "most humbly pray and desire you in the way of charity, "and for God sake, to be mean to my Lord Privy Seal, "that he will of his goodness be suitor to the King's Ma-"jesty, for to remit and forgive the said pension of 34*l.* by "year; or else we shall never be able to live, and pay the "King the aforesaid money. The nunnery of Styxwold continued.

"We be eighteen nuns, and a sister, in our house; be-"sides officers and servants, to the number of fifty persons "in all. And our stock and cattel being delivered up this "year past, which was our chief hope and living. And if, "by my Lord Privy Seal's goodness and yours, we may "obtain redemption of the said yearly pension, we shall "take pains, and live poorly, and serve God, and pray "daily for the King's Majesty, my Lord Privy Seal, and "you, during our lives. And if at your contemplation we "cannot obtain grace of the said pension, we shall upon "necessity, for that we shall not be able to pay and per-"form all such payments as we be bound, give up the "house into the King's Highness hand. Which were "great pity, if it pleased God and the King otherwise. "And thus we pray God send you much worship. From "Styxwold the 8. day of January.

"By your poor Bedes-women,

"The whole Convent of Styxwold."

From these visitors of the religious houses came divers letters more, from time to time, to the Lord Cromwel, with

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

bills and certificates of the state of those foundations as they found them, with the values of them, their debts, and, among the rest, of their superstitious cheats, imposed upon the people by the many relics preserved in their respective houses: together with their abominable uncleanness and pollutions; and the names of those monks and friars that were guilty thereof. And these certificates sent as aforesaid, after what manner they were drawn up, may appear by another of them for the diocese of Litchfield, as I took it from the original: *viz.*

COMPERTA

Ecclesia cathedral. de Litchfield.

Then follows a full account of all the uncleannesses, *sodomy*, and superstitions of the members in the cathedral church. Next, in the monastery of Repindon, alias Repton,
257 for *sodomy* are four, with their names. And then, under the title *Superstitio*, is thus written: *Huc fit peregrinatio ad S^tum^ Guthlacum, et ad ejus campanam: quam solent capitibus imponere ad restinguendum dolorem capitis.* Then follows: *Nicolas petit dissolvi a religione.*

Redditus annuus CLXXX *li.*
Domus debet C *Marcas.*
Fundator Dns. Rex.

Giradon.

In another monastery, named Giradon. Under the title *Sodomitæ*, five, with their names, and particular filthiness: whereof one, named Robert Wekeston, is said to have to do *cum decem pueris.* Whereof one of these desired to be freed from their religion.

Grace Dieu.

In the nunnery of Grace Dieu, many nuns had been brought to bed. For their *superstition*, they worshipped the girdle, and part of the coat of St. Francis. Which they believed did help women in labour.

St. Mary in Darby.

St. Mary in Darby, a nunnery. The nuns here have a piece of St. Thomas's shirt; which is worshipped by women big with child.

Dalle.

The abbey of Dalle. John Staunton, the Abbot, was incontinent with one single woman, and another married. And

John Braunston with five married women. Here they worshipped part of the girdle and milk of the Blessed Virgin; and the wheel of St. Katharine in silver.

Thurgarton. Thurgarton, a priory. Here were twelve Sodomites. Whereof Richard Newark with four boys: John York with divers boys: Thomas Dethick, Prior, with divers women: William Kimberly with two single women, and as many married. Five incontinent with single and married women. Eight of this house desired to be free from religion.

Rifford. Rifford. Here were six Sodomites: three incontinent. Six desired to be free of religion. A great deal more follows in these *Comperta* in the other monasteries and nunneries there mentioned. But this specimen is enough, and too much.

We may observe hence, how weary many of these monks were of this idle and wicked life, and how desirous to be released of their religion, and from the iniquity and temptations there. I have met with a letter of one of this sort, named Beerly, a monk of Pershore, written to the Lord Crumwel, so full of self-condemnation and remorse of conscience, and discovery of sin and ignorance there, that it may deserve to be read, now we are upon this subject. It was as followeth:

A penitent letter of a Monk to Crumwel. Cleopatra, E. 4.

"Most reverend Lord in God, second person in this realm "of England, endowed with all grace and goodness; Y sub- "mit my self unto your grace and goodness. Desiring you "myckely to be good and gracious Lord unto me, a sinful "and poor creature. My lowely and myck scribling unto "your noble Grace at this time is, grudging in my con- "science, that the religion which we do observe and keep is "no rule of St. Benet, nor yet no commandment of God, "nor of no saint, but lyzth and foolish ceremonies, made "some in old time, and some in our time, [by] lyzth and "undiscrete faders; which have done their duties, and ful- "filled their own sermons, and let the precepts and com- 258
"mandments of God go. And so have I done this six "years, which doth now grieve my conscience sore. That

CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1536.

"I have been a dissembler so long time. The which religion, says St. James, is in vain, and bringeth forth no good fruits. Better out than in the religion, except it were the true religion of Christ.

"Also, we do nothing search for the doctrine of Christ, but only follow our sensuality and pleasure. And this religion, as I suppose, is all in vain glory, and nothing worthy to be accept, neither before God nor man.

"Also, most gracious Lord, there is a secret thing in my conscience which doth move me to go out of the religion, and if it were never so perfect; which no man may know, but my ghostly fader. The which, I suppose, if a man mothe judge, [is] in other young persons, as me selfe. For Christ saith, *Nolite judicare, et non judicabimini.* Therefore I will judge mine own conscience first. The which fault he shall know of me hereafter more largely: and many other foul vices done among religious men. And *religious men*, I suppose, they ought not to be called, but dissemblers with God. Now, most gracious Lord, and most worthy Visitor that ever came among us, help me out of this religion, and make me your servant, handmaid and bedeman; and save my soul, which should be lost, if ye help it not. The which ye may save with a word speaking; and make me, which am now naught, to come unto grace and goodness.

"Now I will instruct your Grace somewhat of religious men; and how the King's Grace commandment is kept, in putting forth of books of the Bishop of Rome's usurped power. Monks drink and bull after collation, till x or xii of the clock, and come to matins as drunk as mys. And some at cards, some at dice and at tables: some come to matins beginning, some at the midst, and some when it is almost done. And would not come there so, only for bodily punishment: nothing for God's sake. With many other vices; the use which I have no leisure now to express.

"Also abbots, monks, priests, done little or nothing, put out of books the Bishop of Rome's name. For I my

"self do know in divers books, where his name and his "usurped power upon us is. No more unto your noble Grace "at this time; but Jesu preserve you to pleasure. Amen.

"Your Commissary desired me to write my mind unto "your noble Grace, by my oath I took of him in our "chapter-house.

"By me your Bedeman Dan. Ri. Beerley,
"now Monk in the monastery of Pershore.

"*To my noble and gracious Lord*
"*Visitor, in the King's Court be*
"*this bill delivered, in hast.*"

259 Latymer moves for continuing Malvern priory: and why.

But by the total dissolution of these monasteries one evil was like to follow, namely, the misery and starving perhaps of abundance of poor families; who had been greatly relieved with food and other necessaries from these houses, which commonly maintained hospitality. Insomuch that it was once moved by Latymer, the good Bishop of Worcester, (and probably by others too,) that two or three of these foundations might be spared in each diocese, for the sake of hospitality. Changing their property from being harbours for lazy monks and friars, to be places for such pious men as might go about preaching and teaching God's word to the people; and to do such like good offices of religion; and to follow their studies. Which gave the foresaid Bishop occasion to move the Lord Crumwel once in the behalf of the priory of Malvern: the Prior, that seemed to be a good man, endeavouring, for those good purposes, the continuation thereof, now that the monasteries were ready to be suppressed in the year 1538, moving the Bishop therein: whose priory was within his diocese. And for his better success with the King and Crumwel, he offered 500 marks to the King, and 200 marks more, as an acknowledgment of his thanks, to the said Lord Crumwel. But that the reader may more fully apprehend this matter, I shall here give it in Bishop Latymer's own letter, where, after a few lines of another affair, thus he addressed himself.

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536. This letter to the Lord Crumwel.

"But now, Sir, another thing, that by your favour I "might be a motioner unto you, at the request of an honest "man, the Prior of Great Malvern, in my diocese, though "not of my diocese; referring the success of the whole "matter to your only approved wisdom and benign good- "ness in every cause. For I do know that I do play the "fool. But with my foolishness I somewhat act no unwise "man, and mitigate the heaviness which I am bold to do "with you. For that I know by experience your goodness, "that you will bear with fools in their foolishness. This "man both heareth and feareth, as he saith, the suppression "of his house. Which, though he will be conformable in "all points to the King's Highness pleasure, and yours once "known, as both I advertised him, as also his bounden duty "is to be; yet nevertheless, if he thought the enterprize "should not be mistaken, nor turn to any displeasure, he "would be an humble suitor to your Lordship, and by the "same to the King's good Grace, for the upstanding of his "foresaid house, of the continuance of the same to many "good purposes: not in monkery, he meaneth; not so, God "forbid: but any other ways, as should be thought and "seem good to the King's Majesty. As to maintain, touch- "ing preaching, study with praying, and (to the which he is "much given) good housekeeping. For to the virtue of hos- "pitality he hath been greatly inclined from his beginning: "and is very much commended in these parties for the same.

"So that if 500 mark to the King's Majesty, with 200 "mark to yourself, for your good-will, might occasion the "promotion of his intent, at least wise for the time of his "life, he doubteth not to make his friends for the same; "if so little could bring so much to pass. The man is old; "a good housekeeper; feedeth many, and that daily. For "the country is poor, and full of penury. And alas! my
260 "good Lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire "changed to such remedy?

"Thus, lo! this honest man's importunity hath brought "me beyond my duty, saving for the confidence and trust,

" that I have always in your benignity. As he hath know- Anno 1536.
" ledge from you, so he will prepare for you; ever obedient
" to your advertisement. Sir William Kyngston can make
" report of the man. God prosper you, to the uttering all
" hollow hearts of England. Blessed be God, that worketh
" all: whose instrument you be, &c. 13. December.

" H. L. Wigor."

This matter the author of the History of the Reformation briefly touched: where the priory is miscalled Malverine. Hist. Refor. b. i. p. 237.

When the monasteries were thus visited, they were for the most part surrendered to the King by the Abbots, Abbesses, Priors, and Prioresses thereof respectively: conscious of their crimes, and willing to have some subsistence, the rather for their voluntary submissions. The Commissioners, appointed to visit, duly sent in to the Lord Privy Seal accounts of what they did, and how they took their surrenders, with the endowments and revenues thereof, taking into their hands all their convent seals, evidences, and muniments, to be sent up. For the shewing this, I will add another letter from some of these visitors in Kent. Surrenders.

" Right worshipful Sir, it may please you to understand, The house of Folkston, Langdon, and Dover, surrendered.
" that we receiving your letters this present Tuesday, at
" night about seven of the clock, by the hand of John An-
" tony your servant: advertiseing you, that before the re-
" ceipt thereof, we have been at the monasteries of Lang-
" don, Dover, and Folkston. And have taken a clear sur-
" render of every the said monasteries under their convent
" seal, being all recognized in their chapter-houses, accord-
" ing to your will and commandment. Whereupon divers
" tenants, belonging to the said monasteries, have openly
" atturned unto the King's Grace.

" Wee have also received into your custody the convent
" seals of the said monasteries: and have in like manner re-
" ceived all the evidences belonging to the monastery of
" Langdon and Folkston. And have likewise received part
" of the evidences belonging to Dover: such as we thought
" most expedient. And the residew we have put into a

CHAP. XXXV.

" sure chest, under the lock whereof we have the key in our " custody.

Anno 1536.

" Wee have also left the chanons and monks still in their " houses, without any clear discharge of them. But have put " them at their liberty and choise, whether they will abide " their, untill the King's Graces pleasure be further known " therein. Or else to go from thence to their friends. " Whereof the most part desire to have capacity: and some " to be assigned over to other places of religion. Which " monks and chanons, at the time of the receipt of the said " letters, as we trust and think, are remaining still in their " houses.

" Advertiseing your Mastership further of the state of the " said monasteries. First, the house of Langdon is in sore " decay, and no manner of grain or other victuals for the
261 " relief of the house: the Abbot thereof, as is reported, a " very unthrifty ill husband, and of evil rule; and his con- " vent very ignorant and poor.

" The house of Dover is a goodly house, and well repair- " ed in all places, as far as we could perceive. And that " the Prior, as it was reported unto us, found the house, at " his first coming thither, endebted 900*l.* and hath reduced " and brought that to an 100*l.* as it is said. Of whose own " case, divers of the honest inhabitants of Dover shew them- " selves very sorry.

" The house of Folkston is a little house, well repaired; " and the Prior a very honest person, and a very good hus- " band, and no less beloved among the neighbours, &c. " And thus the Holy Ghost, &c. Written at Canterbury, " the xvi. day of November.

" Your own, Thomas Bedyl.
" Your servant, Henry Polsted.
" Your servant, John Antony."

Pensions allowed to the monks and friars discharged.

But these religious people, thus outed of their houses, were not wholly left to shift for themselves, but had sparing pensions allowed them for their lives; and some had small vicarages or curacies, presentable by their houses, conferred

on them. And this will be explained to us by a letter of some of the visitors to the Lord Crumwel, upon a surrender made of St. Andrew's in Northampton. Anno 1536.

" It may please your Lordship to be advertised, that this " second day of March we have taken a release, and a deed " of the feoffment of the monastery of St. Ambrose in " Northampton, to the King's use; and an humble sub- " mission of the priory and convent, as we suppose, to the " King's honour and contentation; referring our diligence " and doing therein to your judgment. Wee have also com- " pounded with the whole convent for their pensions, except " the Prior and Sub-prior. Which desire to abide your " order in the assignment of theirs. A feoffment of St. Andrew's to the King from that house.

" Here enclosed, your Lordship may perceive our order " taken with the rest of the convent; having a respect there- " in to the age, quality, and discretion of the persons. And " by your Lordship's better advice, we think it expedient " the pensions to be paid by the hands of the particular re- " ceiver of the suppressed lands in this county of North- " ampton: and their pensions payable at our Lady-day next " insuing. And for that cause we have dispatched them " with less money in hand. Wee have also assigned a vi- " carage of 7*l.* now at this time vacant, to one of the con- " vent, for his pension. Which most humbly desireth to " have remission of the first-fruits thereof. Which we judge " necessary to be granted by the King's Highness; lest the " poor man should begg in the mean time; the thing being " of so small value, that every of them having this pension " shall be in better case than he. Their pensions allotted by the visitors.

" In the hall, chambers ceiled, with the best part of the " edifices, are covered with lead. Whether the King's plea- " sure is, we shall discover the same or not, we desire to be " certified by this bringer.

" For the survey of the lands, we shall do therein what " we may. Wee find many leases granted unto you by the " old Prior, much unthrifty, with much tangulling [tan- " gling] and business. With we shall defer unto your Lord- 262 " ship at our coming. Thus our Lord send you long life,

CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1536.

" with encrease of honour. From Northampton. By your " Lordship's most assured to command,

" William Parre.

" Your servant, Rychard Layton, Priest.

" Your poor and most bounden old ser- " vant, Robert Southwel.

" Your humble and obedient servant, " Thomas Myldmay."

Then follows,

An order taken the 2. day of March, the xxix *year of the reign of our Soveraigne Lord King Henry the Eygth, by his Hyghness Commissioners, with the Religious of th' late monastery of St. Andrew the Apostle in Northampton, for their annual pensions: geven unto them only of the King's charity, during the term of their natural lives. To begin at the feast of th' Annunciation of our Lady next ensuing. As on his Grace's behalf is to them promised by the said Commissioners.*

First, Francis Leycetor, late Prior, and Tho. Bettes, Sub-prior of the said late monastery, been by the said Commissioners respited till my Lord Privy Seal's pleasure therein be known.

Thomas Smith, of the age of lii. years, for his yearly pension - - - - - - - 4*l.*

Thomas Gowlestone, of the age of l. years, for his yearly pension - - - - - - 4*l.*

Robert Martin, of the age of xli. years, &c. - 4*l.*

James Hopkins, of the age of lii. years, &c. - 4*l.*

Richard Bunbery, of the age of xl. years, &c. - 4*l.*

John Rose, of the age of xxxv. years, is assigned by the said Commissioners to the vicarage of St. Giles, in Northampton, being of the yearly value of 7*l.* and of the gift of the said monastery, in recompence of his yearly pension.

John Harold, of the age of xxxii. years, - - 66*s.* 8*d.*

John Barber, of the age of xxxi. years, - - 66*s.* 8*d.*

William Ward, of the age of xxix. years, - 53*s.* 4*d.*

Thomas Atbury, of the age of xxvii. years, - 53*s.* 4*d.* CHAP. XXXV.
William Southcote, of the age of xxxi. years, 53*s.* 4*d.*

Anno 1536.

Signed,

William Parre. Richard Layton.
Robert Southwel. Tho. Myldmay.

Suitors for these religious houses, and the revenues of them.

And when vast and immense treasures were now flowing in to the Crown from these houses, richly endowed, many of them, there wanted not suitors to obtain some shares of the wealth for themselves. And the Lord Crumwel, to whom many made their addresses for his favourable recommendation of them to the King, they made acquainted both with their merits and their needs. Divers of this sort of 263 letters are still extant in our archives. One or two whereof I will set down from their autographs.

One shall be of Sir Tho. Eliot, Knt. a very learned man, as his books still extant do testify; (and a great acquaintance of Sir Tho. More;) who had been the King's Ambassador to Rome. He thought his former services had deserved some compensation from the King, especially his domestic concerns being somewhat strait. But it was an objection made to him by Crumwel, that he was looked upon to be somewhat on the Pope's side. And having prefaced thus much, we come to the letter of this great and wise man. Which, as a lasting remembrance of him, follows.

Sir Thomas Eliot to the Lord Crumwel, for some suppressed lands.

"My most special good Lord: Whereas by your continual "exercise in weighty affairs, also frequent access of suitors "unto your good Lordship; I could not find opportunity "to give to your Lordship due and convenient thanks for "your honourable and gentle report to the King's Majesty "on Wednesday last past in my favour: I am now con- "strained to supply with my pen my said duty; offering "unto your Lordship all hearty love and service that a "poor man may owe and bear unto his good lord and ap- "proved friend. Which, altho' hability lacking in me, I "cannot express by any benefit, your wisdom notwithstand- "ing, which I have always honoured and trusted, will, I "doubt not, accept my good intent; being, I thank God,

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

" ever sincere and without flattery and evil dissimulation;
" I wishing unto your Lordship the honourable desires of
" your heart, with the continual favour of God and of your
" Prince.

" My Lord, forasmuch as I suppose that the King's most
" gentle communications with me, and also his most com-
" fortable reports unto the Lords of me, proceeded of your
" afore remembred recommendations; I am animate to im-
" portune your good Lordship with most hearty desires to
" continue my good Lord, in augmenting the King's good
" estimation of me. Whereof I promise you before God,
" your Lordship never shall have cause to repent. And
" where I perceive that ye suspect that I savour not truly
" holy Scripture, I would God, that the King and you
" mought see the most secret thoughts of my heart. For
" ye should then perceive, that, the order of charity saved,
" I have in as much detestation as any man living, all vain
" superstitions, superfluous ceremonies, slanderous janglings,
" counterfeit miracles, arrogant usurpations of men, called
" *spiritual*, and masking religions, and all other abusions of
" Christ's holy doctrine and laws. And as much I joy
" at the King's godly proceedings to the due reformation
" of the said enormities, as any his Graces poor subjects
" living.

" And therefore, I beseech your good Lordship now to
" lay apart the remembrance of the amity betwixt me and
" Sir Tho. More, which was but *usque ad aras*, as is the
" proverb: considering, that I was never so much addicted
" unto him, as I was unto truth, and fidelity towards my
" Sovereign Lord, as God is my Judge. And therefore my
" special trust and only expectation is, to be holpen by the
" means of your Lordship. And natural shamefastness
" more reigneth in me, than is necessary; so that I would
" not press to the King's Majesty without your Lordship's
264 " assistance: unto whom I have sundry times declared mine
" indigence, and whereof it hath happened. I therefore
" most humbly desire you, my special good Lord, so to bring
" me into the Kings most noble remembrance, that of his

" most bounteous liberality it may like his Highness to re-
" ward me with some convenient portion of the *suppressed*
" *lands:* whereby I may be able to continue my life ac-
" cording to that honest degree, whereunto his Grace hath
" called me. And that your Lordship forget not, that nei-
" ther of his Grace, nor of any other person, I have fee,
" office, pension, or farm; nor have any manner of lucre
" or advantage, besides the revenue of my poor lands, which
" are but small; and no more than I may therewith main-
" tain my poor house.

" And if by your Lordship's mean I may atchieve good
" effect of my suit, your Lordship shall not find me ingrate.
" And whatsoever portion of land that I shall attain by the
" King's Grace, I promise to give to your Lordship the
" first year's fruit, with my assured and faithful heart and
" service. This letter I have written, because that I heard
" that your Lordship went to the Court. And as for my
" first suit, I shall, at your Lordship's better leisure, recon-
" tinue it: trusting in your Lordship's favour therein.
" Written at my house by Smithfield this Monday.

" Your most bounden,

" T. Elyot, Kt."

Audley, Lord Chancellor, sues for St. Osyths.

Tho. Audley, Lord Chancellor, made his address likewise to the Lord Crumwel, to obtain (as it seems) the abbey of St. Osiths in Essex for him, considering the burden and charge of his office the King had put him in; who had given him the house and parks only during pleasure. His letter ran in this form: " After my right harty commenda-
" tions to your good Lordship, I send to you a true copy of
" the value of the goods of St. Osyes, and of the particula-
" rities thereof, delivered to me by Myldmay, the Auditor,
" one of the Commissioners. Whereby your Lordship may
" perceive the contents of all the same goods, with the esti-
" mate of lead and bells. I was not at the dissolution of
" the house, nor have a pennyworth of the goods: but I
" think the Commissioners have served the King's Majesty
" both honestly and truly. The Commissioners were Sir

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

" John Seynteler, Sir Will. Pyrton, Mildmay, and Jobson: " which be two of the Court of Augmentation; and a Master " of the Chancery with them, to take the surrendry.

" Indeed I sent for the Abbot before the dissolution, and " induced him to yield the house to the King's Majesty, " with his good-will: and that he should exhort his convent " to conform to the same. Who by my advice and exhor- " tation conformed themselves, as humble subjects, without " murmur or grudge. Wherein, I trust, I have not for my " part served the King's Highness amiss.

" And now I beseech your good Mastership to further " my suit. His Majesty granted all my suit in effect, dur- " ing his Grace's pleasure. And my bill is for term of life. " There be offices and fees, that must be given. And I " trust to serve his Grace honestly in them. I have no fee
265 " nor office of his Highness, but the chancellorship. And " altho' that be high and honourable, yet it is cumbrous " and chargeable. Praying your Lordship to know his " Majesty's pleasure of this little suit. To the intent I " may know the end thereof: whereby your good Lord- " ship shall administer to me a right great pleasure and " quietness, &c.

" I hartily desire your Lordship's good-will, to put me to " an end and quietness in this matter. And for the travail " your Lordship takes in my suits at this time, I will, ac- " cording to my last letter, give you xx*l.* towards your " pains, and my poor harty good-will during my life, &c. " Thus fare your good Lordship as well, and with as long " life, as I would my self. Scribled at Elston, at the Earl " of Essex his house, the xii. day of August. Thanks be to " our Lord, the countrey is in good order and quietness about " me, and there where I have been, and begin to fall to " good quietness without contention.

" Your Lordship's assured to his power,

" Thomas Audeley, Chancellor."

Whether Audeley obtained St. Osyths, or some benefits of it only, I cannot tell: which afterwards was the seat of

the Lord Darcy of Chich. But two other rich monasteries became his: namely, the priory of Christ's Church, or the Holy Trinity within Algate, London; and that of Saffron Waldon. Whereon he built that most stately edifice, called by his own name, *viz.* Audeley End.

Anno 1536.

The Lord Mayor sueth to the King for the hospitals.

But the most commendable suit I find made for one or more of these foundations, was that of a Lord Mayor of London, *viz.* Sir Richard Gresham. Whose desire of them proceeded from a truly good principle, and shewed him to have been a worthy magistrate, and that consulted for the public good: namely, that the great city of London might be provided with some convenient place or places for the harbouring of poor, needy, diseased people, or vagrants to be employed and set on work. And particularly for the grant of certain ancient hospitals in or near London, to be set apart for that purpose. The letter of the said Mayor was not directed to the King's abovesaid great officer and Vicegerent, but the King himself. Which deserving to be preserved and recorded, I here present from the original.

His letter for obtaining the same to the King. Cleopatra, E. 4.

"Most redoubted, puissant, and noble Prince, my most "dread, beloved, and natural Sovereign Lord, I your poor, "humble, and most obedient servant, considering, and ever "more and more perceiving by your virtuous beginnings "and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your person "and Majesty royal to be the elected and chosen vessel of "God: by whom not alone the very and true word of God "is and shall be set forth, and according to the truth and "verity of the same; but also to be he whom God hath "constituted and ordained, to redress and reform all crimes, "offences, and enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, "or to the detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the "poor people, being your natural subjects; and further to "foresee and vigilantly to provide for the charitable re-"formation of the same. Which thing hath and yet doth "encourage me; and also my bounden duty obligeth me 266
"in special, being most unworthy your Lieutenant, and "Maior of your city royal of London, to inform and ad-

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

"vertise your most gracious Highness of one thing in spe-
"cial, for the aid and comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged,
"and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves,
"nor having no place certain, where they may be refreshed
"or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their diseases
"and sicknesses.

"So it is, most gracious Lord, that near and within the
"city of London be three hospitals, or *spittals*, commonly
"called St. Mary Spittal, St. Bartilmew's Spittal, and St.
"Thomas Spittal; and the New Abby of Tower Hill;
"founded of good devotion by auncient faders; and en-
"dowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief,
"comfort, and helping of the poor and impotent people,
"not being able to help themselves; and not to the main-
"tenance of chanons, priests, and monks, to live in plea-
"sure; nothing regarding the miserable people lying in
"every street, offending every clean person passing by the
"way, with their filthy and nasty savours.

"Wherefore may it please your marciful goodness, en-
"clined to pity and compassion, for the relief of Christs
"very images, created to his own similitude; to order, by
"your high authority, as supreme Head of this Church of
"England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your
"Maior of the city of London, and his brethren, the Alder-
"men for the time being, shall and may for henceforth
"have the order, disposition, rule, and governance, both of
"all the lands, tenements, and revenues appertaining and
"belonging to the said hospitals, and every of them; and
"of the ministers which be, or shall be, within every
"of them. And then your Grace shall plainly perceive,
"that where now a small number of chanons, priests, and
"monks, be found for their own profit only, and not for the
"common utility of the realm, a great number of poor,
"needy, sickly, and indigent persons shall be refreshed,
"maintained, and comforted, and also healed and cured of
"their infirmities, frankly and freely, by physicians, sur-
"geons, and potecaries: which shall have stipend and salary

" only for that purpose. So that all impotent persons, not " hable to labour, shall be relieved; and all sturdy beg- " gars, not willing to labour, shall be punished.

" For the which doing, your Grace shall not alonely " merit highly towards God, but shew your self to be " more charitable to the poor, than your noble progenitor " King Edgar, founder of so many monasteries; or King " Henry III. renewer of Westminster, or King Edward III. " founder of the New Abby; or King Henry V. founder of " Shene; but also shall have the name of conservator, pro- " tector, and defender of the poor people; with their con- " tinual prayer for your health, wealth, and prosperity long " to endure.

" Your humble and most obedient servant,

" Rychard Gresham."

The abovementioned King Edgar, the great monastery 267
founder, reminded me of Ramsey abbey of his foundation. Where was remaining at the dissolution of it, among the muniments, the original charter of King Edgar, in such antique characters as could scarce be read by Bedyl, the visitor. Which being such a piece of antiquity, he concluded would be very acceptable to acquaint the Lord Crumwel with: and the letter of the visitor concerning it I would not let go, without joining it with the rest, for the sake of our antiquarians now living: to whom such remains will find acceptance.

Charter of King Edward for Ramsey abbey.

" Please it you to understand, that in the reading of the " muniments and charters of the house of Ramsey, I found " a charter of King Edgar, written in a very antique Ro- " man hand, hardly to be read at the first sight, and light " enough after that a man hath found out six or seven " words, after comparing letter to letter. I am sure you " would delight to see the same, for the strangeness and " antiquity thereof. In the end thereof is subscribed this:

" *Signum Edgari inclíti et serenissimi Anglorum Im-* " *peratoris.* ✠

" Whereby it may be well noted, that after his conquest

" the said King wrote himself to be Emperor of England.
" *Item*, it is to be noted of the subscription of the said char-
Anno 1536. " ter, that in England were six dukes at that time. For
" they subscribe this:

" *Ego Alfwold Dux.*	*Ego Oslac Dux.*
" *Ego Athelstan Dux.*	*Ego Brithmoth Dux.*
" *Ego Alfre Dux.*	*Ego Etheweard Dux.*

" And at that time the King had two sons, Edward and
" Ethelred. Which be subscribed not as Dukes, but under
" this manner:

" *Signum Edwardi ejusdem Regis filii.*
" *Signum Ethelredi fratris ejus.*

" I have seen also there a charter of King Edward,
" written after the Conquest. Which beginneth thus, *In*
" *onomate summi Kyriou.* And soon after the same, he
" writeth this:

" *Ego Edwardus totius Albionis Dei moderante guber-*
" *natione, Archiepis, Epis, Abbatibus, Centenaris, cunctis-*
" *que sanctæ fidelis Ecclesiæ Clericis et Laicis, insuper et*
" *omnibus post me futuris regibus, salutem, perpetuamque*
" *pacis felicitatem.* Whereby ye may note, that King Ed-
" ward nameth himself of all Albion, both, and by
" the name of England.

" Also in the said charter is written this: *Imprimis Ec-*
" *clesiam beate Dei genetricis, quæ Ramisie nuncupatur,*
" *ita liberam et quietam, tam ab omni exactione episcopali,*
" *quam a seculari esse volo. Ut neque nos, neque succes-*
" *sores nostri, neque quilibet epus, neque quicunque de ju-*
" *diciaria potestate in ipsam sanctam basilicam, vel in ma-*
" *nentes in ipsa, vel in homines, qui cum suis terris, quibus-*
" *libet substantiis, ad ipsam tradendam vel devovend. se*
" *voluerint, nisi per voluntatem Abbatis et suorum omnium*
" *monachorum, ullam unquam habeant potestatem.*

268 " Of this may be noted, that if King Edward, by his
" kingly power, could except this monastery of Ramsey
" from all Bishops' powers, the King's Grace may as well

" all other abbies, or as many as he will, from the Bishops' " powers.

" And to this charter subscribed four Dukes, Leovricus, " Haroldus, Leofwinus, and Eadwinus. Anno 1536.

" Further, in the said charter, when I overlooked it " again, I noted these words following: *Ipse Abbas soli* " *Regi serviens, atque ei soli os ad os respondens, commis-* " *sum sibi gregem, spirituali et temporali pastu, abundan-* " *tius foveret. Soli Regi ergo, nulli alii subjectus.*

" For which goodness of kings to this house above all " other, in my opinion they be most bounden to do their " love, faith, and obedience to the King's Grace, above " other religious houses, which be not so exempted only to " the King, immediately. And as far as I can yet per- " ceive, the Abbot and his brethren here be as well con- " tented to renounce all the Bishop of Rome his usurped " jurisdiction, and to accept the King's Grace for the su- " preme Head of the Church of England, as any man may " be. And the Abbot caused to be shewed, after my com- " ing hither, his charter of King Edgar in the parish " church, in the pulpit, to the multitude of the parish. " Whereby was declared, that the King's Grace is Em- " peror of this his realm, as King Edgar was. Which was " token of a good mind.

" What I shall further do or find here or in other places " worthy writing, I shall ascertain you from time to time. " To whom I hartily commend me to be had in your re- " membrance, in this my long absence. From the abbey of " Ramsey, the xiii. day of January.

" By your own,
" Thomas Bedyl."

This letter he sent to the Lord Crumwel by his nephew Richard Crumwel, also a visitor in those parts.

A few days after, in another letter writ by the same visitor, the regularity, sobriety, and obedience of the monks of this house, is shewed to Crumwel, and of their desire to be discharged: a matter the more to be remarked, so much

CHAP. XXXV.

wickedness and impiety, and such zeal for the papal power over that of the King, rendering them of the convents so

Anno 1586.

obnoxious. Bedyl's words of these Regulars are these:

Commendation of the abbey of Ramsey.

"In my hearty wise I commend me unto you; doing "you to understand that I am now at Ramsey. Where in "mine opinion the abbey and convent be as true and as "faithful obedientiaries unto the King's Highness, as any "*religious* folks in this realm, and live as uprightly as any "other after the best sort of living, that hath been among "*religious* folks these many years. That is to say, no more "given to ceremonies than is necessary. I pray God, I "may find other houses in no worse condition; and then I "would be right glad that I took the journey, &c. Here in "the monastery of Ramsey be two brethren, which have "given their bills inclosed unto me, very effectuous, desir-"ing to have liberty to go from their cloister by the King's
269 "Grace his authority; or else to have license to repair to "my Lord of Canterbury to sue their capacities. [These "*capacities* were faculties to go out of their cloisters.] I "have stayed them as well as I can, with such counsels and "exhortations as I could give them. But I fear, if they "can have no liberty granted, they will take it of their own "authority. I beseech you to write a word or two, how I "shall behave my self towards them and all other, which "will make like suit in no small numbers, as I think. "Whereof some occasions hath been given by that Dr. "Lee, now at Christmas, gave liberty to half the house of "Sawtre to depart, as I am informed. Which Sawtre is "within five miles of Ramsey. The religious men think, "that I have like authority with Dr. Lee; and that moveth "them to make this suit. Nevertheless I will no longer do "therein, or presume such high matters without your au-"thority and counsel; beseeching you to write your mind "in this behalf; and to such other things which you would "have me do in this journey."

Some refuse the visitors, and question their authority.

Shall I add one letter more from some of these visitors; which will further open matters in this notable visitation of the religiously professed sort. As we have seen, how com-

pliant some of them were, so we may find some of them more refractory, refusing to be visited, and questioning their authority. This the following letter from Legh to Crumwel will explain and shew, in the visitation of Fountains and Rivax. Anno 1536.

The Abbot of Fountain's rejection of Crumwel's letters.

" Pleasith your Mastership to be advertised, that ac-
" cording to your commandment, with most diligence I
" have delivered your letter, also at times most convenient
" referred unto the King's Commissioner at Rivax, with
" such credence as your *pleasure* and *equity* would. Which
" upon the Abbot of Funtane's part was but lightly re-
" garded, and plainly expressed of the same: that such let-
" ters as I delivered, and credence related, was from Mr.
" Crumwel only, and not from the King's Highness.
" Whereupon by the counsils of Dr. Spenser and Royear,
" a Proctor, after evident proof by witnesses, and the
" Abbot of Riwax confession published; the said Abbot,
" among other parts, did lay this expression, *quod rigore*
" *literarum nullo Commissionariis, nec ullorum alicui com-*
" *petit, aut competere potest contra præfatum Abbatem de*
" *Rivalle; pro eo videlicet: et ex eo, quod dict. literæ re-*
" *giæ fuerint et sunt dolosè surreptitiæ, quod tacita ve-*
" *ritate, et expressa falsitate, per dolum et fraudem, ac hu-*
" *jusmodi serenis. Principis nostri circumventione impe-*
" *tratæ.* Who in his obstinacy and perverse mind, adher-
" ing to the rules of religion, as he said, departed from Ri-
" vax, and would not, according to your letters, there re-
" main, for the accomplishment of the King's command-
" ment; notwithstanding that I oftentimes desired him,
" and commanded him in the King's name to tarry, and
" make process according to justice, without further delay:
" not only in him at this time is so radicate, but also in
" many of that religion, as in the Abbot of Rywax, writ-
" ing this letter here enclosed to the slaunder of the King's
" Highness. And after the King's letter, did imprison,
" and otherwise punish, divers of his brethren, which were
" against him and his dissolute living.

Abbot of Rivax.

" Also, did take from one of the same, being a very aged 270

CHAP. XXXV.

" man, all his money; which he should have made his *ju-*
" *bilee* withal.

Anno 1536.

" That as persons nothing regarding God, and very little
" our great master the King, under pretence of the rules of
" their religion, live as persons solute, *ab omni lege, seu*
" *obedientia, et Deo et Regi debita:* being aboutwards, as it
" seemeth, to rule the King by their rules. Which is a per-
" verse order, that so noble a head should be ruled by so
" putrid and most rotten members. *Sed Cato inquit, Obsta*
" *principiis.* All the countrey make exclamation of this
" Abbot of Rywax, upon his abominable living and extor-
" tions by him committed; also many wrongs to divers mi-
" serable persons. Which evidently do appear by bill cor-
" roborate, to be true; with their oaths corporal in the pre-
" sence of the Commissioners and the said Abbot taken.
" And upon the same sixteen witnesses examined, affirming
" their exclamations to be true.

" Therefore *tempore jam instante*, the King's Majesty
" considered, whom they have knowledged to be *supre-*
" *mum Caput totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* the honour of
" my Lord of Rutland, in this business, remembred, your
" worship, and also our poor honesty not forgotten; they
" would either quickly be lookt upon, and shortly; or else
" their dissolute living, their rebellious demeanor shall every
" day increase more and more, to the displeasure of God,
" disquietness of the King's prerogative, and reproach scan-
" dalous of their religion, with trouble of such countrey,
" as they are inhabited in.

" The Abbot of Fountane had knowledge at his being at
" Rywax; the Earl of Cumberland to have parties in a
" commission to enquire upon his demeanors. Which
" caused in their business to play two parts. *Nam tunc*
" *sua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

" These premises considered, I trust ye will think him
" not worth to be visitor of his religion ony longer by the
" King's authority. And in this case of the Abbot of Ry-
" wax, the other Commissioners proceeded according to the
" law, and your credence by me to them related; and con-

" dignly have removed from the rule of his abbacy, and
" administration of the same. With my slow writing I
" beseech you to take no displeasure. And at the cause Anno 1536.
" thereof I shall at my coming to London make true re-
" lation unto you. Written in hast, the first day of Sep-
" tember. From Belver,

" By your servant,

" Thomas Legh.

" I pray you note these presumptious minds, most alien-
" ate from religion; having nothing of their own, ne may
" have their accounts made. Which only to be called an
" abbacie, will contend contrary to their obedience with the
" King's Highness, the founders, and all other; to the great
" slaunder of the religion, disquietness and extreme cost and
" charge of the house."

Now that I may bring the things of this nature together, I shall here shew the consultations that were entered into, some time before, concerning the retrenching or wholly taking away of the revenues of the Clergy and the Religious; considering how strongly inclined the most part of them 271
were towards the authority of the Pope in these realms, and their backwardness to acknowledge the King supreme Head. By which course might accrue vast wealth to the King, and many others about him; that hoped hereby to enrich themselves: and withal chiefly, and in the first place, be a means of laying aside many gross superstitions practised in the worship of God, and bringing to pass a reformation of religion, so much desired.

Deliberation about suppression of abbeys.

And here follow some writings, preparatory to a suppression, containing matters to be deliberated upon by those whom it concerned. And this was one, drawn up by one without a name; but, by the hand, I verily believe it to be done by Dr. Richard Cox, a very memorable man, afterward tutor to Prince Edward, Dean of Westminster, and lastly Bishop of Ely. He grounds his following discourse upon the probability of the fall of Turcism, and the hopes of the further propagation of the Christian religion; and the

CHAP. XXXV.

necessity of unity and concord of Christendom. And the way to that, a reformation of the abuses introduced into it.

Anno 1536. The paper follows, as I transcribe it out of the original:

A writing drawn up by way of advice about it. Cleopatra, E. 4.

"It is very like, that Mahomet's sect shall shortly be destroyed, and the people converted to Christ's faith. And that cannot be, but that peace be first had and established in Christen realms; and that good reformation be had of such things as have been brought in against the purity and trouth of Christen religion. For what should it profit to have them converted thurgh the abusions among Christen men? They should be brought after their conversion to greater damnation, than they should have been before. For that would be like to the words of our master Christ, which he spake to the Pharisees, Matthew xxiii. when he said, that they went about by lond and sea to make a proselyte: and that when they had done so, they made him the son of hell double more than themselves.

The abundance of the Clergy to be reformed.

"And among other things, the abundance of the possessions, and the riches of the Clergy, would be reformed. For as long as they live so far from the example of Christ and the Apostles, as they have done in times past, it will be hard to bring the people fully to follow their doctrine. And howbeit, I mean not therefore, that I would that the Clergy should live only by almes of the people, and in extreme poverty, but that they should have sufficient without abundance: whereby they might quietly and meekly exercise their spiritual ministration to the people, according to their duty. And forasmuch as the worldly honour and riches of the Clergy have been greatly born up in time past by the power of Rome, which now, thanked be our Lord, is avoided out of this realm, and so with his mercy shall continue for ever; it is to trust, that the Clergy will now, of their own free will, relinquish and forsake the great burthen that they have had in time past by great abundance, to the great let and hindrance of their spiritual ministration, as is touched before. And that party will also froforth by diligent prayer, own to

" have all other abusions and untrue doctrines universally " reformed thurgh the realm. And if the King's Grace, " with the said abundance, will cause some notable acts to " be done for the commonwealth, and for the ministration " of justice; as, to set vagrant vagabonds to labour, and to " relieve such as be poor and impotent, and may not labour: " to new-build towns and villages decayed: to turn the un- " profitable numbers of parks to tillage: to make highways " thurgh the realm, where need requireth: and to do such " other good deeds: hee shall undoubtedly highly please " our Lord thereby: and also get to himself a right gracious " name thurgh all Christen realms. And if they will not " with their consent, God will do it. The King by his " Parliament may in this case with good conscience compel " them to it.

Works of charity to be done therewith.

272

" And if the Emperor would do likewise, it is very like " that they two should in short time convert all the coun- " tries that be toward the Turk, with much less daunger and " cost, than how men would esteem it could be done.

" Furthermore, as it seemeth the King's Grace hath al- " ready that is sufficient for the crown in time of peace; " but if war should happen, (which our Lord prohibit,) it " would not suffice without aid of the people. And there- " fore if the King should take into his crown the said abun- " dance, it should be also to him more than needed in time " of peace. And forasmuch as that abundance might hap- " pen sometime to lack sure keeping, it should follow there- " upon, that in time of need the people should be loth to " bear charges, because the treasure of this realm was negli- " gently spent; and what danger might follow thereupon, " no man can tell. And tho' it be not like that such mis- " pending should happen in the King's time, yet it might " be that such chance should happen after his decease. " And rulers of commonalties are not only bound to do that " in them is, to prevent daungers that might come to the " people, that they have rule of in their own time, but are " bounden also to do that in them durably is, to prevent all

And for supplies of the crown.

CHAP. XXXV.

" daungers that might come to the people after their death,
" even to the end of the world.

Anno 1536.

" Wherefore it seemeth to sound more to the pleasure of
" God, to the honour of the King, and to the surety of
" peace, and tranquility of the realm in time to come, that
" the said abundance be disposed in such charitable uses as
" I have before rehearsed, than that the King should take
" it all into his crown. And the builders of the said towns and
" parks to have such sufficient recompence of the said abun-
" dance, that they shall be very well contented to build with-
" out grudging. And if the King's Grace do thus, then if
" it should happen any man hereafter to say, as peradven-
" ture some will, that it is pity that such a house, or such,
" is suppress; it may be answered, and of likelihood may
" be answered, that the building again of such a town, or
" such, or laying to tillage of such a park, is more to the
" honour of God, and to the more profit and more surety
" of the realm, than the standing of an house of religion
" suppressed was, when it was in his highest prosperity.

" And this should seem to be the exalting and lifting up
" of the son of a noble mother, that is spoken of in a little
" writing that beginneth thus, *Consurget furor contra sim-*

Conjecture of a certain writing, prophetical.

" *plicem*, &c. Which writing, tho' it be not of authority,
" yet I suppose verily that it is true. And in the latter
" end of the said writing it is said thus, *Filius inclytæ ma-*
" *tris feliciter sublimabitur, et in manibus ejus potestas et*
" *gloria. In utraque insula fiet pax, diebus ipsius, et or-*

273 " *rea* [*horrea*] *gleba implebuntur*. And those words may,
" it seems, be conveniently applyed to Queen Elizabeth,
" mother to the King; and to the King himself; and also
" to londs and islonds.

" And first, that the said Queen Elizabeth [*viz.* King
" Henry VII. his Queen] was a noble mother, and a noble
" woman, it may appear thus. She was the right heir to
" the bloud royal of the Saxons, that were many years
" kings of this realm. And she was also right heir to Wil-
" liam the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, that by his con-

" quest was king of this realm. And over these, she was " also right heir to the crown of France. And she was also " daughter to a king, suster to a king, wife to a king, and " mother to a king; and also to two queens. And she was " also noble in virtue, and blessedly she departed out of " this life: and that in the love of all the people, and to the " great heaviness and lamenting of them all.

" And may it not then be truly said, that she was a *noble* " *mother?* And, thanking be to our Lord, peace is now in " England and Ireland. And so it is very like to be dur- " ing the King's life. And so it is very like, the plenty of " corn shall be in both the said countries. Wherefore, me " seemeth, the very words may conveniently be applied and " expounded in such manner, as I have before rehearsed. " And there is nothing that will more apparently make the " said application to appear true, than if the King's Grace " will build townes, and avoid parks, for encrease of the " people. For it is said, Proverbs xiv. *In the multitude* " *of people is the glory of a king.* And also our Lord " said, Proverbs viii. *My delight is to be with the sons of* " *men.* Wherefore it should seem, that he doth much to " the pleasure of God, that doth, or causeth to be done, any " notable act, whereby the people of God, with whom he " hath delight to be, is increased.

" It is therefore very like, that if the King's Grace will " increase his people, whereby the delight of God, and the " glory also of himself shall be encreased, that the same " words, *filius inclytæ matris feliciter sublimabitur*, may " for the causes before remembred, be conveniently taken " and understand to be spoken precisely of him."

The foresaid writing seems to have been some pretended prophecy spread about in these times, perhaps by some of the monks, ill-willers to the King and his proceedings, which this writer converted to a more favourable interpretation on the King's part.

Another paper, in order to a suppression of monasteries, and diminishing the revenues of the Bishops and secular Clergy also, was drawn up, shewing the convenience there-

Another paper in order to a suppression.

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

of, upon a more politic account; and was presented, I suppose, to Crumwel, being found among his papers. Which bore this title:

A project for increasing the King's revenues out of the Church.

Things to be moved to the King's Highness, for an increase and augmentation to be had for maintenance of his most royal state; and for the defence of his realm, and necessary to be provided for taking away the excess; which is the great cause of the abuses in the Church.

274 "First, That it may be provided by authority of Parliament, by an act in due form to be made, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, for maintenance of his state, shall have MM. [*i. e.* two thousand] marks yearly, and not above. And that all the residue of the possessions, as pertaining to the said archbishopric, may be made sure to the King's Highness and his heirs, for the defence of his realm, and maintenance of his royal state.

"*Item*, That it may be likewise provided, that the Archbishop of York may have M.*l.* [*i. e.* a thousand pounds] yearly, and not above, for the maintenance of his state. And the residue to be to the King and his heirs, in form abovesaid.

"*Item*, That it be likewise provided, that every Bishop that may dispend above a M. [thousand] marks yearly, to have assigned to him one M. marks, but not above, for maintenance of his degree. And the residue to the King, in form abovesaid.

"*Item*, That his Highness may have further maintenance of the state of the supreme Head of the Church of England, to him, and to his heirs, the *first-fruits* of every bishopric, benefice, dignity, or promotion spiritual, for one year next after every vacation thereof, of whose gift soever it be. And that the *first-fruits* to the Bishop of Norwich may cease, and no longer be paid, but to the King.

"*Item*, That the King's Highness may have to him and to his heirs, for the maintenance of his royal state, and theirs, all the lands and possessions of monasteries, abbies,

" priories, and houses of religion, or conventual; whereof " the number in any one house is, or of late hath been, less " than a covent, that is to say, under thirteen persons.

" *Item*, That in such abbies and monasteries of monks, " and other religious men, where the number is above a " covent, be it provided, that for every monk, being a priest, " there may be assigned of the possessions of the house X. " mark; and for every novice, not being a priest, V *l.* " And to every Abbot or Governor of his house, as much " of the possessions of his house in yearly value, as the " whole convent shall have assigned among them all. To " the intent, that every such Abbot or Governor shall keep " hospitality, and the reparations of his house. And the " residue of the possessions of the house to be to the King " and to his heirs.

" *Item*, If abbies and monasteries of religious women be " above a convent; be it provided, that every nun of the " house may have assigned to them for their finding yearly, " X. marks. And the Abbess or Princess to have yearly as " much as all the nuns for hospitality, and to the repara- " tion of the house. And the residue to be to the King " and his heirs.

" *Item*, That the King's Highness may have the moyety " and halfendale of the dividends in every cathedral or col- " legiate church. And the other moyety to go to the resi- " dents, as it been accustomed.

" *Item*, That the King's Highness and his heirs may " have the third part of the revenue of every archdeaconry " within the realm.

" *Item*, That the Lord of St. John's, during his life, may 275
" have one M. [*i.e.* thousand] marks, and not above. And the " residue of the revenue to the King and to his heirs. And " immediately after the decease of the said Lord of St. " John's, to the King's Highness, to have all the whole " lands and possessions, now appertaining to the said Lord " of St. John's: and likewise all the lands and possessions " of every *commandry*, after the decease of the knights now " living, and being in possession thereof. To the intent, The act for the disso-

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536. Intion of this order was in the year 1540.

" that his Highness, after these possessions shall fall and " come into his hands, may, with the profit thereof, devise " and practise for the maintenance of his estate and his chil- " dren; and for invasion, defence, and enterprize against " the Irishmen.

" *Item*, That justice may be truly and indifferently min- " istred by the Kings only ministers and officers, to all the " King's subjects; that all franchises and liberties to any " archbishoprick, bishoprick, cathedral church, church col- " legiat, monastery, priory, or other house, conventual or " cathedral, may be resumed and annexed to the crown for " ever; court barons and leets only excepted.

" And over this, that his Highness may have, as well to- " wards the charge of the wars now present and begun, for " the defence of Ireland, [which happened anno 1535,] as " for the making of the haven of Dover, and divers piles, " fortresses, blockhouses, and other munitions against Scot- " land, and other confines of the realm, necessary for the " surety and defence thereof, these rates following.

" First, Of every spiritual person that may expend xx *l.* " or above, 4*s.* of the pound, to be paid in two years; that " is to say, 2*s.* of the pound.

" *Item*, Of every spiritual person that may dispend under " xx *l.* 2*s.* of the pound; that is to say, 12*d.* one year, and " 12*d.* another.

" *Item*, Of every temporal person, that may dispend in " land xx *l.* or above, or be worth in moveable substance " 100*l.* or above, 2*s.* of every pound in two year; that is to " say, 12*d.* every year.

" *Item*, Of every temporal person that may spend xl *s.* or " above, and under xx *l.* or be worth in moveable substance " v *l.* or above, and under x *l.* 12*d.* in the pound in two years; " that is to say, 6*d.*

" *Item*, That all strangers inhabited, and resiant in the " realm, to pay double the rate of the King's temporal " subjects."

This paper seems to have been drawn up to be laid before a Parliament. And it may appear hence, that the states-

men were now meditating to advance the King's revenues by all ways and means, though others in very great numbers suffered, especially the spiritualty, thereby; by withdrawing great quantities of the means settled upon them from ancient times, to keep up their state, and maintain hospitality. And not only the monasteries were to feel their punishment, where much superstition and wickedness was practised, but the Archbishops and Bishops, and all other dignified Churchmen, were to bear their shares. Though all did not so roundly and fully yet take place, as this scheme propounded. Anno 1536.

Commission for taking the true values of first-fruits and tenths.

And for the same end and purpose, *viz.* for the increase of the King's royal estate, by advancing his revenues, the Parliament had given him the *first-fruits* and *tenths* of all ecclesiastical preferments whatsoever, throughout the whole kingdom. And accordingly proper persons were appointed 276 to go and take a true account of them, by all the ways and means that could be. And instructions were given them; according to which they should proceed in this great work and business. Which *instructions* remain in the original parchment fairly written, in the Cotton library. Where, at the bottom of the first page, (for the value of it, I suppose,) Sir Robert Cotton wrote, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, 1612. This was done pursuant to the Act, *for the augmentation of the King's royal state and dignity of supreme Head:* whereby the first-fruits of all benefices, dignities, offices, &c. spiritual, was to be paid to the King; and a yearly revenue, being the *tenths* of all livings. Which act was made anno regni 26. The title of these instructions ran thus:

"INSTRUCTIONS

"Devised by the King's Highness, by the advice of his "Council, for knowledge to be had of the whole, true, and "just yearly value of all the possessions, manors, lands, "tenements, hereditaments, and profits, as well spiritual as "temporal; appertaining to any manner of dignity, mo-"nastery, priory, church collegiate, church conventual, "parsonage, vicarage, chauntry, free chapel, or other dig-

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1536.

" nity, office, or promotion spiritual, within this realm, " Wales, Calais, Barwick, and marches of the same, as well " in places exempt, as not exempt. Which his pleasure is, " that such as shall have charge by his immediate commis- " sion to survey the same, shall effectually, with all upright- " ness and dexterity, follow and ensue, as they will answer " unto his Majesty at their peril.

" First, It is ordained, that several commissions shall be " made into every diocese, shire, and place within this realm, " and into Wales, Calais, &c. and to such number of per- " sons as it shall please his Majesty to assign, &c." It is long, and so I omit it.

I shall only set down the King's particular commission to the Commissioners, for taking the value of the benefices in London, *viz.*

The King's commission for London.

Henricus Octav. Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hib. et in terra supremum Caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; Reverend. in Christo Epo. London. ac dilectis et fidelibus suis, Johanni Champneis, M. Thomæ Crumwel, magno Secretario suo, Johanni Alleyn, Mil. Thomæ Bedel, Clerico, Johanni Baker, Henrico White, Johi. Onely, Thomæ Rusheton, Willo. Bowyer, Paulo Withipol, Rico. Gressham, Henr. Myldmay, Thom. Burgoyn, Tho. Roberts, et Johi. Noote, Auditoribus, salutem.

Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitatibus, et providis circumspectionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos, quinque quatuor vobis, ac quinque quatuor, et tribus vestrum, vel in majori aut minori numero, prout per discretiones vestras, vobis melius visum fuerit, plenam potestatem et aucthoritatem, ad inquirendum, scrutandum et examinandum, viis, modis, quibus scire poteritis, infra civitatem London. et libertat. ejusdem, de omnib. et singulis articulis,

277 *et instructionibus præsentib. annexis, faciendis et exequend. cum effectu, prout in eisd. articulis plenius continentur*, &c. The sum of that which followed was, " That they should " do this with diligence, *absque favore, fraude, dolo, cor-* " *ruptione.* And what they had done, to certify to the " Treasurer, the Chancellor, Chamberlains, and Barons of

" the Exchequer, under their seals: giving them power to " call before them, and to examine for this purpose, *tales et* " *tantos, Scribas, Registrarios*, Scribes, Registers, Receivers, " Auditors, and other officers and ministers whatsoever, " Prelates and Clergy of the Church. And to all Mayors, " Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Registers, and other officers and min- " isters, to be assistant to them in the premises." CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1536.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Charter House in London. Queen Anne's death. A favourer of the Reformation. Her discourse in the Tower. The condition of the Lady Elizabeth's daughter. The Lady Mary addresseth to the King. Articles for her.

THE monks of the Charter House, London, remaining refractory still, the King being loath to go to the utmost extremity, endeavour was used to reclaim them, and enlighten them with a clearer knowledge of the nature of the *supremacy*, being for the most part young men. It was thought expedient therefore to separate them from one another. Four of the chief were disposed into two other houses of the same order, in the furthest part of the realm: and eight more they sent to Syon, an house of the order of St. Bridget: that they might there be persuaded to yield to the King. At last many of them took the oath, having been threatened otherwise to have their house plucked down. But while they took the oath, they said in their hearts, " Thou knowest, O God, how false and unjust this oath is, " that these men wrest from us; thou knowest what excep- " tions and alleviations we have alleged. Thou seest the " straits of time, and how we are threatened. *But skin* " *for skin, and all that a man hath will he give for his life.* " Evil is not to be done, that good may come. But since " thou knowest the hearts of all men, and how willingly we " resist them, we beseech thy mercy not to respect the man- " ner which we perform outwardly, in laying our hand upon The monks of the Charter House. Hist. Mart. Angliæ, fol. 59.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Anno 1536.

" the book of the Gospel, and kissing it: nor take it, as if we " were assenting to the King's will: but take this our outward " dissimulation as our reverence to the sacred word written " in the Gospel, for the preservation of our house, if it shall " please thy goodness." But there were ten monks that thought not fit thus to dissemble. And they were put out of the convent in June 1537, and laid in prison: where, saith their historian, they all died but one, named William Horne, who in 1541. was put to death. Two of the four 278 that were removed from this house, were placed in a house of religion near Hull; where they were busy in the rebellion that happened this year in the north; and so were executed, and hung in chains at York, 1537, whose names were John Rochester and James Wannert. In the year 1539, all of them that remained were expelled their house, consisting of twelve professed monks, three guests, and six converts professed. In the church, the King's tents and ammunition were laid. The house was afterward given to Sir Edward North, who there built himself a fair dwelling, and made a parlour of the church; pulling down most of the cloisters.

The dissolution of that house.

The surrender of the Charter House, by the Prior. Cleopatra, E. 4.

The state of the monks of the Charter House that were still against the King's supremacy, anno 1537, when the surrender of it was made, may appear from Thomas Bedyl the visitor's own letters to Crumwel; giving an account of a great mortality among them. " My very good Lord, after " my most hearty commendations; it shall please your Lord- " ship to understand, that the monks of the Charter House " here at London, committed to Newgate for their treacherous " behaviour continued against the King's Grace, be almost " despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by " this bill inclosed: [which follows at the end of the letter.] " Wherefore considering their behaviour, and the whole " matter, I am not sorry; but would that all such as love " not the King's Highness, and his worldly honour, were in " like case.

" My Lord, as ye may, I desire you in the way of charity, " and none otherwise, to be good Lord unto the Prior of

" the said Charter House, which is as honest a man as ever " was in that habit, or else I am much deceived; and is one " which never offended the King's Grace by disobedience " of his law: but hath laboured very sore continually for " the reformation of his brethren. And now at the last, at " mine expectation and instigation, constantly moved, and " finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, " lands, and goods into the King's hands, and to trust only " to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that " the said Prior may be so entreated by your help, that " he be not sorry, and repent, that he hath feared and fol- " lowed your sore words and my gentle exhortation made " unto him, to surrender the said house, and think that he " might have kept the same, if your Lordship and I had not " led him to the said surrender. But surely I believe that " I know the man so well, that whatsoever he be ordered, " he would be content without grudge. He is a man of " such charity, as I have not seen the like.

" As touching the house of the Charter House, I pray " God, if it shall please the King to alter it, that it may be " turned into a better use; seeing it is in the face of the " world, and much communication wol run thereof through- " out this realm. For London is the common country of " all lands: from whence is derived to all parts of this realm " all good and evil accidents here. From London, the xiv. " day of June,

" By your Lordships at commaundment,

" Thomas Bedyl.

" There be departed, 279

" Brother William Grenewood. Brother Walter Peerson.
" Dane John Davye. Dane Thomas Greene.
" Brother Robert Salte.

" There be even at the point of death,

" Brother Thomas Scriven. Brother Thomas Reading.

" There be sick,

" Dane Thomas Jonson. Brother William Horne.

" One is whole, Dane Bird."

CHAP. XXXVI.

These had been all committed to Newgate, being monks of the Charter House, that would not take the oath to the King.

Anno 1536.

Queen Anne's death.

This year, [1536,] in the month of May, Queen Anne Boleyn was beheaded: a great friend and patroness of the reformed religion.

She was a favourer of the Reformation.

She was very nobly charitable, and expended largely in all manner of acts of liberality, according to her high quality. And among the rest of her ways of shewing this Christian virtue, she being a favourer of learning, together with her father, the Lord Wiltshire, and the Lord Rochford her brother, maintained divers ingenious men at the Universities. Among the rest were these men of note; Dr. Hethe, afterward Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor; Dr. Thirlby, afterward Bishop of Ely; and Mr. Paget, afterward Lord Paget, and Secretary of State: all which in her time were favourers of the Gospel, though afterwards they relapsed. Of Paget one hath observed, that he was a most earnest Protestant, and being in Cambridge, gave unto one Reynold West, Luther's book, and other books of the Germans, as *Franciscus Lambertus de Sectis:* and that at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity hall; and was a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the Protestants then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowles.

Hethe.

Thirleby.

Paget.

Fox's Mon. p. 961.

And such as were persecuted for it.

This Queen was also a great favourer of those that suffered for religion. Let this letter ensuing, writ by her to Crumwel, stand upon record here, shewing both her love to such sufferers, and her high esteem of the word of God.

By the Queen.

Her letter to Crumwel. Cleop. E. 5.

"*Anne the Queen.* Trusty and right well beloved, wee "greet you well. And whereas we be credibly enformed, "that the bearer hereof, Rychard Herman, merchant, and "citizen of Antwerp in Brabant, was, in the time of the late "Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fel-"lowship of and in the English house there, for nothing "else, as he affirmeth, but only for that, that he did, both with

" his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in
" this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament
" in English. Wee therefore desire and instantly pray you, Anno 1536.
" that with all speed and favour convenient, ye woll cause
" this good and honest merchant, being my Lords true,
" faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristin 280
" freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid. And the sooner
" at this our request: and at your good plesure to hear
" him in such things as he hath to make further relation
" unto you in this behalf. Yeven under our signet, at my
" Lord's mannor of Grenewich, the xiv. day of May."

Such a material piece of history in the King's reign, besides what is written by our historians, may deserve divers particular remarks to be shewn, concerning this Queen's behaviour and her speeches, from the time of her commitment to the Tower, to her execution. Which I am enabled to give from five or six letters of Sir Willam Kyngston, Constable, or (as others) Lieutenant of the Tower, to Secretary Crumwel. And I do it the rather, to represent matters concerning this Queen in her afflictions the more largely, exactly, and distinctly; which Bishop Burnet hath set down from the same papers more briefly and imperfectly. And perhaps, upon the reading of what follows, some things which that reverend author attributes to fits and vapours in the Queen, may find a better and truer interpretation. The Lord Herbert also has given us only some short hints of these things.

Divers sayings of Q. Anne in the Tower.

Hist. Refor. vol. i. p. 198.

Life of K. Henry, p. 416.

After the Duke of Norfolk and some other of the King's Council, who had conducted Queen Anne to the Tower, (which was on the 2d of May,) were departed, the said Constable of the Tower went before her into her lodging. And then she said to him, Mr. Kyngston, shall I go into a dungeon? He answered her, No, Madam; you shall go into your lodging, that you lay in at your coronation. Upon which she said, It is too good for me. And further said, *Jesu! have mercy on me.* And then kneeled down, weeping a great pace. And in the same sorrow, fell into a great laughing. And so she did several times afterwards. Then

Her words at her first coming to the Tower.

Kyngston's first letter. Cot. libr.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Anno 1536.

she desired Mr. Kyngston to move the King's Highness, that she might have the Sacrament in the closet by her chamber: that she might pray for mercy. *For I am as clear*, said she, *from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you:* and again, *the King's true wedded wife.* And then she said, Mr. Kyngston, do you know wherefore I am here? And he said, Nay. And then she asked him, when he saw the King? He said, not since he saw him in the Tilt-yard, [which was but the day before at Greenwich, when he seemed first to take a displeasure against her.] And then she asked him, I pray you tell me where my lord my father is. He told her, he saw him afore dinner in the court. O! where is my sweet brother? [For she feared the King's displeasure against her would reach unto all her relations.] Kyngston replied, I left him at York Place: thinking it convenient to conceal it from her, though he was committed the same day. I hear say, said she, that I shall be accused by three men. And I can say no more, but, nay; though you should open my body; and therewith she opened her gown. Adding, O! Norris, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me. And thou and I shall die together. And Mark, [another that accused her,] thou art here too. And then with much compassion she said, O! my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow. And then she much lamented my Lady Worcester, (being with child,) because her child did not stir in her body. And when the Constable's wife, being present, asked what might be the cause, she said, it was for the sorrow she took for me.

281 Then she said, Mr. Kyngston, shall I die without justice? To which he replied, the poorest subject the King had, had justice. And therewith she laughed. All these sayings happened that night. The next morning in conversation with her, these speeches happened; related by Sir William Kyngston in his foresaid letter. Mrs. Cosins, a gentlewoman appointed to wait upon the Queen here, and that lay on her palate bed, said, that Norris (one of those that were accused about her) did say on Saturday last unto the Queen's Amner, that he would swear for the Queen, that she was a good woman.

And then the said gentlewoman added, speaking to the Queen, [as minding to inquire of her concerning the occasion of her present trouble,] Madam, why should there be any such matters spoken of? Marry, said the Queen, I bade him do so. For I asked him, why he did not go through with his marriage, [with some lady, it seems, Norris courted.] And he made answer, he would tarry a time. Then said she, You look for dead men's shoes. For if ought should come to the King, but good, you would look to have me. Then he said, if he should have any such thought, he would his head were off. And then she said, she could undo him if she would. And therewith they fell out.

And then she said, I more fear Weston, [another that was cast into the Tower about her business.] For Weston had said unto her, that Norris came more unto her chamber for her than he did for Mage; [the name, I suppose, of one of the Queen's maids that he courted.] And further, Kingston related another saying, which the Queen spake to him concerning Weston, [whom also she had sometimes talk with, coming often in her way; which might create a jealousy concerning him,] that she had spoke with him, because he did love her kinswoman, Mrs. Skelton. And said to him, that he loved not his wife, [spoken by way of reproof.] And he made answer to her again, that he loved one in her house better than them both. And the Queen said, Who is that? He gave this answer, It is yourself. And then she defied him, as she said to Kingston, [in scorn and displeasure, as reflecting upon her honour undoubtedly.] These passages between the Queen and them was the cause of all their deaths; coming some way or other to the jealous King's ears. For she, being of a free and courteous nature, would exchange words sometimes, and enter into some talk with such as she met in the Court; and with these gentlemen, who were of the Privy Chamber: and so happened often to come where she was. And some of their discourse happened to be brought to the King by some officious person, that owed her no good-will.

CHAP. XXXVI.

In another letter to Secretary Crumwel, he wrote these passages concerning the said Queen: that she much desired to have there in her closet the Sacrament; and also her Amner for one hour, when she was determined to die, [that is, to suffer death.] After an examination of her at Greenwich, before some of the Council, the said Kyngston sent for his wife and Mrs. Cosins, (who both were appointed to be always with her,) to know of them how she had done that day. They said, she had been very merry, and made a good dinner; and after, called for a supper. And then called for him, and asked him where he had been all day. And after some words she began talk, and said, she was cruelly handled at Greenwich with the King's Council: namely, with my Lord of Norfolk, [who was indeed her enemy.] And that he said, [to what she had spoken, as it seems, in her own defence,] *Tut, tut, tut;* and shaking his head three or four times. And as for Mr. Treasurer, he was, said she, in the forest of Windsor. You know, added the writer of the letter, what she meant by that. And then named Mr. Comptroller (another of the Council) to be a very gentleman. But she to be a Queen, and so cruelly handled, it was never seen. *But I think the King doth it to prove me.* And then laughed withal; and was very merry. And then she said, I shall have justice. Then said the Constable, Have no doubt therein. Then she said, If any man accuse me, I can say but *nay*. And they can bring no witness.

Anno 1536.

She desires the Sacrament in her closet: and her Almoner with her.

Kyngston's second letter.

282

She wishes for her Bishops to go to the King for her.

And in some communication with the Lady Kingston and Mrs. Cosins, I would to God, said she, I had my Bishops: for they would all go to the King for me. For I think the most part of England prayeth for me. And if I die, you shall see the greatest punishment for me within this seven years that ever came to England. [This she spake no doubt in the confidence of her innocency; and God's righteous and visible judgments for the most part, for shedding innocent blood. And indeed within the seventh year following happened a dreadful pestilence in London, and many commotions and insurrections to the end of this reign.]

And then, said she, *shall I be in heaven. For I have done many good deeds in my days.* Then she took notice of divers women set about her that she liked not; saying, I think much unkindness in the King, to put such about me as I never loved. Then Kyngston shewed her, that the King took them to be honest and good women. But I would have had of my own Privy Chamber, replied she, which I favour most, &c. Anno 1536.

In another letter of Kyngston to Crumwel, he relates how she desired of him to carry a letter to the said Crumwel, [of whose friendship she had a belief.] But he (it seems not thinking it safe for him to carry letters from her) said to her, that if she would tell it him by mouth, he would do it. For which she gave him thanks: and added, that she much marvelled, that the King's Council came not to her, as seeming to be ready to justify herself. The same day she said, we should have no rain till she was delivered out of the Tower: it being a season that wanted rain: [thinking probably that God (who takes care of innocency) would vindicate her by giving or withholding the clouds of heaven.] To which Kyngston replied, I pray it may be shortly, because of the fair weather: adding, You know what I mean, [that is, the King's reconciliation to her.]

Other occasional speeches of hers were these. She said concerning such women as was set about her, that the King wist what he did, when he put two such about her as my Lady Bolen and Mrs. Cosins. For they could tell her nothing of my lord her father, and nothing else. But that she defied them all. [Meaning any about her whosoever, to be able to charge her with any dishonourable act.] But then upon this, my Lady Bolen [her kinswoman] said to her, *Such desire as you have had to such tales* [tale-carriers or tellers, as some perhaps of her women were] *have brought you to this.* Then said Mrs. Stoner, [another gentlewoman about her,] Mark [Smeton, the musician, another committed to the Tower, an accuser of the Queen] is the worst cherished of any in the house: for he weareth irons. The Queen said, that was because he was no gen- Women set about her, disliked. 283

CHAP. XXXVI.

tleman. And he never was at my chamber, [and so could know less, she meant, than any, what was done by her, or any with her there,] but at Winchester, and there she sent for him to play on the virginals: for there my lodging was above the King's. And I never spake with him since, but upon Saturday before May-day, [that fatal day, when the King first conceived his jealousy.] And then I found him standing in the round window in my chamber of presence. And I asked him why he was so sad. And he answered and said, it was no matter. And then she said, You may not look to have me speak to you, as I would do to a nobleman; because ye be an inferior person. No, no, said he, a look sufficeth me: and thus fare you well. This shews him to be some haughty person; and thought the Queen gave him not respect enough. And so might take this opportunity to humble her; and revenge himself by this means on her; not thinking it would cost him his own life.

Anno 1536.

Vol. i. p. 204.

Another letter of Sir William Kyngston to Crumwel, giving an account of this Queen's behaviour at her execution, is published in the History of the Reformation. Which began thus: "Sir, this shall be to advertise you, that I have "received your letter; wherein you would have strangers "conveyed out of the Tower. And so they be, by the "means of Richard Gresham, and William Loke, and Wi- "thepole. But the number of strangers past not thirty; "and not many hothe [other.]" *Armed* is added in the said History, which word is not in the original letter. Other mistakes there, this more exact transcription will rectify thus far in the letter.

Otho, c. 10.

Her letter to the King.

Another letter of hers to the King, beginning, "Sir, "your Grace's displeasure," &c. is published in the said History. But this passage following, wrote at the end of her letter, I think worthy to be transcribed and set here, the reverend author of that book relating it imperfectly, *viz.*

The King sending a message to the Queen Anne, being prisoner in the Tower, willing her to confess the truth; she said, "she could confess no more than she had already "spoken. And she said, she must conceal nothing from

"the King, to whom she did acknowledge herself so much "bound for many favours: for raising her first from a mean "woman to be a Marquess; next to be his Queen. And "now, seeing he could bestow no further honour upon her "on earth, for purposing to make her, by martyrdom, a "saint in heaven." Anno 1536.

I add one remark more concerning this Queen: that at this time of her being in the Tower, a former charge was revived against her: namely, the contract of marriage between her and the present Earl of Northumberland, before her marrying with the King: designing, if they could prove this, to make her former marriage with the King unlawful and void; and to make the smoother way for his marrying with the Lady Jane. But whatsoever the afflicted Queen confessed, to save her life, or to change the way of her execution, from burning to beheading, that there never was any such precontract, the said Earl protested solemnly in a letter to Secretary Crumwel: who, it seems, had now desired to know the truth from himself. Therein telling him, how he had formerly, before the two Archbishops, *viz.* Warham and Wolsey, utterly denied it upon his oath, and the receiving of the Sacrament: so he now confirmed it in this letter. Which the Bishop of Sarum saying he saw, but entered it not in his History, vol. i. yet in his third he hath. To which recourse may be had by such as are pleased to peruse it: which I find is correctly set down from the original. No precontract between her and the Earl of Northumb. 284 Hist. Refor. vol. iii. Col. p. 113.

This letter was more shortly entered by the Lord Herbert in his History: leaving out something in the beginning and end of the said letter, and the Earl's subscription.

In what ill case the young Lady Elizabeth now was, any one may guess; she being degraded into a meaner condition upon the Queen her late mother's divorce and death. And what it was, will in part appear by a letter of the Lady Margaret Brian, governess of the King's children, sent to Crumwel, now Lord Privy Seal, from Hunsden; for his instructions, how she should now manage the Lady Elizabeth: and to know how she should be served with diet and attend- The condition of the Lady Elizabeth.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ance: and withal acquainting him with her present need; and praying for a supply of clothes for her mourning. Mr. Shelton, who was one of the chief of the house there, and calling himself master of that house, was for the said young lady, not being much above three years old, to dine at a table of state. Which this discreet lady governess thought by no means convenient, considering her age; lest she sitting at so plenteous a table, furnished with wine, fruit, and other dainties, by eating and drinking thereof too freely, might overcharge her stomach, and be an occasion hereby of sickness to herself. And that she might rather be appointed to have a mess or two in her own lodging: where she might be more under the oversight and care of her, the said lady governess, as to her diet. And the reversion of her table might go to her women, gentleman usher, and groom, eleven servants in all. And in short, she advised that the same course of diet might be observed towards her Grace, as was towards the Lady Mary's Grace. And this she judged the better managing of her house: and withal save the King much expense. And then praying an order agreeable hereunto should be sent from him, the Lord Crumwel, or the King, to the said Mr. Shelton, without letting him know that this advice came from her.

Anno 1536.

Great promising hopes of her.

And what hope there was, that this young Lady Elizabeth would afterwards prove an excellent accomplished woman, and of whom the King should in all probability have great comfort; the Lady Brian added, that although by reason of her pain in breeding her teeth, she, her governess, gave her a little more her will, she was as toward a child, and of as gentle conditions as ever she knew any in her whole life. These are but the short contents of the letter of the Lady Elizabeth's governess, concerning that Princess's state and circumstances at this time: who afterwards proved one of the greatest and wisest Princes that ever ruled this land. And the letter deserveth to be preserved for some supply of her history in her youngest years. Read it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the original.

N°. LXXI.

CHAP. XXXVI.

So that after the beheading of Queen Anne, the Lady Elizabeth her daughter came under the like inconvenience with Queen Katharine's daughter, the Lady Mary: both declared Princesses successively, and both successively degraded of their titles, and declared illegitimate. But the Lady Mary, thinking this to be a good opportunity to attempt the being received again as the King's daughter and heir, was advised by some about her to solicit and apply to the King her father to take her into his favour. And accordingly she sent her message to him, acknowledging her former obstinacy, and begging of him to be reconciled to her. Whereupon were several articles, seven in number, drawn up, and brought to her by the Duke of Norfolk to sign. The contents of them were, "whether she recognised "the King, and submitted to all his statutes and laws: "whether she acknowledged him supreme Head, under "Christ, of the Church of England: whether she refused "the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority: whether she "took and thought it in her heart, the marriage of her mo- "ther to be unlawful and indispensable, and the divorce "justly done: and whether she accepted herself illegitimate "and a bastard: why she held out in her obstinacy thus "long, and what causes induced her now to submit her- "self." These articles shall be fully set down in the Appendix, as I found them among certain MSS. of the Lord Burghley; and I have the rather transcribed them, because they are very much curtailed in the Lord Herbert's History, and one of them, namely, the fifth article, which relates to her acknowledgment of herself a bastard, wholly left out.

Anno 1536.

The Lady Mary sues to be reconciled to her father.

285

Vid. N°. LXXV.

Life of King Hen. p. 450.

The four first of these she signed, saith that noble author, and, I suppose, the fifth too, by him omitted. For it is certain, either now or soon after, she acknowledged her mother's marriage incestuous and unlawful; which was to acknowledge herself illegitimate, as may be seen in the transcript of a writing by her subscribed, preserved in the Cotton library, and printed by the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation. But she would make no discovery of persons or causes, as she was required in the two

The Lady Mary subscribes to certain articles.

Vol. I. p. 207.

CHAP. XXXVI.

last articles. But one of the causes that inclined her to make the abovesaid acknowledgment might be the prospect of a marriage, that was soon after moved by the French King's Ambassadors, to be celebrated betwixt his second son, the Duke of Orleans, and her: an intimation whereof the Lord Herbert gives. But upon some great passion King Henry was put into by the Ambassadors, he tells us, that matter of marriage was scarcely propounded. But by a memorial thereof, which is among the aforesaid MSS. it appears, there were some considerable transactions concerning it, between the two French Ambassadors and some of the King's Council. Wherein may be seen, that the King was very inclinable to it, and required for that purpose, that the young Duke should be sent over into England, to live here, to learn the customs, language, and manners of the English nation; the King's intentions being hereby to use him as his own son, in order to the advancing him to the crown of England. But read the memorial itself.

Anno 1536.

Vide No. LXXVI.

The Papists glad of Q. Anne's death.

Queen Anne's death, as it was probably of the Romanists' procuring, so it was good news to them. For they reckoned her (and that truly enough) a great instrument in putting the King forward to what he had done in reforming religion. Pole, in a letter to the King, wrote within two months after her death, takes leave to call her the King's "*domestic*
286 "*evil*, which God, as he said, had rid him of: and that she "was thought to be the cause of all his errors. And that "with her head [cut off] he trusted, God had cut away all "occasion of such offences as had separated the King from "the light of God: and that from her descended all *disor-*"*ders*:" as he had styled the orders made for the correcting and regulating the corruptions of religion.

Favourers of religion persecuted.

When therefore the Papists had got this good Queen out of the way, they made account the doctrine of the Gospel would decline and languish with her. Hereupon they began to bestir themselves, to accuse and depress all that inclined to reformation. I find this year several Clergymen and others brought into trouble by the Papists: as one Gale, Parson of Twait in Suffolk, indicted before the Justices of

assize for heresy and treason, together with Broman and Kemp. These were forced to accuse several others, Clergymen and Friars; as Dr. Barret, a White Friar of Gipswich; Bale, a White Friar and Prior of Doncaster, and divers others. The matter of the accusation may be understood, if we do but read this following, as I took it out of a Cotton volume: Anno 1536.

John Gale. Cleopatra, E. 5.

"28 Hen. Sir John Gale, Clerk, Parson of Twaite in "Suffolk, indicted before the Justices of assize of heresy "and treason; and so was committed into the hands of the "High Sheriff, William Drury; who kept him without bail "or mainprize, and sent up to Crumwel, to know what he "should do with him. He was indicted by the grand jury, "for saying before divers of his parishioners and others, "that a temporal man may consecrate the body of our Lord "Jesus Christ, and hath as great power as any Priest, if "the temporal man can speak the words which the "Priest speaketh: and that holy water and holy bread is "of no strength; nor he will make neither holy water nor "holy bread the next Sunday after. And also he persuaded "his said parishioners, that they should not take neither "holy water nor holy bread. And after that, the same "day, the foresaid Parson, and one John Augustine, of the "same town, husbandman, like schismatics and infidels, "brake up certain iron work, which was long before set in "the wall of the church, afore the images of our Lady and "St. Erasmus; that all men and women might set up "lights in honour of God and the holy saints. And in "derision, the same Parson and John Augustin turned the "face of the picture of St. Erasmus towards the wall, *con-*"*tra pacem Domini Regis.*" This for his heresy: and then for his treason; that consisted in his saying, *I will not declare the Articles which be commanded by the King's Grace; for the half of them were nought.*

W. Broman.

William Broman was also brought into trouble at this time. "He saith, that he hath learned by the teaching and "doctrine of one Dr. Barret, sometime a White Friar of

CHAP. XXXVI.

Anno 1536.

"Gipswich, about three or four years past, that the blessed "Sacrament of the Altar is but a figure, and a remembrance "of the passion of Christ; saying, that the lifting up of the "Host betokeneth nothing, but the sending down of the Son "by the Father to suffer death for man: and the lifting "up of the chalice signified, that the Father of heaven "sent down his Son to shed his blood in earth for man's "salvation.

Bale.

"Also he saith, that one Bale, a White Friar, sometime "Prior of Doncaster, taught him about three years ago,
287 "that Christ would dwell in no church that was made of "lime and stones by men's hands, but only in heaven above, "and in men's hearts in earth.

Parson of Hothfield.

"Also he saith, that in Lent last the Parson of Hothfield "taught the same doctrine that is expressed in the first ar- "ticle: adding thereto, that men ought to put no trust in "the Host, when it is lift up, but forthwith to remember the "passion of Christ, and to put whole trust in that. And "he saith, that he heard it reported by a dozen at the least, "that the said Parson of Hothfield preached, that our Lady "was not queen of heaven, but the mother of Christ; and "that she could do no more for us than another woman, "liking her to a saffron bag. And over that, saith, that "when the said Parson preached after this sort, the Bailiff "of Folstan bade the Vicar pull him out of the pulpit. "Whereunto the Vicar answered, that he durst not do so, for "fear of losing all that he had; for that, as the said Parson "said, he had a licence, under the King's broad seal, to "preach in all places. And further he saith, that the said "Parson of Hothfield by the said sermon turned an hun- "dred hearts to his opinion and devotion.

Wyne.

"Also he saith, that one Wyne his servant, dwelling in "Folston, said, That Christ being received by a sick man, it "was an unfit thing for Christ to be buried with him when "he is dead." [Thus could illiterate people frame notable arguments against the gross presence of Christ in the Sacrament.]

CHAP. XXXVI.

" Stephen Kemp saith, that he heard the Parson of Han-
" worth preach at Kingston, about twelve months past, in
" Lent, that whosoever came to church to seek God, he
" should not find him there, except he brought him with
" him. And that men ought to put their trust in God's
" word, and to have better regard to good sermons and
" preaching, than to the Sacrament of the Altar, mass-mat-
" ters, or evensong.

Anno 1536. Parson of Hanworth.

" The said Parson of Hothfield preached, that the Sacra-
" ment of the Altar was not to be regarded, and that it was
" but a similitude. That Latimer and Cromer preached,
" that we should trust only in God's word, and that we
" should not honour any saints, nor trust in any ceremonies
" of the Church."

The Vicar of Stepney's recantation.

This year Mr. Hierome, Vicar of Stepney, was fain to make his recantation for a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross. One Henry Dowes, in a letter dated from Stepneth, (Curate, I suppose, there,) on Easter Monday wrote unto Gregory Crumwel, Esq. an account of Hierome's recantation sermon, which he made that day at Paul's Cross. Wherein he revoked a doctrine that he had preached at the same place not long before, concerning justification by faith, without any other condition. Whereas now he confessed penance and other sacraments must be joined thereunto. There was a recantation made and subscribed by Dr. Barnes, in the year 1540, to which this Hierome also subscribed: which is extant in the History of the Reformation. He with Barnes and Gerard were burnt for heresy the next year.

Vol. i. Coll. p. 244.

Bishop of St. David's accused for preaching false doctrine.

Nor did they strike no higher than at some of the friars and priests; but the Bishops also, that went not along with them in their errors and superstitions, could not escape the notice of their accusations. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, was charged with four articles of false doctrine, preached by him in a sermon at St. David's. Which were, " that two or
" three meeting together in God's name, though they were
" weavers and cobblers, was the true Church of God. That it
" is expedient to confess only to God. That there was no

288

CHAP. XXXVI.

"purgatory, but that it was only an invention of the Bishops "of Rome and the Priests, for their own gain. That a Anno 1536. "learned layman might be as good a Bishop as any of them, "if he was called thereunto by the King." Information was made against him for these sayings and assertions; as Tally. also against one Tally, who had preached some doctrines of this nature in the same church the sevennight after: and being drawn up into articles, was sent unto the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, then Lord President of the Marches of Wales: and he the next opportunity sent them up to Crumwel. Whose letter with the articles themselves are in Vid. N°. LXXVII. the Appendix.

Seditious books.

There were about this time many books brought into the realm, printed abroad, that favoured the Gospel, and inveighed against the superstitions and corruptions of Rome. The popish Prelates, and favourers of the old religion, did what they could to seize and suppress them. One of these Hortulus Animæ. books, called *Hortulus Animæ*, fell into the hands of the Bishop of Durham, being seized in Newcastle. And in a calendar of that book, at the day of the decollation of John the Baptist, were, it seems, some favourable things said of Queen Anne, lately beheaded. That Bishop, taking occasion from hence to bring that whole book, and all such like books, into dislike at Court, sent up an information to the Lord Crumwel of the book, and bade him read that place, saying, that it was an insinuation against the late act of Parliament for the succession; wherein the children of Queen Jane were made heirs only to the crown. He desired the said Lord to consider this to the King, and that he would move him that orders might be issued out, diligently to search in Newcastle and Hull, and other seaport towns and places, for such books; and particularly, to write his letter to the Mayor of Newcastle, and to other towns, for this intent. The Vid. N°. LXXVIII. Bishop of Durham's letter may be read in the Appendix.

A contest between the Bishop of Lincoln and the Archdeacon.

Under this year a contest happened between the Bishop of Lincoln and his Archdeacon, about their dues and privileges: the Bishop requiring the *synodals*, (which the Archdeacon claimed as his fees time out of mind.) Because the

Bishop found in his register, that the Archdeacon paid yearly *prestations* to the Bishop. Wherefore they were fain to appeal to my Lord Crumwel, the King's Vicar General and Lord Privy Seal. The Archdeacon charged the Bishop with avarice, and drew up his business in a paper, which he entitled, *Instructions for my Lord Privy Seal, concerning the Bishop of Lincoln and his Archdeacon, touching the Bishop's demand for prestations.* Wherein is shewed what appertained to the office of an Archdeacon, and whereupon his revenues in former times grew: namely, procurations, synodals, Peter-pence, pensions or indemnities, fines of testaments, vacations of benefices, installations of abbots. What all these were, and wherein lay the cause of this said contest, may be seen in the Appendix. Where the original paper is transcribed, and worth perusing. CHAP. XXXVI. Anno 1536. Vid. N°. LXXIX.

CHAP. XXXVII. 289

Letters to and from Reginald Pole. His book, De Unione Ecclesiasticâ. *Starkey's letter to the Lord Privy Seal.*

THERE was an intercourse of letters begun the last year between Pole and Starky, by the Lord Crumwel's means: and which continued this year. Starky had wrote to Pole in answer to a former letter of his 22. of April: which was so penned by Pole, that some expectations were gathered thence, that he would gratify the King in writing concerning his great cause, according to his mind. And Starky so conceiving, signified as much to the King. And now that he was to return an answer to Pole, Mr. Bainton, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, and Pole's old friend, desired Starky to tell him from him, "that he should well consider, "how the King's Highness devised (and ever had done) a "convenient means to set him in such case, that he might, "according to the fame of his virtues and merits, handle "and entreat him: and that he should also consider, how "much the King gave to his learning and judgment; whom Anno 1537. Hopes conceived of Pole.

CHAP. XXXVII.

"the said Bainton knew much willing to have his consent "in his great causes, although they were defined already.

Anno 1537. "Insomuch that his judgment thereto could little avaunce, "except peradventure in some part to the confirmation "thereof."

Two questions propounded from the King to Pole, to answer.

Pole had, as it seems, in another letter to Starky, (which he shewed the King,) wrote a letter concerning the King's cause, more like a Statesman than Divine. Wherein he shewed the dangers that might follow; but the matter itself, as it was most sharply judged of the King, he did not at all touch. Wherefore the King again desired his learned judgment, and that he should leave his prudence and witty policy, till he were required to shew it. Thus Starky wrote to him again, and there laid down before him the point in two questions, *viz.*

I. *An matrimonium cum relicta fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino licitum.*

II. *An superioritas, quam multis in sæculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicavit, sit ex jure divino.*

No. LXXX. The occasion and issue of his book De Unione.

This letter of Starky will be found in the Appendix. These messages from the King and Crumwel by Starky at last produced Pole's book, *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, so much surprising to the King and his correspondent Starky: and whereby he drew so much the King's displeasure upon him and his family; which had such a tragical end, in the execution of his mother and several others of them. In which book he threw out many unworthy reflections upon the King, and upon Dr. Sampson, the author of a book aforesaid, wrote against the Pope, which was sent to him by Crumwel's order.

Account of this book. Latimer, in his fifth sermon before King Edward.

Of this book of Ecclesiastical Union, (which was wrote to the King,) and of the author, thus speaks one that lived in those times, and of great learning and fame: "That in his "persuasions he was very homely, quick, and sharp with the "King. That he extolled unmeasurably the Pope, and too 290 "much undervalued kings. He said, that a king was an "odious word, and touched the place where God was of- "fended with the Israelites for calling for a king. That he

"seemed very lightly to set forth the title of a king; as "though he should mean, What is a king? What should a "king take upon him to redress matters of religion? It "pertaineth to our holy Father of Rome. A king is a name "and a title, rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than "allowed as a good. And thus he went about to persuade "the King from his *supremacy*." So Latimer in a sermon before King Edward. In another place of the book, Pole useth very impertinently, for the Pope's authority, a text out of St. Luke, of Christ's going into St. Peter's ship, and preaching out of it; and afterwards bidding him launch out into the deep, and catching a miraculous draught of fishes. Which he understood all allegorically; wresting several passages in it on the Pope's side. As, that it was Peter the chief Apostle's boat that Christ came into. Hence he framed an argument for the Bishop of Rome's supremacy. And by virtue of those words, *Duc in altum*, *Launch out into the deep*, *and let down your nets for a draught*, Peter was made a great man, and all his successors after him; because he spake to Peter only. "To him he spake in the "singular number: *ergo*, he gave him preeminency above "the rest. The rest indeed he bade to let down their nets, "but to him only, *Launch out*." This passage Father Latimer thought fit to confute in one of his sermons before King Edward, in these words: "I dare say, there is never a "wherryman at Westminster-bridge, but he can answer to "this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that "one man is able to shove the boat; but that one man is "not able to cast out the nets; and therefore Christ said "in the plural number, *Laxate retia*. He said in the singular number to Peter, *Launch out the boat:* he spake to the "other in the plural, *Let down your nets*. Because Peter "was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the net too. "This would a wherryman say, and that with better reason, than to make a mystery of it, as none can espy but "themselves. As though Christ by that expression intended to give Peter the supremacy over the rest."

Luke v.

Sermon vi.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1537. The King sends for Pole.

Thus I have given a taste of this famous book of Pole's, wherein he declared himself so roundly for the Pope to the King's face. Hereupon letters were sent from the King to him, to come over and explain his book to him. Pole sent an answer to the King, and his messenger to carry it, with instructions to him, what account he should give him of his reasons and intent in writing it. In the said answer, "he "wished the King, that he would let the Bishop of Durham, "*a sad and learned man*, (as he called him,) read his book "over, and give his Majesty a true account of it. For "though in some places it might seem harsh to his "Majesty, yet if it were all read over, it would appear "otherwise." The King, as Pole desired, did let Durham peruse it. Whereat that Bishop writ a letter to Pole, signifying that he had read his book, but disallowed it much. This occasioned another letter from Pole to the said Bishop. It was conjectured here, that Cardinal Contarini, and another Bishop, were Pole's great counsellors in what he wrote.

291 His mother and relations in England disapproved the book, and more in dread of what would follow.

Starky amazed at the book.

But being now writ, Starky sent a long and earnest letter to him: therein partly confuting it, and partly expostulating with him for it. Which being a notable letter, I have, dispensing with the length thereof, transferred into the Appendix.

Numb. LXXXI.

By which letter it appears, that when Pole's book was brought to the King, Starky, as Pole's true friend, desired the King that it might be committed to the reading of some learned men, that might indifferently report their judgments of it; which the King allowed, and Starky was joined with them. But in the reading of it together, they met so many expressions savouring of such gross ingratitude towards the King his gracious master, and containing such corrupt judgment of the matters treated on; that though they all loved Pole very well, yet they could not but abhor what they read: and Starky particularly was amazed and astonished; and was ready to judge it to be none of Pole's oration. Because

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1537.

of all others, he had known him to be ever one that shewed himself to be earnestly affected towards his King and country. Starky desired he might have leave to read it all over by himself. Which he did seriously, and compared it from the beginning to the end: and, considering well the whole circumstance of the matter, he professed (as he told Pole himself in his letter) that therein appeared to him the most frantic judgment that ever he read in his life, of a learned man. The main argument of his book was, that because the nation was gone from the obedience of Rome, therefore they were separate from the unity of the Church, and to be no member of the body catholic. And hereupon he railed upon the King most vehemently, as though he was departed from the Christian faith, and pursued him with as much reproach as Gregory had done Julian the Apostate. But Starky shewed him, "that he did but abuse himself, to think "the nation was separate from the unity of the Church, be- "cause it had rejected the Pope's superiority: and that the "Christian unity, according to St. Paul's doctrine, consisted "in the unity of the faith and the Spirit, and in a being knit "together by love."

A frantic judgment appeared in his book.

But notwithstanding all this pains Starky took with him, the matter falling out so much contrary to the King's expectation, and to what Starky had put the King upon believing, being vexed with this book, and fearing the publishing of it, he in his displeasure with Pole frowned upon Starky too; suspecting him to have given him some secret counsel to write what he did. It added to the King's suspicion, that he, lately preaching against the Pope, had used too much mildness, and wanted more sharpness of expressions, as though he had secretly favoured his primacy. This caused great disquiet and trouble of mind to him. Insomuch, that both the Lord Privy Seal and the Archbishop of Canterbury were fain both to comfort him, and assure him of the King's good-will. During which time he added this letter to the former.

The King offended with Starky.

Starky to the Lord Privy Seal. Cleop. E. 6. p. 380.

"My Lord, though as well by the relation of my Lord "of Canterbury, as also by the few words which you spake

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1537. 292

" to me the last day at Stepney, I am restored to a great " part of the quietness of my mind; for as much as thereby " I am persuaded fully, that you took my purpose and in- " tent even as it was; and that you be my good Lord after " your wont and accustomed manner: yet thorowly quieted " I nother am, nother yet can I be, until I may be assured, " that the King, my Soveraign Lord and Master, is by no " wrong information nor contrary suspicion otherwise per- " suaded of me, than my heart, will, and deed deserve. " For albeit the testimony of my own conscience be indeed " sufficient to countervail against all outward displeasure, " yet to my weakness and infirmity it is no small grief to " be in doubt, that my Lord and Master otherwise should " judge me than my heart deserveth. The which also is " much more grief to me, because that I am well assured, " both by the King's own words and also by his deeds, that " he was good Lord to me, and gracious. Wherefore since " there is of my part no occasion given to the contrary, but " rather cause why his goodness should be increased towards " me, and benevolence; (forasmuch as I have travailed to " put in effect such things as were of his Grace's will well " approved and allowed, the which before time I by writing " only touched: that is to say, to endeavour my self to the " inducing of the people to their office and duty, concern- " ing the obedience of his laws, and the conceiving of such " things as were set forth for the maintenance of God's " truth.) All the which considered, I cannot but sorrow, and " plainly confess my weakness and imbecillity, utterly to be " unable to bear and sustain of my Soveraign Lord any " contrary suspicion.

" Wherefore, my Lord, I shall beseech you, as you be " my special good Lord, so to declare it now at this time, and " not to suffer my purpose and desire, which I have long " suffered in my heart, to serve my master withal, now to be " hindered and drowned with any wrong information, nor to " be blotted with any other man's act[a], whereof I never " ministered occasion. For of your Lordship I take witness, " that I never studied nor laboured thing more earnestly

[a] Meaning Pole's writing.

" than I did to bring that man (for whose fault I now " perceive I am blamed) to his office and duty, and to " pluck from him all sturdy obstinacy. And whereas per- " adventure it may be thought, that I was the occasion of " the demanding of his sentence, you know, my Lord, it " was an occasion taken, and not upon my behalf given. " For I never moved the King, nor yet you, to the ensearch- " ing of his judgment at any time. Troth this is, that I " never thought him to be of so corrupt a judgment and " sentence in this matter of the *primacy*. And therefore I " put you in hope and expectation: and so I did the King " also, after he had commanded me to write unto him his " pleasure and request. Of the which hope that I am so " deceived, he liveth not which is more sorrowful than I " am: nor his own mother which bare him, and now repent- " eth of his bringing forth to light: nor yet his most dear " brother, who by his act is deprived of a great comfort " of his life. Therefore, my Lord, to blame me for his " deed cannot be without injury.

" And as touching my own judgment of this *primacy*, " this I may truly say, that if there be any men within " this realm which ought to want suspicion of this matter, " but sincerely doth approve it without dissimulation, I " think I may be of that number. For of this, my Lord, " I shall assure you, (and you shall never find me feigned,) " that before this matter was moved here in our country, I 293
" much and oft desired it to be reformed, considering the " damnable heresies annexed to it. Insomuch that I was " then noted and blamed of many men, which otherwise " judged. And this I once declared unto the King; be- " fore whom I never yet dissembled, nor never shall, during " my life. And though peradventure some such which " knew the familiarity betwixt Master Pole and me, (whose " amity and friendship I did not a little esteem, so long as " he forsook not the judgment of his country, the service of " his Sovereign Lord, and love to his natural friends,) have " induced you to an injurious suspicion; yet, my Lord, he " liveth not, nor looketh upon the light, that ever shall

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1537.

"justify in me towards my Lord and Master any point of "dissimulation. Wherefore, my Lord, if I should other- "wise be taken, it were no small grief to me, standing in "this truth and sincerity.

Starky vindicates his preaching.

"And as concerning my preaching, one word I am yet "constrained to speak to you again, and I am constrained "by the desire I have to the setting forth of the truth, not "moved by any vain glory: the word is this, that if my "intent and purpose in my preaching had been well taken, "and indifferently considered, I should rather have been "judged worthy of thanks, which I sought not, than of re- "proach, which I deserved not. For, my Lord, you know "it is not the right way of preaching, to bring men there- "by unto the light, with great reproaches to condemn their "blindness suddenly; but that is the way rather to exas- "perate men's hearts, and so to confirm them in their fol- "lies more stedfastly. Wherefore, my Lord, I have wished "many times lately, and for the love that I bear to the "truth, and to the quietness of the city wherein I have "chosen my dwelling-place, and I do yet wish daily, such "preachers to be elected, chosen, and picked out, which, "without contention and study of glory, shall set forth the "truth sincerely, and, after the counsel of St. Paul, in "things indifferent, should have consideration of the weak- "ness of men and infirmity; whereby they should promote "and advance the truth with charity, and not exasperate "and stir one part to the hate of the other, by light suspi- "cion and foolish contention, moved upon such things as "be indifferent, and nothing necessary to men's salvation. "Such preaching, my Lord, as me seemeth, were much to "be desired: and now in this time most especially, wherein "the King and you, with the other Counsellors, study to "the setting forth of such a tempered doctrine, whereof, as "I am persuaded, all our country ought not a little to re- "joice in. For the doctrine of our country is now so tem- "pered with truth, that it is both purged from the old "abuses and foolish superstitions, and also defended from "the errors of this time, and from all false religion. The

" which thing hath caused me now so to apply myself to preaching, and, I witness God, no glorious desire of fame and vanity. For if I were persuaded that this doctrine, approved in our country, were erroneous, I would yet rather lose my life shortly, than be one of those which should set forth the same openly. CHAP. XXXVII. Anno 1537.

" Nor think you not, my Lord, that I am so bleared with the shadows of this life, that I prefer the life among them above the light of the truth: neither yet that I am *neque frigidus neque calidus, sed tepidus*, in the setting 294 forth thereof, as peradventure by some information you may conceive. For it is my daily prayer to Him that is the fountain of light, that I may by his benefit both see the truth, and also constantly to stand in the defence of the same. Wherein, I trust, he doth and will maintain and strengthen me continually, and give me his grace not to stand therein coldly.

" And though, my Lord, you judge me more to be travailed in philosophy than in the trade of Scripture, and in the writers thereupon, wherein peradventure your Lordship judgeth not much amiss; yet this I shall to you, my Lord, say, (I shall say it without arrogancy,) that of the continual reading of Scripture itself, wherein certain years I have accustomed myself, I have gathered a certain judgment, wherewith I long have examined such writers as I have read thereupon. From the which I propose not to slip during my life. And in case I feel the writers of this time to swerve from the same, I have them suspected. For in the old authors, I find thereto a great conformity. The sum of my judgment tends to these two points. First, to a contempt of this life, and of the vain pleasures thereof, and to a sure trust and confidence of another; looking up always to those things which are not seen, with a clear eye; not dazzled with the glittering of such things as are present, and subject to our sight. The other is, to a certain unity and concord, yea, and to a certain band and knot of charity; whereby men must knit themselves together as members

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1537.

" of one body, and walk in an obedience to the order of the
" world; despising all things which other men so much
" contend and strive for, and bearing all trouble with pa-
" tience and humility. To these two points tend my judg-
" ment, gathered of Scripture. The which, though they
" may peradventure appear vulgar and common, and to be
" but of small moment and weight; yet by them I do ex-
" amine all the writings, sayings, and doings of this time.
" The which not savouring hereof, I do utterly condemn,
" and will do while I live. For I abhor all such seditious
" acts and doctrines, which, under the pretence and colour
" of the truth, moveth upon trifles such controversies,
" whereby is broken the order of Christian charity.

" Wherefore, my Lord, I do not a little rejoice to see
" here among us in our country, by the common consent of
" our Clergy, maintained and confirmed all true ecclesias-
" tical polity, and no notable and necessary order broken
" nor infringed, by the plucking away of this primacy, as
" many have greatly feared. Insomuch, my Lord, that if
" I may in this rest of my life be in any part a Minister to
" set forth this order, approved by the judgment of my
" country, with concord and unity, I shall think myself not
" to be born utterly in vain. Wherefore, my Lord, I be-
" seech you, as you judge me to be one of those which in-
" tend to serve my master and country faithfully, so to
" help, that my heart, will, and mind may be taken of my
" Sovereign Lord, as it is, sincerely. Whereby I may be
" the better encouraged to do that thing which pertaineth
" to mine office and duty. To the which I shall endeavour
" myself most diligently; strengthened, as I trust, by Him
" who governeth all. To whose governance I shall now
295 " commit your Lordship: beseeching you to pardon me of
" this importunity, to which I am by sorrow constrained.
" Written at London, the 24th of July.

" Your Lordship's,

" Thomas Starky."

To the most honourable, and my singular good Lord, my Lord Privy Seal.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The King sends for Pole; who refuses to come. Pole's letter to the Bishop of Durham about his book.

BUT to look a little back to what happened upon the King's receipt of his kinsman's book, which he had sent to him by a messenger. However nettled the King was with the writing, (insomuch as he thought of bringing Pole under the guilt of a capital offence,) he dissembled his anger, and in the letter he sent back, which was in the month of June, he only commanded him to come over, and to repair unto his presence, all excuses laid aside, that he himself might be the interpreter of his own book, because there were many places that he did not so well apprehend: the Secretary, in a letter sent to him at the same time, more vehemently persuading him to come over without delay. This command of the King, so full of danger on Pole's part, he thought fit to disobey; and in the room of himself, sent a very humble letter unto the King, dated from Venice: wherein he told him, "that he that commanded him "to come to him would not let him come, by putting such "impediments in his way, that he could not pass to him, "unless he should rashly cast away himself. (He meant "the laws lately made.) And were it not for these lets, he "would not only go, but run to him." It is a long letter: and Pole spake of divers things, about the reasons of writing his former book, and about Queen Anne, and the King's assuming the *supremacy*, and Dr. Sampson's book, too tedious to be here inserted: and therefore have laid it in the Appendix. Anno 1538. Pole refuses to come over to the King, who sent for him. And why. Number LXXXII.

There were also instructions which Pole gave to his messenger, that carried this letter to the King: which instructions he ordered him to shew his Majesty. Which were to declare, that his whole intent and purpose in writing his book was to manifest the truth in that matter of the *supremacy*, which the Secretary had required him to do; and so took it as the King's command. And that otherwise he had

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Anno 1538.

not set pen to paper, there being such little hope of persuasion. And partly to answer some books, written on the contrary part, that were sent to him: wherein he saw, as he said, the truth marvellously suppressed and choked. These *instructions* are entered among Bishop Burnet's Collection, vol. iii. of his History: which therefore I omit.

Numb. LI.

The Bishop of Durham, by the King's command, reads Pole's book.

296 And because in those instructions Pole propounded to the King, that some learned and sad man might read over his book, and then upon oath give his Majesty a true and impartial account thereof; and for this purpose had, above all others, recommended the Bishop of Durham to him, as being the saddest and most grounded in learning; therefore the King so far condescended to Pole's request, as to command the said Bishop to peruse his book. And to prepare the Bishop, Pole had about this time writ a letter to him: therein giving him as fair an account of his book as he could, and excusing his vehemency therein. But when the Bishop had read over the book, he was so far from approving of it, that he wrote a letter in July to Pole from London, much contrary to his expectation. Therein he wrote, "that it made him heavy in his heart at the read-"ing of it, and much moved when he had read it through: "and that all through he ran wide of the truth. That in "his book he took it for granted, the King was gone from "the Church, and laboured to reduce the King back again "to it by penance: taking this up by the reports he heard "in those parts, which were untrue. That the vehemency "of his book gave many blows, but little or no salve to "heal them: and so at good length answered Pole very "learnedly; and vindicated the King in the rejection of "the Pope, and assuming the supremacy." The letter I had transcribed from the rough draught thereof, of the Bishop's own handwriting: but finding it entered into the third volume of the History of the Reformation, I omit it here. See Collect. Numb. LII.

Pole to Durham, in defence of himself.

To this letter Pole framed a very long answer, (after his tedious way,) dated in August, from a place beside Padua. Wherein "he stoutly defended himself and his book: and

" justified the vehemency and sharpness of his style, by
" saying, that it was no time to sleep, when the head of the
" realm attempted such things as never did prince since the
" Christian faith was received among princes. And that
" he could not forbear doing this out of that love he bear
" to him for all his benefits, in bringing him up in virtue
" and learning. That the King did so amiss, that all the
" world cried out against it. That there was need he
" should plainly tell the King his faults, because those
" about him were so negligent in it; and that they, whose
" office it was, when the King demanded their sentence,
" did not declare to him the bruteness and danger of the
" thing. That he was forced to be so large to the King,
" and to write a long book rather than a letter, because the
" King should see fully the evil of his late acts, and abhor
" them. That whether his book came abroad to the sight
" of the world or no, the King's deeds were well known to
" all people; and that they were rehearsed commonly every
" where with more slander than he or any man in writing
" could express. That before he set pen to book, they were
" talked of with more dishonour to the King than pen could
" tell, and indeed they were written *stylo adamantino*, as
" the Jews' sins were. And whereas the Bishop had earn-
" estly desired him to burn the original, for the securing
" both himself and the King from slander; he said, the
" verity thereof should stand; which he intended not so to
" abolish, nor to do that injury to a catholic book that is
" done to heretical ones. That his book could not be wrote
" *against the King*, as was urged, when it was tempered in 297
" such a manner, to shew him to avoid, with his honour,
" the dishonour of his acts. That he well took it for the
" ground of all his books, that the King was swerved from
" the unity of the Church, though the Bishop of Durham
" had said, that he had therein ran wide of the truth: for
" what could it else be, but separating from the unity of the
" Church, to take upon himself, in his realm, the name and
" office of him, who, as head, did indeed keep the unity of
" it? That it ever was the concurrent consent of the Church,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Anno 1538.

"that there should be one head-pastor of the whole. That "however the people rejoiced at the abolishing of the "Pope's authority, as a deliverance from a grievous bur- "den; all the Popes together, that exercised their author- "ity in the realm before, never so pressed the spiritualty, "as they were pressed during that little time, since his au- "thority was suppressed. That there was never matter of "greater importance to the wealth of the realm and the "whole Church, than the matter of the Papal authority, "now rejected. And that the loss of the east, and the "falling of it into the hands of infidels, and all the mise- "ries thereupon; the ground thereof was this very matter, "*viz.* disagreeing with the Church, rather than the sword "of the Turk. That the like misery was to be feared in "England. That the liberty so much boasted of to be "gained to the kingdom, by departure from the Pope, (call "his authority as much as they will a *captivity*,) was more "truly a captivity: and that no nation wished for such a "liberty, nor envied it to the English nation. That all "this began upon the King's unlucky marriage; when the "King left the noblest and best lady in the world, for the "vilest, as the cause of her death shewed. That for ex- "pectation of any favour from the King, he thanked God, "that since he came to manly years, he could not remem- "ber that ever he had estimation of any thing the King or "any other Prince could give him. And that if he had "come to the Court to serve the King, he had come to "give, not to receive." But for the rest, I refer the reader to the letter itself in the Appendix.

Number LXXXIII.

The Pope sends for Pole to Rome.

The 26th of July, being the day before Pole received the Bishop of Durham's letter, the Pope sent for him to Rome: being resolved that winter, before the General Council was to meet at Mantua, in May, the year following, to consult with learned men of all nations, as he pretended, for the making the better preparation for that Council; and to have a congregation at Rome for that end. Of this, Pole gave signification to the King's Secretary, and sent him a copy of the Pope's brief to him to cite him. And now to

the Bishop of Durham he declared the same, and his resolution of going thither, the Pope having, as he said, a just power of commanding him in such a just and holy cause.

The knowledge of this still more rankled the King's heart against Pole. He had, to please the King, hitherto kept himself at Padua or Venice, and never went to Rome, that he might not seem to visit the Pope, whom the King had so broke with. But now growing more careless of the King's displeasure, he was preparing himself to repair to Rome, according to the Pope's command. At which his old friend Starky writ him another letter, trying to dissuade him from going; which being penned somewhat sharply, gave Pole offence. However, in the month of January, 298 Starky backed it with another, (especially upon the rumour of his being now nominated for a Cardinal,) to this tenor:

He prepares to go.

Starkey's letter to him hereupon. Cleop. E. 6. p. 371.

"Sorry I am, Maister Pole, that both my sentence and "sharpness of writing, used on the hearing of your journey "towards Rome, offended your stomach so much, and took "so little effect. For albeit that you peradventure judg- "ing me herein otherwise than my nature requireth, so "known unto you by long conversation plainly, that I am "corrupt with affection, and wrote contrary to my own con- "science, blinded with ambition; yet this I shall say unto "you, and call Him your witness who is privy both of your "thoughts and mine, that as the sentence, wherein I stand, "springeth of the only zeal of the truth, and of the desire "of the setting forth of God's honour and glory; so the "sharpness of my writing, used toward you, came of the "sincere love that I bear to you and to your family. For "I am neither so gross and base of judgment, as to prefer "any worldly vanity above that thing which appeareth to "be truth and verity; neither yet so unkind, as to use such "sharpness to my friend without reasonable ground. For "upon such time, as upon the declaring of your sentence "to the King, you intended to Rome, I then conceiving, "as well upon the one part, the increase of the schism "stirred in Christ's Church, which might ensue thereby, "if you should there open your judgment in your writing

CHAP. XXXVIII. Anno 1538.

"comprised abroad to the world; as upon the other part, "the displeasure of your Prince, which might succeed the "same, both towards you and others of your family; "thought it expedient to use such sharpness, and that so "to do it appertained to my bounden duty: to the which "you may impute it, if it so please you.

"But now, sharpness set aside, I shall say unto you, "Maister Pole, these two words friendly, moved by such "things as I lately heard from you. Though here be "great rumours spread abroad, that you be named to be a "Cardinal, and entered into that order, by the which the "doctrine of Christ these many years hath been little pro-"moted, yet persuaded I am fully, that the love of your "country so sticketh in your breast, and the desire of serv-"ing your Prince so pricketh your heart, that you will "never accept that dignity, before you consider well the "state of Christ's Church now in this time: weighing well "the pleasure of your master, and bounden duty to his "gracious goodness and liberality. For to me it appeareth, "that without such consideration you take not the straight "path to the thing, to the which, above all other, I am "sure you direct your labours and studies: that is, to help "to pluck out this schism of Christ's Church, and to re-"store again Christian unity. But rather it seems the very "high way to augment this division. Forasmuch as by "such writing and eloquence the roots thereof may be "much confirmed.

"Wherefore, Maister Pole, if you stay yourself to this "matter, I think you shall hereafter nothing repent thereof. "For though matters of our country have been here lately "in great motion, the which peradventure you will impute "to this defection from Rome, judging us thereby to be "slipped from God's order and institution; yet by the "high providence of Him who governeth all, and by the
299 "high wisdom and goodness of our Prince, I trust you "shall yet hear such way to be found and taken herein, "that ever the same thing which ye percase think hath "been the chief root of this motion, shall be so tempered

" and ordered with equity, that not only the sincerity of " Christian doctrine shall come to more clear light thereby, " but also the order of Christ's Church shall be restored " again with unity, according to the first institution. Where- " of that my hope is not in vain, I trust you shall hear " more shortly. And glad I would be to see you a Min- " ister to God and to your Prince in such purpose. That " which I fear you shall never be, if you once enter into " that order at Rome, and take upon you that dignity. " Wherefore, Maister Pole, my trust is, that you will con- " sider this matter with yourself earnestly; and yet great " hope I have, that honest ingenuity shall once meet toge- " ther in such a mean, whereby this odious schism, which " now reigneth in Christ's Church, shall be extinct utterly. " For the which I shall not cease to pray unto Him who is " the only author of all godly unity; to whose governance " I shall now commit us all. Written at London, the 16th " of January.

" Yours yet, I trust, after the old manner,

" Thomas Starky."

Anno 1538.

This was the second time Pole saw Rome, as much now against the King's will as the former time was with it, which was anno 1525, when he went thither for the improvement of himself by travail and learning. Then were two Englishmen and great scholars with him, Thomas Lupset and Richard Pace. At which the great Erasmus saluted him with a letter from Basil, sent by one Charles, who came from Basil thither, with John A Lasco. And in the year 1526, Erasmus wrote him another letter from Basil also: both which are extant in the volume of his letters.

Pole at Rome. Anno 1525.

Lib. xv. Ep. 16. and Lib. xxi. Ep. 27.

The xi. of the calends of January, that is, December 22, Pole was made a Cardinal, notwithstanding all the former dissuasions, and the King's disgust: and so became wholly a creature of the Papal chair. Now both Bishop Tonstal and Bishop Stokesley wrote a letter unto him, being at Rome; " that for the good-will that they had borne " unto him in time past, as long as he continued the King's

Pole made Cardinal.

Tonstal and Stokesley write to him. Bec. Reports. fol. 272.

CHAP. XXXVIII. Anno 1538.

"true subject, they could not a little lament and mourn, "that he, neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the "King's Highness heretofore shewed unto him in his bring- "ing up, nor the honour of the house that he was come of, "nor the wealth of his country that he was born in, should "so decline from his duty to his Prince, that he should be "seduced by fair words and vain promises to the Bishop of "Rome, to wind with him: going about by all means to "him possible, to pull down and put under foot his natural "Prince and Master, to the destruction of the country that "brought him up. And for the vain glory of a red hat, "to make himself an instrument to set forth his malice, "who had stirred up by all means that he could all such "Christian Princes as would give ear unto him, to depose "the King [Henry] from his kingdom, and to offer it as a
300 "prey to them that should execute his malice, and to stir, "if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nou- "rishing rebellions in his realm: where the office and duty "of all good Christian men, and namely, of us that be "Priests, should be, to bring all commotion to tranquillity, "and trouble to quietness, and all discord to concord. And "in doing the contrary, they shewed themselves to be but "the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ; who ordained "all that were Priests to use in all places the legation of "peace, and not of discord. But since that could not be "undone that was done, the second thing was to make "amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal son "spoken of in the Gospel; who returned home to his "father, and was well accepted; as no doubt he might be, "if he would say as he said, in knowledging his folly; and "do as he did, in returning home again from wandering "abroad in service of them who little cared what became "of him, so that their purpose might by him be served." Then they descended largely to confute the Pope's primacy out of the Fathers and history of the ancient Church, which knew not of his primacy; and to assoil Pole's argu- ments. As may be seen at large both in Becon's Reports and Fox's Monuments, where this letter is recorded.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Anno 1538.

Soon after this, the Pope sent this his new Cardinal as his Legate to France, to stir up that King against King Henry, his natural Prince. But his Majesty sent to the French King, to seize upon and deliver Pole his subject over to his Ambassadors there. Which he understanding, was glad to shift away to Cambray. And thence he wrote a letter to the Lord Crumwel, dated in May, 1537, wherein he professeth his loyalty to the King, and complaineth of his usage of him. There he said these things; "That such "was the King's indignation against his person, that to "have him in his hand he would be willing to violate both "the laws of God and man, and to disturb all commerce "between country and country. That such was the King's "dealings towards him for the procuring of his undoing, "that never the like was heard of in Christendom against "any that bare that person that he did. That he was for "his part ashamed rather than angry, out of the compas- "sion he had for the King's honour, that he, coming not "only as an Ambassador, but a Legate, and so in the "highest sort of ambassage, should be so used. That a "Prince of honour should desire another Prince of like "honour, *Betray thy Ambassador, betray the Legate, and* "*give him into my Ambassadors' hands, to be brought* "*unto me.* A dishonourable request. But that when he "heard of this in France, it was a kind of pleasure to him: "and he then said to the company about him, that he "never felt himself to be a Cardinal before then. Now "God sent him like fortune as he did to those heads of "the Church, (whose persons the Cardinals represented,) "which was, to be persecuted of them most, whose wealth "they most studied. In this case lived the Apostles; and "the same was now happened to him. That if we were "infidels, yet the law of nature would teach how abomin- "able both the desire of this giving up of an Ambassador "were on the one part, and the granting of it on the other." This whole letter also I transcribed from the original. Number LXXXIV.

When the Cardinal departed from France, and dared not to treat with the King about the welfare of Christen- 301 Cardinal Pole sends

CHAP. XXXVIII.

dom, as he styled it, committed unto him by the Pope, he sent the Bishop of Verona to the French Court in his stead: which Bishop, returning back from the said Court, attempted to speak with King Henry's Ambassadors, who were the Bishop of Winton and Mr. Brian, then at Abbevyle, (which lay in his way,) that he might justify the Cardinal to them, to intend nothing by this his legation but the King's honour. The Ambassadors would not speak with this Italian Bishop, but they sent to him their Secretary: to whom, after he had sufficiently declared the effect of the Cardinal's legacy, the Secretary seemed to acknowledge, that there were sinister reports made to the King of this purpose of the Cardinal's coming into those parts, and that the King might be evil informed: the Secretary adding, that when the King by letter or messenger were better informed, he would, no question, turn his mind, as he saw the deeds to justify themselves. This when that Bishop had reported to the Cardinal, he hereupon began to tell him how he had endeavoured by all means to testify the King's misinformations, both by letter and by his messenger, sent often for that purpose. But that he could never be admitted to have audience of the King.

Anno 1538.

the Bishop of Verona to the French King and the English Ambassadors.

This Bishop appointed by the Pope to accompany Pole.

This Bishop of Verona was long known both to the King of England and the French King, and well accepted of both: he knew also Pole's concerns since his departure out of the realm. And being so well acquainted with affairs relating to him and both Princes, the Pope engaged him to go along with the Cardinal in this legation. This man the Cardinal now moved to go unto King Henry, and try to quiet his mind as to his surmises and jealousies against the Cardinal. To the which the Bishop answered, that he would be content at all times to repair to the King, and take this charge upon him, if it were permitted; knowing the Cardinal's matters as he did, and seeing what conveniences might follow, and what comfort it might be to all parties, if the Cardinal's true and faithful dealings were well signified unto the King.

The Cardinal declares

This passage Cardinal Pole, in his letter to the Lord

Cromwel, related, that he might intimate it to the King: endeavouring to demonstrate thence his good mind towards him, and to put him into a way to have all suspicions he entertained of the Cardinal cleared, and things relating to him appear, and be brought to light, which were somewhat obscure before. He added, "That if he had borne any "other than a good will unto the King, he should never "have done as he had done; that is, making the King "privy by letter unto all his actions and processes, and of "the cause of his going to Rome, and of his present legacy. "Such advices, he said, rebels [among which the King "reckoned him] were not wont to give. That once, when "censures were ready to come forth against the King from "the Pope, he stopped them from being published, lest it "might cause more trouble to his Majesty; and that then "he sent his servants to him to offer his service, to procure "by all means he could the King's honour and wealth "and quietness: at which time he also encouraged his near "kinsmen to remain constant in their service to the King. "So that if he had been hired by rewards to do him ser- 302
"vice at Rome, he could not have done him more. This, "rebels, as he repeated again, were not wont to do. That "he would not assent to many things propounded at Rome, "tending to the King's disquiet: insomuch that some "judged him half a rebel to God and his country. His "loyalty also to the King appeared in that he had sup- "pressed certain writings, which some, and they of author- "ity to command him, would have seen and published: "writings which would have caused most trouble of all. "He concluded, that after this he intended no further to "labour to justify himself: and that he had neglected his "service to God and the Catholic Church on this behalf, "because he would not offend the King." And so expect- ed to know the King's pleasure, whether he would admit the Bishop of Verona to make his repair to him: which I think he never did. But proceed we now to other matters. The next year we shall hear of the Cardinal again.

Anno 1538.

his merits towards the King.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Instructions to the Bishops. Crumwel's letter to them. State of religion in York diocese. The large English Bible, with marginal notes, first printed.

Anno 1538. THE King saw it necessary to look diligently after the preachers. Some whereof preached bitterly against others, according as they stood affected to the reformation of Popish abuses, or favoured them. The evil whereof was, that the people were brought to a diversity of opinion, and so into contentions among themselves. There was also among the people much speaking against the ceremonies and customs of the Church. Hereupon the King, somewhat before this time, had writ sundry letters to the Bishops, to admonish them to preach God's word sincerely, and to declare abuses plainly; and in no wise to treat contentiously of matters indifferent. And this same thing occasioned the King this year to publish by his own authority certain Articles of Religion, (as well as to conceive them by his own pen;) as manifest and necessary to be read to and taught his subjects, for avoiding contention, and bringing in unity. But notwithstanding, there was much speaking against them, especially against the use and custom of the ceremonial things of the Church. Nor did that quiet and unity grow thereupon as was desired. Whereupon next the King issued out his letters to the Bishops, directing them how to instruct the people. Which, because it may be seen in the History of the Reformation, I shall only touch the heads of.

Preaching regulated.

Articles of Religion.

Addend. to the Coll. of Rec. vol. i.

Instructions to Bishops. Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 290.

These instructions (which were to be observed upon pain of deprivation) were five. I. "That the Bishop should "every holy day read and declare plainly and distinctly the "Articles, and in no wise vary a word, to make the same "doubtful to the people. II. Each to travel from place to "place in his diocese, and make a collation to the people; "and to set forth plainly the text of Scripture; and to de-
303 "clare that obedience that is due by God's law to the "Prince; and to command and press the honest cere-

" monies of the Church. Yet tempering his discourse so, " that the people might not put overmuch affiance in them. " III. To use no word in their private conversation to " the contrary of this the King's commandment: nor to " keep any in his house that shall speak in these matters " of the ceremonies contentiously or contemptuously. And " if there should be any such toward them, to send them " up to the King and his Council to be punished. IV. To " give strait commandment to all Parsons, Vicars, and " Curates, and governors of religious houses and colleges, " that they do as was commanded the Bishops in the indif- " ferent praise of ceremonies, and avoiding contentions, and " contentious and contemptuous communication. And that " none should preach out of their own church. V. To " make secret inquiry for such Priests as have of late mar- " ried themselves; and since used and exercised the office " of priesthood; and to signify it to the Council."

Anno 1538.

These instructions, I should conclude, were sent by the Lord Crumwel to all the Bishops, inclosed in this letter of his own, by and by to follow, had not the difference of the dates caused some hesitation: the King's letter, with the instructions, bearing date November 19, and the letter of Crumwel, January the 7th. But however the matter of this letter being such a concordance with those instructions, I will place it here. Wherein may be seen how roundly he dealt with the greatest spiritual men, and bore out himself in so doing by the office the King had laid upon him, *of supreme and principal officer and minister in all matters that might any thing touch the Clergy.* And this was the tenor of his letter:

Crumwel's letter to the Bishops.

" After my right hearty commendations to your Lord- " ships. Ye shall herewith receive the King's Highness " letter addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of " his Highness travails, and your duty touching order to " be taking for preaching. To the intent the people may " be taught the truth, and yet not charged at the beginning " with over many novelties. The publication whereof, un- " less the same be tempered and qualified with much wis-

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 203.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Anno 1538.

"dom, doth rather breed contention, division, and contra-
"riety in opinion, in the unlearned multitude, than edify,
"or remove from them, and out of their hearts, such
"abuses, as by the corrupt and unsavoury teaching of the
"Bishop of Rome, and his disciples, have crept into the
"same. The effect of which letter, albeit I doubt not, but
"as well for the honesty of the matters as for your own
"discharge, you will so consider, and put in execution,
"as shall be to his Grace's satisfaction on that behalf; yet,
"forasmuch as it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint and
"constitute me, in the room and place of his supreme and
"principal officer and minister in all matters that may any
"thing touch his Clergy or their doings, I thought it
"also my part, for the exoneration of my duty towards his
"Highness, and the rather to answer his Grace's expecta-
"tion, opinion, and trust conceived in me, and in that
"among others especially committed for my fidelity, to
"desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and man-
"ner, to travail in the execution of the contents of his
"Grace's said letters; namely, for avoiding of contrariety
304 "in preaching, of the pronunciation of novelties, without
"wise and discreet qualifications, and the repression of the
"temerity of those, that either privily or apertly, directly
"or indirectly, would advance the pretended authority of
"the Bishop of Rome: as I be not for my discharge both
"enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have
"now written for that purpose, and so to charge you with
"your own fault, and to devise such remedy for the same
"as shall appertain: desiring your Lordship to accept
"herein my meaning, tending only to an honest, friendly,
"and Christian reformation, for the avoiding of further in-
"conveniences: and to think none unkindness, though in
"this matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak,
"I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both
"in respect of my private duty, and otherwise for my dis-
"charge. Forasmuch as it pleaseth his Majesty to use me
"in the lieu of a Counsellor, whose office is an eye to the
"Prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such

" abuses, enormities, and inconveniences, as might else, with " a little sufferance, ingender more evil in the publick weal, " than could after be redubbed with much labour, study, " diligence, and travail. And thus most heartily fare you " well. From the Rouls, the 7th of January.

" Your loving friend,

" Thomas Crumwel."

What was done in York diocese upon this letter.

This letter, together with the King's instructions before mentioned, brought many factious and busy preachers of both sorts into trouble. In York diocese, the Archbishop there was so tender of offending the King and his Vicar General, that there being a friar in York that preached of purgatory [that is, I suppose, against it] before he knew the King's will and pleasure, he silenced him from preaching any more: and another friar in Doncaster, who, in preaching, reflected upon some of the late Articles of Religion, he silenced also: and a third, being a Gray Friar, who preached *new things*, as preaching against the old superstitions were called. Here were also a few other preachers of this sort, who it seems had the King's authority to license them. Of these the Archbishop likewise informed Crumwel, and that at this preaching of *novelties* the people much grudged, being sometimes done also without both charity and discretion. There were indeed some few honest friars and others even in those north parts. And these the Archbishop chiefly complained of, and endeavoured to suppress, and rid those quarters of, especially being fortified by the foresaid letters: though they were directed only against such as should preach up these new things *without wise and discreet qualifications*, and that *charged the people with too many of them at the beginning*. But towards those that were addicted to the Pope, and preached up his authority, (which sort most abounded there,) he was more favourable, making no complaints at all, as if there were none such in his diocese. But he that is minded to see somewhat of the present state of religion in

CHAP. XXXIX.

Yorkshire, may read the said Archbishop's letters in the Appendix.

Anno 1538. Numb. LXXXV.

About this time also, as near as I can guess, (for I am left to grope for the date,) one Cootes, in the Bishop of Wi-

305 gorn's diocese, preached very zealously for popery. He was a man influenced much by More's book; built much upon unwritten traditions, and affirmed, that the laws made by the spiritualty were of equal authority with the word of God, to oblige to the observance of them. Crumwel hearing of him, sent for him up: the Bishop, who was Hugh Latimer, sent up the sermon he preached, that gave the offence, as Cootes himself had in his own behalf favourably writ it. The desire of the Bishop, in a letter to Crumwel, was, that he would so deal with him, as either to reform him, or to inhibit him his diocese, and send another in his place. The letter being short, I will here insert, which, according to Latimer's witty way of speaking, ran in this tenor:

One Coote in Worcestershire, for preaching, sent for up by Crumwel.

Bishop Latimer's information concerning him. Cleopatra, E. 5.

"Right honourable Sir, *salutem plurimam*. And be-
"cause I hear your Mastership hath sent for Master Coots,
"which preached at Halls, to come to you: therefore I do
"send now unto you his sermon; not as he spake it, (if he
"spake it as his hearers reported,) but rather as he had mo-
"dified and tempered it, since he perceived that he should
"be examined of it. And yet peradventure you will not
"judge it every way very well powdered. He seems to be
"very well studied in Master Moor's book, and to have
"framed him a conscience and a judgment somewhat ac-
"cording to the same; and to avoid also falsityes, he ap-
"peareth to stick stiffly to unwritten verities. I would fain
"hear him tell, who be those new fellows that would ap-
"prove no sciences but grammar. *Qui vos audit*, &c.
"*Obedite præpositis*, &c. *Qui ecclesiam non audivit*, &c.
"serveth him gayly, for traditions and laws to be made of
"[by] the Clergy authoritatively, and to be then observed
"of the laity necessarily, as equal with God's own word, as
"some, saith he, both thinketh and heareth.

" As far as I can learn of such as here commoned with " him, he is willfully witty, Dunsly learned, Moorly affected, " bold not a little, zelous more than enough: if you could " monish him, charme him, and so reform him, &c. or else " I pray you inhibit him my diocese. You may send an- " other, and appoint him his stipend, which God grant you " do. To whom I now and ever commit you.

Anno 1538.

" Yours,

" H. Wygorn."

The rebellion in the north.

A great rebellion brake out in the north this year, headed by Ask and others; that superstitious people (acted by Popish zealots) not bearing to see the Lady Mary made illegitimate, the monks expelled their houses, and the Pope deprived of his pretended jurisdiction in England: the reversal of these things being the chief of their demands from the King. And if we may believe Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, in a famous sermon he read at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1554, the King began to relent. *For he was sure*, he said, *the King was determined to have given over the supremacy to the Pope; but the hour was not then come.* But if the hour then was not come, the most probable reason was, because the King determined no such matter. For nothing seemed so dear to the King as this his supremacy in his own dominions. 306

The King comes to Canterbury. August. monks' journal.

" The xxi. day of July, King Henry came to Canter- " bury, with the Lady Jane, the Queen, who in the mo- " nastery of St. Augustin was very honourably received: " the reverend Father, Thomas Goldwel, Prior of Christ's " Church, being present. Who from thence went to Dover " to see the pier, to his great charge and cost begun.

St. Augustin's abbey, Canterbury, visited.

" The same year, the 20th and 21st day of September, " Doctor Peter (being sent of the Lord Crumwel, to visit " all the Clergy throughout all Kent) did visit this abby " of St. Augustines [Canterbury;] making enquiry of the " observing of the injunctions, which were in the first visi- " tation received by Doctor Leyghton.

" In the year of our Lord 1537, the 23d day of Fe-

CHAP. XXXIX.

Anno 1538.

Houses in Canterbury suppressed.

Rebels executed.

The whole Bible in English printed.

"bruary, the monastery of Saynct Gregories was suppressed, and the Chanons were expulsed; Mr. Spitman and Mr. Candel being the King's Commissioners hereunto appointed.

"The same day, the church of St. Sepulchre, by the authority of the same commission, and by the same Commissioners, was suppressed. The monks notwithstanding at that time were not removed. For they obtained licence to abide there until Easter. Which notwithstanding scarcely remained one month afterwards. And so at the last, the week before Easter, they were expulsed.

"The same year, divers persons of Lincolnshire, which made the foresaid insurrection, and also many persons of Yorkshire, were put to death, both there and also at London, about the time of Lent and Whitsuntyde. The Captains of that conspiracy were, the Lord Hussey, the Lord Darcy, son of the Lord L. with other gentlemen of those parties. The chiefest notwithstanding in that conspiracy was a certain lawyer, whose name was Aske; a man of base parentage, yet of mervellous stomach and boldness."

Among these favourable proceedings towards a reformation of abuses in religion, the whole Bible, translated in English, now came forth in print, by the pains and labour chiefly of Tyndal and Coverdal; whereas before some parts of it, as the five books of Moses, some of St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, or one of them, were obscurely set forth. And that it was this year printed, and that with marginal notes, for the better information of the readers in the sense of more difficult places. One of these notes fixeth us in the year of the edition, *viz.* Mark i. Upon those words, *What new doctrine is this?* the note in the margin is, "That that "was then *new*, after xv.c.xxxvi. years, is yet *new*. When "will it then be old?" This note was made to meet with the common reproach then given to the religion reformed, that it was a *new* upstart religion, and called *the new learning*. Another marginal note was at Matthew xxv. *And the wise answered, Not so, lest there be not enough,*

&c. where the note is, *Note here, that their own good works sufficed not for themselves; and therefore remained none to be distributed unto their fellows:* against works of supererogation, and the merits of saints. And Matthew xvi. *I say unto thee, that thou art Peter: and upon this rock*, &c. The note is, *That is, as saith St. Austin, upon the confession which thou hast made, knowledging me to be Christ, the Son of the living God, I build my congregation, or Church.* And again, *I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* The note is, Origen writing upon Matthew in his first homily affirmeth, *that these words were as well spoken to all the rest of the Apostles as to Peter.* And proves it, in that Christ, John xx. saith, *Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose sins soever ye remit*, &c. and not, *thou remittest.* And Matthew xviii. *Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye loose on earth*, &c. Margin; *Whatsoever ye bind*, &c. *is, Whatsoever ye condemn by my word in earth, the same is condemned in heaven. And what ye allow by my word in earth is allowed in heaven.* These and such like notes and explications, giving offence no doubt to the Popish Bishops, when the Bible was printed again, (which was in the year 1540,) all was left out. 307

The Bishops but backward in religion.

Whatever steps the King had by this time made in a reformation of religion, by the ministry chiefly of Crumwel and the Archbishop of Canterbury, (as the setting forth Articles of Religion, Injunctions for the Clergy, and the Bible in English,) the Bishops generally were backward; and went little further than the denial of the Pope's authority above the King's, in his kingdom. And therefore the Lord Privy Seal writes again to them; blaming them for their negligence, and pressing the King's injunctions upon them; and particularly, that the Bible in English should be in all their houses, and in all churches, to be read by all. But this whole letter, as I transcribed it out of a volume in the Cotton library, is worthy entering into this history. And was as followeth:

"After my right harty commendations. Whereas the

CHAP. XXXIX.

Anno 1538.

Excited by Crumwel's letter to them. Cott. library.

"King's Highness, minding to set forth the glory of God "and the truth of his word, hath, as well in his own person "as by other his ministers, travailed to bring the same "plainly and sincerely to the knowledge of his subjects; "and for that purpose, not onely in the late visitation, ex- "ercised by authority of his Majesty, but also at other "times and other wayes, hath ordained many godly ordi- "nances and injunctions, and given also sundry strait com- "mandments, as well to you as to all other persons eccle- "siastical, of all sorts and degrees within this his realm. "Forasmuch as it is come to his Grace's knowledge, that "the said ordinances, commandments, and injunctions "have been very remissly hitherto observed, kept, and "obeyed within your diocese: and his Highnesse's people "there, for want of the sincere and true teaching of the "word of God, suffered to live and dwell continually in "their old ignorance and blindness: his Grace's plesure "and express commandment is, that you, having a more "vigilant care and better respect to his Highnesse's said "commandment and ordinance, cause the same, and every "of them, to be duely published and observed: foresee- "ing as well in your own person, as by the Archdeacons, "Chancellors, Officials, Deans, Curats, and other Ministers; "that all such Curates and other persons ecclesiastical, as "after these many callings on shall be found negligent, "remiss, or stubborn in the following them, or any of "them, receive for their transgressions in that behalf such "punishment as in the said ordinances is contained; and "more, as to the directions shall be seen meet and conve- "nient.

308 "And further, his Grace's plesure and high command- "ment is, that you, with no less circumspection and di- "ligence, cause the Bible in English to be laid forth "openly in your own houses; and that the same be in like "manner openly laid forth in every parish church at the "charges and cost of the Parsons and Vicars. That "every man having free access to it, by reading of the "same, may both be the more apt to understand the *decla-*

" *ration* of it at the Preacher's mouth; and also the more " able to teach and instruct his wife, children, and family " at home. Commanding nevertheless all Preachers and " other Curates within that your diocese, that they at all " times, and especially now at the beginning, exhort and " require the people to use and read the Bible, so left " among them, according to the tenor of an instruction " which ye shall receive herein enclosed: to be sent to " every Curate, with a certain day by you to be appointed; " within the which the Bible in English be, as is aforesaid, " laid forth in every church."

Declaration concerning the Bible to be read by Curates to the people.

The said *instruction* and *declaration*, inclosed in the Lord Privy Seal's letter, which the Bishops were enjoined to send to all Curates, to be read by them to their respective parishioners, upon the publishing of the Bible, was to this purpose: " That the King, supreme Head, under God, " of this Church, for a declaration of the great zeal he " bare to the setting forth of God's word, and virtuous " maintenance of the commonwealth, had permitted and " commanded the Bible in our English tongue to be pub- " lished, to be sincerely taught by them, the Curates; and " to be openly laid forth in every parish church: that all " his good subjects, as well by the reading thereof, as by " the hearing the true explanation of the faith, might be " able to learn their duties to Almighty God and his Ma- " jesty; and every one of them to use charitably one an- " other. And that applying themselves to do according to " what they should hear and learn, they might both speak " and do Christianly . . . . . That his Majesty had willed " and commanded this to be declared unto them, that his " pleasure and commandment was, that in reading and " hearing thereof, most humbly and reverently using and " addressing themselves unto it, they should always have in " their remembrance, that all things contained in that book " was the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Al- " mighty God, the only and strait means to know the good- " ness and benefits of God to us, and the true duty of " every Christen man, to serve him according to his will.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Anno 1538.

"And that if at any time by reading, any doubt should "arise to any of them, touching the sense and meaning of "some part thereof, then not giving too much to their "own minds, fantasies, and opinions, they should have re- "course to such learned men as should be authorized to "preach and declare the same." This whole declaration is exemplified in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Appendix, Numb. XXIII.

Grafton printed 1500 of these Bibles.

There were fifteen hundred of these Bibles now printed in the large volume by Richard Grafton: the charge of the printing amounted to 500*l*. This holy book being so acceptable to the people, some Dutchmen, that were good printers, went about to print it in a small volume; and so of a less price, to enable the more to purchase it. Grafton therefore addressed to the Lord Privy Seal, that he would
309 procure him the licence for his allowance of it; and to prohibit all others from printing it for three years, lest he for his good deed might be undone. And moved that Lord further, that for the better and speedier sale of this Bible, every Abbot might be enjoined to cause six of them to be laid in several places of the convent, for the brethren to read; and every Curate to have one; that they thereby might learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners. And this, no question, gave occasion to the said Lord to write the abovementioned letter to the Bishops. Grafton's letter is preserved in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Appendix, Numb. XX.

CHAP. XL.

Cardinal Pole goes back to Rome. His legacy from the Pope discovered. Letters from Throgmorton and Legh concerning the Cardinal.

Cardinal Pole not suffered in France nor the Low Countries.

POLE, some time after the writing of his book of Ecclesiastical Union, was declared the King's rebel to all nations. Concerning him, Cromwel once uttered these threatening

words against him, (who had so angered the King by his book,) *that he would make him eat his own heart.* Which Latimer had heard him say: and in a letter of his puts him in mind of, upon the occasion of his being declared rebel, and attainted. *viz.* "I heard you say once, after you had "seen that furious invective of Cardinal Pole, that you "would make him eat his own heart: which you have "now, I trow, brought to pass. For he must needs eat his "own heart; and be as heartless as he is graceless." Anno 1538.

But the Pope however, as well deserving of this man, made him Cardinal; and sent him in the beginning of this year into the parts next adjoining to England, in quality of Legate, to promote the Pope's designs, and to stir up enemies to the King. He knew of his coming, and ferreted him out of France: writing to that King not to entertain him, but to deliver him up, as hath been remembered before. Thence he went to the Low Countries, accompanied, among others, with one Michael Throgmorton his servant. Hutton, the King's agent, acted his part so dexterously, that he gained Throgmorton. The Queen Regent, Governess of the Low Countries, upon the message of the King to her against the Cardinal, refused to allow him to tarry in her dominions. And having before despatched a letter to the Lord Crumwel, to clear himself of ill designs against the King; now in another to the Regent, he told her his message chiefly was to dispute the errors of the King's reformation.

Recalled to Rome.

The Cardinal held his correspondence with England by close and secret methods: whereof the aforesaid Throgmorton, and Peyto, a Franciscan, gave intelligence in some part, as the Lord Herbert found in some records. Throgmorton certified also his return to Rome in November this year, where he was received with much triumph. For he was revoked about this time to Italy, against the sitting of the General Council, which was appointed to be on the first of November. Yet I find this Throgmorton and Peyto, together with Goldwel and Hilliard, Clerks, all, as it seems, Pole's servants, attainted with him in December the next

Hist. of King Henry, p. 488.

310

CHAP. XL.

year, for casting off their duty to the King, and subjecting themselves to the Bishop of Rome.

Anno 1538. Throgmorton's discovery to Crumwel concerning Pole.

Throgmorton being now gained, was to be employed by the Lord Privy Seal, to learn as much of Pole's designs and affairs as might be. The said Lord therefore seems to have sent him to Rome, to see the bottom of this legacy of Pole, and to know Pole's mind. To take all from Throgmorton's own pen, as I find it in a letter of his writ to the said Lord Privy Seal, dated from Liege, August the 23d, this year. From the letter it appears, "that Throgmorton came with Pole from Rome to Paris, sent thither by "the Pope: that the King took him for a much greater "rebel than either Throgmorton or Pole himself thought "at their departure from Rome. And Throgmorton, see-"ing him to be accounted for such by the King, prayed "Pole to give him his despatch. So Pole told him, that he "thought it not convenient to send him with letters of cre-"dence to the King's Grace, who he had perfect know-"ledge took him, as he said, undeservedly, for so grievous "an adversary or rebel, as he would never have thought, "finding no cause why, in all his actions and purposes. "That his Grace took all things to the contrary that ever "he did, said, or wrote. And hereupon Pole delayed his "despatchment till he came to some settled place; and "soon after arrived at Cambray. Where being himself in "great danger through the King's procurement, thought it "neither time nor place to commune further concerning "Throgmorton's despatch.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 382.

"Being here at Cambray, he declared to Throgmorton "more fully than ever the effect of his legacy; which he "said had that ground, that concerned the difference of "his opinion concerning the unity of the Church. Wherein "he said, that for fear, favour, or love of any creature liv-"ing, he would never change: but that in the rest he was "never, that favoured more the King's true honour and "wealth, nor that could do more to the maintenance and "furtherance thereof, than he both did, shewed, and pur-"posed in his whole legacy to do. That if he had been

" minded to the contrary, he began to shew what occasions
" he had to hinder the same, both by force of his legacy,
" and in this especially, which they could never persuade
" him to: which was, that at the point of his departure,
" they would have had him to have left his book in the
" Pope's hand, who in his absence would have put it forth
" and published it. And herein was made such violent
" instance, that, without force, there could be no more
" shewed. That when they saw his so stiff and obstinate
" resistance, alleging divers causes therefore, and this in
" special, how it might be hurtful to the cause, (if the
" King's Grace were inclined to return,) so to irritate by
" such a book put forth in the mean time, when he went
" about a reconciliation: but yet with that they would in
" no wise be satisfied, unless he put them in some hope,
" that at his return, in case he returned desperate of the
" King's mind, he would be content that they should do
" what they and he thought best: and thereupon they were
" willing to defer all things till his return.

" That he refused now a second time the exercise of 311
" censures against the King. That touching the matters he
" had to treat with Princes, to whom his legacy was di-
" rected; he affirmed, with constant asseveration, that he
" never thought nor meant to treat with them, but what
" should be most for the King's honour, if his Grace's mind
" did any thing incline to that part, that other Princes did,
" touching the unity of the Church: that it might seem
" most to come by the request and desire of other Princes,
" for the wealth of Christendom: that they would demand
" the same of the King's Grace by request and prayer.
" And that he did this the more, because of the violence that
" the people had used of late in that behalf[a].

[a] In the rebellion in the north.

" That for this one great cause he had desired the Bishop
" of Verona to accompany him in this legation, as an in-
" strument most meet for this purpose, both for the great
" favour he had ever been in with the French King and our
" King likewise, through the good pleasure and service he
" had done for them both in times past, (when he was in office

CHAP. XL.

Anno 1538.

" and place,) also, for the good practice and wisdom and " good opinion the said Bishop was in; most of all known " in governance of his bishopric. That for the foresaid " causes, he thought him the more meet person to entreat " these matters betwixt these Princes. And for this, he " told Throgmorton, he was now called and taken as a " rebel.

" In conclusion, Pole said, he feared lest at the last, the " King continuing his persecution in publishing him as his " rebel to all Princes, that he should be constrained both " before all Princes, and in face of all Christendom, to " declare himself, what a rebel he is, and for what causes. " Wherein he said, that for his own part, if he sought ho- " nour, he would desire no more, than to make it to be " openly known after what fashion he was rebelled from " his Grace."

Throgmorton wrote also, " That the Pope, as he had sent " indulgences through all Christendom, to pray for deliver- " ance from the danger of the Turk, so he would send also " through Christendom indulgences to pray for the King, " with the state of England, for their return to the unity of " the Church; rehearsing what charitable means had been " used to that intent, but without taking effect. They in- " tended moreover in these indulgences to describe many of " the King's acts. And for Pole's justification in relation " to his book, they about the Pope intended at his return " to put it in print, if he would consent thereto: as it " would be hard for him to deny, for the great confidence " they had therein, more than in all the rest; for the vir- " tuous life and other great qualities they had conceived of " the writer thereof.

" That upon Pole's return hanged both the divulging of " the censures, putting forth the book, and sending the " new Ambassadors to all Christen Princes, if he refused " to take on him to commend unto them the case of Eng- " land.

" That many were grettly astonied to see the great dili- " gence and procurement many wayes on the King's be-

" half, for the utter ruin and destruction of this man; CHAP. XL.
" which daily came to his knowledge divers wayes. And
" yet notwithstanding all such irritation, he continued and Anno 1537.
" persevered in the same love and constant mind to the
" King's honour and wealth, that he had ever hitherto 312
" shewed; declining to no man's requests or desires in any
" thing as yet, that might put his Grace to any dishonour,
" hindrance, or trouble. Which made many men so much
" the more to marvail, to see the King's Grace so highly
" bent rather to his ruin and destruction, than to take some
" way to reconcile him." This that hath been said will give some notice of Pole not yet perhaps known.

There was about the year 1538. (that I may lay together Pole's matters) one John Legh, a traveller, lately laid in the Tower upon suspicion to belong unto Pole, or to be privy to his dealings. He was once a servant to Cardinal Wolsey; and the Court suspected him to be illy affected towards the Prince, and that he went out of England upon treasonable purposes, to make enemies to his country. But he pleaded for himself, that he had neither kin nor substance proper to maintain and carry on such designs, nor universal acquaintance or knowledge, by reason of his so long absence. He was but newly come into England from his travels; in which indeed he met with Pole; and thereupon grew the jealousy of him. This was the cause he was laid in prison; to get out of him what correspondence he had used with Pole. He therefore made a confession of what he knew concerning him. And now in a letter he assured the Lord Privy Seal, and took God to witness, that this, and what he wrote in a former letter, was all the communication of importance that ever he had with Pole in his life: *and if I had more*, said he, *then let me not die the death of a traitor, but the death of a thousand traitors.* What discourse happened between Pole and him may be known from the contents of the foresaid letter, as I extracted them thence. Legh confesses what he knew of Pole. Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 390.

" Pole demanded of him, if he had not heard, that the
" King had appealed himself from the General Council. Conference betwixt Pole and Legh.

CHAP. XL. Anno 1537.

" He answered, that Frogmarton, his servant, first told him " of it. Pole asked him how he thought of it. He answered, that he had but little understanding in such matters; but that he had heard of others, that the King's Grace did but as the most part of Christendom did. He shewed him also, that it was no indifferent way, that any man should be judge in his own cause. Pole asked him what he meant by that. Then he said, you among you call for a General Council in your own country and power; where the judgment is given before the matter cometh in argument. Pole said, that men had better conscience than so. He replied, Few men had conscience to judge against themselves. He answered, no more of that, nor any like matter."

Then he proceeded to another argument, concerning a religious house or hospital, founded, I suppose, in Rome, dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket, for Englishmen; whereof Cardinal Pole was now the Supervisor. And complaint being made of one Borbrig, the present master of that house, the Cardinal told Legh, " that he would put an order to come to the hospital, for to limit Borbrig to his pension. He disannulled this man of the mastership of the house, and made a new master, called Helliar, [Hiliard, I suppose, who was attainted by Parliament when Pole was,] and another, his companion, named Goldwel, [attainted at the same time,] was made *custos* then. He made brothers of the hospital; among the which he
313 would needs that Legh should be one. Saying to him, that he might do it with his honesty and worship: and that there were other worshipful men of England of the brotherhood. Among the which he named Dr. Clark, the Bishop of Bath, who also, Pole said, had been a great benefactor to the house. Further, he named one Mr. Wotton and Dr. Benet, [who had been formerly ambassadors,] to be brothers there."

There being a public dinner at this house, the Cardinal and Legh happened to be there, who after eating fell into discourse about the foundation of it; saying, " that it was

" founded in the name of Thomas of Canterbury, whom " the King's Grace, said he, hath pulled out of his shrine. " To which Legh answered, that it became never a servant " to be better clothed than his master. Pole asked him, " what he meant by that? Legh answered, that he had " seen the sepulchre of our Master Christ, and also the se- " pulchre of all his progeny: which were nothing in com- " parison to the shrine, [of St. Thomas at Canterbury,] nor " also neer by a thousand parts like unto it. Pole said, " that there was no devotion in those countryes. Legh, " that there was honest devotion in those parts, and not " used with abusion. Pole asked, what he called *abusion*. " Legh answered, all that which was demanded in God's " pretence, and afterwards to man's folly. Pole told him, " he was not learned, and therefore could judge no such " matters. Legh told him, no more he took upon him for " to do. And that which he spake was not upon judgment " of learning, but upon open experience. Pole then asked " him, what experience he had in the things of the Church. " Legh said, none other than that which was open to all " the world. Pole told him then, that though there were " some evil of the Church, yet also there was some good. " Legh said, of their acts be it tryed.

" Pole then entred into communication of More and Ro- " chester, saying, that they were put to death, and that if " he had been with them, he had died in their opinion. " Legh said, no man would refuse the death in God's quar- " rel. Pole said, God ever gave time to sinners to amend. " Legh subjoyned, that the common saying was, that More " and Rochester died more in obstination than in any " good opinion. Pole replyed, that for the most part com- " mon sayings ever were untrue. Pole asked him, what " stories he had studied or read in the Italian tongue. " Legh said, none, because he had no leisure from going " about from place to place to see countries; but told him, " that at his going home shortly, he would buy some stories " in the Italian tongue to have with him, and study them " at his commodity. Pole said, he should do well not to

CHAP. XL.

Anno 1537.

"impatshe himself with reading of the story of Nicolo Machavello; because he said, to his judgment, that it had "already empoysoned our country of England; and that it "was a story also to empoysen all the rest of the states of "Christendom: saying further, that with al that he could "do, he would cause it to be dystynkyd [extinguished] "and put down, out of reverence, in all places where he "might have any power."

314 All this account Legh gave the Lord Privy Seal concerning his communication with the Cardinal. For coming in his travels through Rome, he could not easily miss of seeing the English Cardinal. Who being now under attaint, it was dangerous for any English subject to be in his company; and therefore Legh was thus by the State called to account. And it seems likely he was looked on as some spy or emissary from him.

CHAP. XLI.

Letters congratulatory of the Universities to the King. A commission to divers Bishops and others. Rodolph Bradford, a great promoter of religion. Humphrey Monmouth, a worthy citizen and sufferer. Articles against him.

The Universities address to the King.

I FIND a letter without date of the year sent to his Majesty from the University of Cambridge, and another from that of Oxford, chiefly upon the same subject. Which was a congratulation of the King, for the proceedings he had made in reforming the corruptions and superstitions of religion. But I know not in what year so well to lay them as in this of 1537. Because I observe in the former letter two things hinted that happened about this time. The one is the mention of the infant Prince Edward, who was born in the month this was writ: the other, the destruction of the convents of friars, the smaller of them having been granted to the King the last year: and this year was much taken up

in the actual dissolution of them. In this address to his Majesty Cambridge intercedes with him, "that as those "houses had been unprofitable, nay, pernicious to Christian "religion, and devoted to superstition and vain religion; "so the King would take an opportunity to make excellent "use of them, by converting them into colleges and places "of good literature. That as before, lazy drones and "swarms of impostors were sent out of them, so now, by "these means, men might be bred up in them, to promote "solid learning, and to preach the Gospel." It is observable, by the strain of this letter, how well disposed this University in these early days was to religion, and how glad of the emendations the King had made: giving this character of itself, *Quæ semper sinceriori religioni maximè faverit. That it ever had a great favour to sincere religion.*

Anno 1537. That of Cambridge;

The letter of the other University ran much to the same strain, "extolling the King for his promoting of learning "as well as religion. Insomuch as whereas in their fathers "time the more polite learning, and the study of all good "arts, faded and waxed cold, now in his time there were "not a few in Britain that might strive for victory with the "ancients themselves. They praised him for his favour "and benefits to the Universities, which were the very foun-"tains of virtue and seminaries of learning. That for his "extraordinary benefactions to them, he obscured many "other kings, that had before time been their founders and "benefactors. They extol him most of all for forgiving 315 "their tenths and first-fruits. And so conclude with a sup-"plication to him, to make an end of the contention betwixt "the townsmen and them." Both these epistles are repo-sited in the Appendix.

And that of Oxford.

Number LXXXVI. LXXXVII.

The famous book called *The Institution of a Christian Man* came out this year. For the compiling whereof the King issued out a commission to divers Bishops and other Divines: wherein most of the doctrines of religion, and the sacraments and ceremonies of the Church, were seriously debated: each setting down in writing his judgment on each point, digested under several questions. I have seen divers

The Institution of a Christian Man.

CHAP. XLI.

Anno 1537.

of these writings; especially concerning *Confirmation*, *Orders*, *Wedlock*, and *Extreme Unction*. I will not think much to transcribe the papers of divers of these Divines, both Bishops and Doctors, upon the first of these rites; namely, that of *Confirmation*, that the reader may see and judge of the learning of the scholars of those days, and what abilities the King's Chaplain had. This proceeded upon three questions, to be resolved by each Divine.

I. Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament, instituted by Christ, or not.

II. What is the outward sign and invisible grace that is conferred in the same.

III. What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament. Which questions, I suppose, were devised by Archbishop Cranmer. In the Appendix may be seen the judgments (according to the order wherein they stand in the MS.) of these Bishops: Lee, Archbishop of York; Goodrick, Bishop of Ely; Hilsey, the learned Black Friar, Bishop of Rochester; Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; Capon, alias Salcot, Bishop of Bangor; Stokesly, Bishop of London; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. (The judgments of which two last are excepted out of the rest, and printed in the History of the Reformation.) And then follow the papers of these Doctors: Wotton, Barbar, Bell, Wolman, Marshal, Cliff, Edmunds, Downes, Marmaduke, one anonymous, Robynson, Smith, and Buckmaster.

Number LXXXVIII

P. i. Collect. p. 318.

Rodolph Bradford.

I cannot set the time exactly of the death of Rodolph Bradford, but not long after this time, I conjecture, it happened. Of whom I cannot but make a note, having been one of the Divines nominated among the Bishops in that famous commission aforesaid, to meet together, and correct the errors of religion, and to draw up a wholesome book for the use and instruction of the people: to which his name, among the rest, was subscribed. He was a very pious Gospeller, and furtherer of true religion, and suffered much for it. In King's college, Cambridge, he had been both Scholar and Fellow: whence he went to London: where, by the help of Jeffrey Lome, servant to Dr. Farman, (a learned

man and favourer of religion at Cambridge,) he met with certain New Testaments, translated into English by Frith: and went to Reading with them, out of a godly zeal to disperse them. There he delivered them to a certain monk: who being apprehended, made known the names of him and others, from whom he had them. Whereupon letters were sent over to Cambridge, to Dr. Redman, then Vice-Chancellor, to apprehend this Bradford, now returned thither, together with Dr. Smith of Trinity hall, Simon Smith of Gonvile hall, Hugh Latimer, and Segar Nicolson. But Bradford, and an Augustin Friar, (Barnes it may be,) fled away into Ireland; where he openly preached the Gospel. But being there pursued, he was at length taken and imprisoned the space of two years. And then being enlarged, he returned to Cambridge; and in Corpus Christi college, (wherein were several that loved religion,) he went out Dr. of Divinity in the year 1534, where, while he remained, he would let no holyday pass without preaching a sermon. Afterwards he was Chaplain to Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and died there.

Anno 1537.

316

Foxii MSS.

I cannot let this year pass without mentioning a very eminent man about these times, named Humphrey Monmouth, citizen and draper of London, a great dealer in Suffolk cloths; noted as well for his piety as his wealth. This year, I suppose, he died; I am sure this year he made his last will and testament. He was one of the great patrons and favourers of the Gospel, and the preachers of it, in these days in London. In former years, he in his travels visited Rome; where he and his company obtained indulgences and pardons from that Bishop, both *à culpa et à pœna; from sin, and from punishment* due to it, for certain times of the year. Which large favour was, I suppose, granted them, either because they were going to Jerusalem to visit the holy sepulchre, or rather because they were rich men, and gave liberally. And it may be, his travels to Rome shewed him so much of the Pope and his religion, as made him no great friend to it afterwards. This man, when Luther's doctrine came first into England, was an embracer of it, and

Humphrey Monmouth, an eminent citizen.

A Lutheran.

CHAP. XLI.

conversed much in his writings, and did what he could for the enlarging and spreading evangelical knowledge therein contained: though in the year 1521. Luther had been proclaimed an heretic in England, and his books heretical and damnable; and it was strictly enjoined that none should adhere to his sect. He encouraged the translation of the holy Scriptures into English, and contributed largely both to the translating and printing of them, by Hutchin, alias Tyndal, and Roye, and was privy to their going into Germany. He also assisted in the printing of books in English beyond sea, against the Sacrament of the Altar and the Mass. He entertained Tyndal at his house, and gave him ten pounds, when he was to go to Hamburgh about his translation of the New Testament. Besides, he gave many exhibitions to scholars in the Universities, for their maintenance; some whereof came afterwards to be great men: as Dr. Royston, the Bishop of London's Chaplain; Dr. Wooderal, Provincial of the Augustin Friars; Dr. Watson, the King's Chaplain, and afterwards Bishop; and to divers priests and friars besides.

Anno 1537.

A great benefactor.

Committed for heresy.

In the year 1528, May 14, Sir Thomas More and Sir William Kyngston, of the Privy Council, searched his house for heretical books, and letters of correspondence abroad with heretics, and committed him to the Tower. The articles they laid to his charge were in number twenty-four, as they follow, taken, as I suppose, out of Bishop Tunstal's register:

Foxii MSS.

317 *Articles mynystred against Homfreye Munmouthe, of the paryshe of All Sayntes Berkinge, of the cytie of London.*

I. Articles against him.

First, That thow diddest know, believe, or here say, that Martyn Luther, with all persons adhering to his opinions and heresies, was by sufficient auctority condempned an heretyke, and his books, works, and opinions, as heretical, detestable, erroneous, and dampnable, by like auctorytie condempned and reproved; and prohibitions generally made, and in this realm publyshed in the month of April, anno Domini, a thousand VC.XXI. that no person should leane or adhere to the sect of the said Martyn Luther, any of his

heresies and detestable opinions, or buy, kepe, or have, retayne, or read any of his foresaid books or works, or of other of the said sect.

II. *Item*, That at any tyme after the premysses by thee known, thow hast had or bought divers and many books, treaties, and works of the said Martyn Luther, and other of his detestable sect.

III. *Item*, That thow hast favoured, helped, and given exhibition to such persons as went about to translate into English, or to make erroneous books out of holy Scripture: and chiefly to Sir William Hochin, otherwise called Sir William Tyndalle, Preest, and to Fryer Roye, sometyme Observant, and now in apostasye, or to eyther of them.

IV. *Item*, That thow wert privy, and of counsel, that the said Sir William Hochin, otherwise called Tyndal, and Fryar Roye, or eyther of them, went into Almayne to Luther, there to study and lerne his sect: and diddest help and ayde them, or eyther of them, with mony, or thexhibition thereunto at there departing hense or syns.

V. *Item*, That thow haddest certain books of Luthers translated into English, as well *Luther De Libertate Christiana*, or Luther's Exposition upon the *Pater Noster*.

VI. *Item*, That the book *De Libertate Christiana* was written in the beginning, and drawn out of St. Augustine's works, and the Exposition of the *Pater Noster* was ascribed to Hilarius, to blynd and abuse thereby your readers of them, as they were books of holly Fathers.

VII. *Item*, That thow was privy and of counsail, or hast given help thereunto, that the New Testament was translated into English by Sir William Hochin, or Tyndal, and Friar Roye, and printed and brought into this realm, as well with gloses as without gloses.

VIII. *Item*, That after they were openly forbodden, as being full of errors, thow hast had, red, and kept them.

IX. *Item*, That thou hast had an introduction in English, printed upon Paul's Epistle to the Romaines, and kept, red, or used the same.

CHAP. XLI.

Anno 1537.

X. *Item*, That thou hast had, and yet hast, certain other works full of errors, translated into English, sent unto thee by the said Sir William Tyndal, or Hochin.

XI. *Item*, That thou hast been privy and of counsel, of certain detestable books late prynted beyond the sea, in English, against the Sacrament, and all other observances of holy Church, and chiefly against the blessed Sacrament of the Autar, and the observance of the holy Masse.

318 XII. *Item*, That thou hast cawsed divers other works heretical to be translated into English, as well of Luther as of one Frier Lambert of the same sect.

XIII. *Item*, That thou hast eaten flesh in Lent season, contrary to the ordinance and determination of holly Church.

XIV. *Item*, That thou hast said, affirmed, and beleved, that faith onlie is sufficient to save a man his sowle, without any works.

XV. *Item*, That all men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the Church.

XVI. *Item*, That we should pray only to God, and to no saintes.

XVII. *Item*, That Christen men ought to worship God onlye, and no saintes.

XVIII. *Item*, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's sowle, and should not be used.

XIX. *Item*, That men should not offer to images in the church, ne sett any lightes before them.

XX. *Item*, That contrition is sufficient for a man being in dedlye synne, to confess him only to God, without confession made to a priest.

XXI. *Item*, That no man is bound to kepe any manner of fasting day institute by the Church.

XXII. *Item*, That pardons granted by the Pope, or the Bishop, doth not profit a man.

XXIII. *Item*, That thow art named and reputed to be avancer and a favourer of the said Martyn Luther, his heresies and detestable opinions, and one of the same sect.

XXIV. *Item*, That all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, publike, and famous; and upon them reyneth the

common voice and fame among good, sadde, and discrete persons, within the cytie of London, and within other places. CHAP. XLI. Anno 1537.

Five days after his commitment, he made an humble petition to Cardinal Wolsey, and the Lords of the Council, for his liberty. Therein he related "what examinations he "had undergon from Sir Thomas More and Sir William "Kyngston, concerning books received from beyond sea, "and concerning his acquaintance with divers suspected "persons, and monies by him allowed them. He related, "how they searched his house for books and letters, and "committed him to Sir Edmund Walsingham, Lieutenant "of the Tower: what acquaintance and communication "he had with Tyndal, which indeed was the chief quarrel "against him. He acknowledged, that having heard some "sermons by him preached at St. Dunstans in the West, "four or five years past; and understanding from him that "he had no place, he entertained him half a year in his "house. Where he lived, he said, like a good priest, and "studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; "and would eat no meat, but sodden, and drink nothing "but small bear, nor wore any linnin about him. That he "promised him ten pounds to pray for the souls of his fa- "ther and mother, and all Christen people: which he after- "wards sent him to Hamburgh. He excused himself of "giving this to Tyndal, by saying, that he gave exhibitions "to divers other priests, friars, and scholars; and that he 319
"had spent more a great deal for the love of God, after the "counsil of good Doctors, than upon that one priest. That "the books he had were the Enchyridion in English, and "an Exposition of the *Pater Noster*, and concerning the "Christian Liberty, and the New Testament in English: "but he had parted with them all, and delivered them up. "And while he had them, all of them, but the New Testa- "ment, lay open in his house for two years; nor had any "friar, priest, or layman, found any fault with them. And "he shewed them likewise to them. He had also shewed "them to divers other learned clergy men, who found no

His petition to Cardinal Wolsey and the Council.

CHAP. XLI.

Anno 1537.

" fault in them, except that of Christian Liberty. In which " they said were some hard things, except the reader were " wise. That before he heard the Bishop of London say " at Paul's Cross, that Tyndal had translated the New " Testament into English, and done it noughtily, he never " suspected nor knew any evil by him: but after, he burnt " all his books and letters and sermons which he had by " him. Lastly, he prayed the Council to shew him mercy, " and grant him deliverance out of prison: and that he had " by lying there utterly lost his name and credit; besides " the great inconvenience that happened thereby to the " poor people in Suffolk, great numbers whereof were main- " tained by his taking off great quantities of cloth from the " clothiers there, to whom he payd ready money, to set the " poor folkes on work. That he sold to strangers every " year four or five hundred cloths: whereas, since his lying " in prison, his trade had exceedingly failed; and a great " damage was hereby done to the King's customs." But he that would see that petition, as penned by Monmouth himself, may find it in the Appendix. This petition and confession he acknowledged to be his own writing, before Tunstal, Bishop of London: to whom, I suppose, the Cardinal and Council assigned him over: and those articles before mentioned might by his Court be ministered unto him.

Number LXXXIX.

His last will.

After this good citizen escaped these troubles, he still persisted in his good courses; was a great hearer of the sermons of Bishop Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Crome, Mr. Tayler, all famed preachers in those days in the City. Therefore by his last will and testament, made in the year 1537, he appointed to preach in his parish church of Alhallowes Barking, two sermons a week, till they had preached thirty sermons. For which he allotted them a legacy. In his will he forbade the ordinary superstitions of candles, and singing *dirige*, and ringing the bells at his funeral, and gave away much in charity. His said will, as I find it printed by John Goughe, about that time, I have preserved in the Appendix. Such an esteem good men then had for

N°. XC.

it, and of the exemplary piety and charity shewn therein, that they reckoned it worthy making public. When the times came on more favourable to the Gospel, he was Alderman of London, and served Sheriff there in the year 1535, and seems to have been known and favoured by the Lord Crumwel, and Audly, (afterwards Lord Chancellor,) to whom he gave legacies. Anno 1537.

CHAP. XLII. 320

A Convocation. Injunctions for religion set forth by Crumwel. The proceedings of the Archbishop hereupon. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester: his proceedings. Committed to the Tower.

MAY 2, 1538, a Convocation met at the chapter-house of St. Paul's, that had been prorogued by the Archbishop. The absents (which, it seems, were many) were pronounced *contumaces* by the Archbishop, after one or two prorogations. The 6th session, being June the 2d, in the chapter-house, before the most reverend Lord Thomas Crumwel, the King's Vicegerent, exhibited to the Prolocutor and Clergy of the Lower House, questions, to be by them discussed and assigned to them to relate their judgments upon, on a day appointed. The questions were as follow: I. Whether there be in the Sacrament of the Altar transubstantiation of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the flesh and blood of Christ, or no. II. Whether priests, being ordered, may, after they be priests, marry by the law of God, or not. III. Whether the vow of chastity of men and women, made only to God, bindeth by the law of God, or not. IV. Whether Auricular Confession be necessary by the law of God, or not. V. Whether private masses may stand with the word of God, or not. VI. Whether it be necessary by the word of God that the Sacrament of the Altar should be ministered in both kinds, or not. Anno 1538. A Convocation. Divers questions of religion exhibited to them. Extract. Convocat. MS. D. Fr. Ep. Roff.

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538. The answer of the Convocation.

The resolution to which questions were returned as follow. I. That in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by a priest, is present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the form of bread and wine; and that after consecration there remaineth no other substance, but the substance of the foresaid natural body. II. That communion in both kinds is not necessary, *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons. And that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh and form of bread is the very blood. And in the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart, as though they were both together. III. That priests, after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry by the law of God. IV. That vows of chastity or widowhood, by men or women, made to God advisedly, are to be observed by the law of God. And that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy. V. That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this our English Church and congregation: as whereby good Christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolation and benefits. And it is agreeable also to God's law. VI. That Auricular Confession is expedient to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the Church of God. This Convocation was prorogued from time to time, till the year 1540.

Three books of injunctions.

321 This year the Lord Crumwel, as the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, issued out many good injunctions: which were pursuant of two books of injunctions set forth two years before, *viz.* in the year 1536. Which I shall mention here, to make way for the injunctions of this year.

The King's injunctions, 1536, for holydays.

First, the King issued out injunctions that had been assented to by the prelates and inferior clergy assembled in Convocation. Which were for the abrogating a number of holydays, and especially such as fell in harvest time: the

keeping of which was prejudicial to the gathering in the corn, hay, and fruits of the earth. The sum of them was, "that "the dedication of churches should be kept on the first "Sunday in October for ever. That the feast of the patron "of every church, commonly called the *Church holyday*, "should not be henceforth kept as a holyday, except it be "such a holyday as is to be universally kept. That all "holydays that happen in harvest time, that is, from the "1st of July to the 29th of September, were not to be "kept holydays, but people were to do their ordinary "work, except the feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed "Virgin, St. George, and such feasts wherein the King's "Judges at Westminster did not use to sit in judgment. "And what days they were, were afterwards mentioned in "the injunctions. The four offering days to be, the Na- "tivity of our Lord, Easter-day, the Nativity of St. John "Baptist, and of Michael the Archangel." I do but briefly give the heads of these injunctions, and not transcribe them at length, as I meet with them in a volume of the Cotton library; because they are already printed to our hand, both in Fox's Acts and in the Bishop of Sarum's History. Anno 1538.

Crumwel's injunctions the same year.

The same year came abroad other injunctions, set forth in the Lord Crumwel's name, and dispersed throughout the deaneries of every diocese: beginning thus, "In the name "of God, *Amen*, in the year of our Lord 1536, &c. I "Thomas Crumwel, Knight, Keeper of the Privy Seal of "our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent of "the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesi- "astical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, "to the King's Highnesses honour, the publick weal of this "realm, and encrease of vertue in the same, have appointed "and assigned these injunctions insueing, to be kept and "observed of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Sti- "pendiaries resident, or having care of souls, or any other "spiritual administration within this deanery." These injunctions were in number twelve. The first was, "For "keeping all the laws and statutes of the realm, made for "the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538.

"pretended power, and for establishment of the King's authority as supreme Head. That the Articles of Religion lately put forth be declared in sermons, that it may be known which be necessary to be believed, and which be not necessary, but only concern a decent and politick order of the Church. For declaring to the people the abrogation of superstitious holydays. For the abolishing of images, and forbidding pilgrimages. Parents and masters to teach their children and servants the Lord's Prayer, the Articles, and the Ten Commandments, in the mother tongue: and for the bringing up youth to arts and occu-
322 pations. That sacraments and sacramentals be duely administered in parishes; and good Curates placed by those that reside not upon their benefices. Every parish to provide a Bible, both in Latin and English, to be laid in the quire, to be read by any priest: not to resort to, or haunt taverns or alehouses: nor to play at tables and cards after dinner or supper: but to spend those times in hearing or reading some portions of holy Scripture. That all non-residents that could dispend 20*l.* and above, should distribute among their poor parishioners the fortieth part of the fruits of their benefices. That every Clergyman, having, in promotion of the church, an 100*l.* yearly, or upwards, for every hundred pound should find a scholar in either of the Universities. The fifth part of the benefices to be bestowed yearly upon the mansions or chancels. And all this under pain of suspension and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices." These were the injunctions of the year 1536.

His injunctions two years after.

Crumwel, in this year 1538, set out other injunctions in the King's name, to the number of seventeen. Which were, "For the setting up the Bible in churches, and for the observing the injunctions before given. To which were added, that sermons should be made quarterly at least: wherein the preachers were to instruct their people against the ordinary superstitions of wandering on pilgrimages, offering candles and tapers to relicks, kissing or licking of them, and the like. That if any Priest had extolled these

" things, that he should now recant and reprove the same: " shewing that he did so upon no ground of Scripture, but " led by common error and abuse. That none should stop " the reading or preaching of the word of God. That a " register should be kept in every parish. That the former " injunctions be read every quarter of a year. That no man " should detain his tithes, upon pretence of his Curates not " doing their duty. None to alter the order and manner " of any fasting-day, that is commanded or indicted by the " Church, excepting the commemoration of Thomas Becket, " which shall be clean omitted. The knolling of *Aves* after " service, brought in by pretence of the Bishop of Rome's " pardons, henceforth to be left; that the people should " not trust to have pardon, by saying their *Aves* between " the said knolling. To omit saying in processions their " *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints: whereby they had no " time to sing the good suffrages, *Parce nobis Domine: Li-* " *bera nos Domine.* Which were more necessary and ef- " fectual to be said."

On what occasion set forth.

These last injunctions were given out by occasion of the negligent observation of the former, which the Clergy took little heed to. Which when the King understood, and being resolvedly now determined to purge out many abuses in the Church, and rectify divers errors in doctrine, then generally entertained, he gave command to the Lord Crumwel, to make in his name a set of new injunctions. And a copy of them he sent to every respective Bishop to be duly executed, and to give a strait order to their Clergy to observe them. The letter which Crumwel wrote to Archbishop Cranmer relating to this matter was this; the like to which, I suppose, was sent to the rest of the Bishops:

323

Crumwel to Cranmer for the injunctions. Cran. Reg. p. 215.

" After my right hearty commendations unto your Lord- " ship. Whereas the King's Highness, being informed as " well of the negligent observation of the former injunctions, " exhibited to the Clergy of that diocese, as also of the fur- " ther continuance of superstition and idolatry in the same, " and minding, like as to his office most appertaineth, the " expurgation of untrue religion, and the abolishment of all

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538.

" abuses, crept into the same; hath willed and commanded " me to put forth by his Grace's authority, to all his Clergy " and subjects within this realm, certain other injunctions " to be kept and observed of the same, upon their further " peril. These shall be therefore as well to advertise your " Lordship, as also of the King's Highness behalf, to charge " and command the same, that calling before you or your " Commissaries, at days and places convenient, the whole " Clergy of that diocese, ye do exhibit and put forth on the " King's Highness behalf, and by his Grace's authority, " these injunctions, whereof ye shall receive a copy here- " with, and may send whereas they be printed for as many " more, as will serve to give every Curate within that dio- " cese: straitly charging every of the same, inviolably to " observe the said injunctions, upon the pains therein ex- " pressed. In default whereof, they may look for no like " indulgence, as they have had hitherto by violation of the " other, but earnest coercion and severity to be extended " towards them, for both contempts together: and that ye " fail not this the King's Highness pleasure and command- " ment effectually to put forth, execute, and accomplish, " without any dissimulation, negligence, or remiss handling, " as ye intend to answer to the King's Majesty for the con- " trary thereof at your peril. And thus most heartily fare " you well. From London the last of September.

" Your Lordship's friend,

" Thomas Crumwel."

The conclusion of the injunctions.

Then follow in the register the injunctions themselves. Which end thus: " All which and singular injunctions I " minister unto you, and to your parishioners, by the King's " Highness authority, to be committed in this part. Which " I charge and command you, by the same authority, " to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, seques- " tration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the " King, or his Vicegerent for this time being, shall be seen " convenient."

The proceedings of

Upon this order, for all rectors, vicars, and spiritual

persons within the diocese of Canterbury to observe these injunctions, the Archbishop issued out his letters to certain persons, his Officials, to declare the said injunctions both to the Clergy and Laity; whom they were empowered to call before them, and to command them diligently to obey them: dated at Lambeth, October 2. The like letters of commission he wrote to John Butler, his Commissary of the town and Marches of Calais, and to the Deans of South Malling and of Bocking.

Anno 1538. the Archbishop upon the aforesaid letter;

The other Bishops laid their commands upon their respective Clergy also. The Bishop of Chichester, Richard Sampson, about this time issued out his instructions to the Parsons and Curates of his diocese; containing two heads: namely, that they should with all diligence apply themselves to accomplish the King's commandments and injunctions, being so complete, so perfect, and so good, that nothing could well be added to them, as he wrote. And that every Priest in his Mass should say a special collect for the King and the Prince. Which instructions are recorded at length in the Appendix. 324

And of the Bishop of Chichester.

No. XCI.

But Bishop Sampson would stir no further than needs must, being one that bore a very good will to the old superstitions, however satisfied he were in the King's supremacy against the Pope. This begat some jealousies of him in the King and Crumwel. There was one Wells, Incumbent of the parish of Rye in Sussex, of this Bishop's diocese; some grave and leading man in those parts; perhaps the Benedictin of that name, Prior sometimes of Gloucester college, Oxon. This Wells had some conferences with the Bishop, and letters passed between them for his direction about the affairs of the Clergy, loath to change their old religion any more than they were forced and driven. He wrote to the Bishop, that he sung no service openly in the English tongue; which, it seems, some desired he should, and, I suppose, Cranmer the Archbishop might advise it: and namely, that the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and some hymns should be repeated in the time of service in English, for the better understanding and edification of the people. This

He is against the service in English.

CHAP. XLII.

doing of Mr. Wells, the Bishop signified to him his approbation of; bidding him in his letter, "for the common quietness to forbear any such novelties, till it should please "the King's Majesty to declare his pleasure." And then the Bishop proceeds to give his reasons against using the English; "because the Ministers of the Church in all "places, both with the Latins and Greeks, sung or said "their offices or prayers in the Latin or Greek grammatical "tongues, and not in the vulgar. That the people prayed "apart in such tongues as they would. But this [used in "public] was a common prayer of the Ministers and people "together; as he promised he would more shew him at "their next conference: and wished that all the Ministers "were so well learned, that they understood their offices, "service or prayers, which they said in the Latin tongue."

Anno 1538. Cleopatra, E. 5.

His message to Rye upon dissensions there.

In this great town of Rye, it seems, there were people of different minds; and many were for the Gospel: so that there had been some uproars and disturbances. The Bishop, for the better quieting and directing matters in the Church, had promised to come thither himself: which Wells urged him to do, remembering him of his promise. But his business at London had been, as he wrote, a let to him; and he heard also that there was quietness now in that place for a good space, till now of late: which gave the Bishop occasion to use these words: "But I perceive that our ghostly enemy "travaileth, as he hath been at all times wont to do, with his "seed of dissension. Wherefore we have so much the more "need to be vigilant, to pray for grace, that we may with-"stand him." At Rye the Bishop had been once before; and then had required this Wells to advertise him of things that might be causes of dissension. Accordingly he had informed the Diocesan of somebody there, that preached Popish doctrines, I suppose, and had the King's licence; with whom nevertheless the people were grieved; and the rather because he was an outlandish man, however a denizen. But the Bishop wrote his judgment herein, in these words: "I "assure you, I regard nothing his country, so that he teach "the word of God soberly, charitably, and purely, without

" any innovation of any such things as are not necessary, " till that the Prince's pleasure be known in them." Wells also desired to have a *concord of religion* (as he called it) at the Bishop's hands. To the which he answered; " Surely " it is my most bound duty to apply all my diligence to " that godly act, and will do. Wherefore I require you, " in the name of God, to signify unto me the most special " points that now are causes of any discord with you there; " and I trust, with God's help, to quiet that matter, what- " soever it be. One thing ye must know, that the King's " Highness is yet content, that the book [a] lately put out " (by his Grace's favour and licence) by the Prelates, should " be obeyed, and may be taught, till that his Majesty shall " otherwise order some things with a more mature and de- " liberate counsel. In the mean time, no person ought to " reprove that book. For in things concerning the religion, " I suppose, the doctrine is true. In other ceremonies, when " it shall please the King's Majesty to order them other- " wise, the people shall be taught accordingly. Lastly, he " told Wells, he would shortly send them an honest man to " have the cure there; who should both preach the word " of God purely, and also use himself with such good dis- " cretion, that he should be a means of much quietness." This letter was dated August the 21st.

Anno 1538.

[a] The Bishops' book, called The, Institution of a Christen Man.

Crumwel understanding well the Clergy, by the secret intelligence that he had, liked not this Bishop of Chichester, and took occasion openly to speak against him; as that he played false with the King. And he took it the worse from him, because he had received divers favours from Crumwel, and, as it seemed, was beholden to him for being instrumental in procuring him the bishopric. And to be particular, Crumwel was informed of certain things in a sermon by the Bishop, preached at Chichester; and he had notice of other preachers in his diocese, that preached not according to the injunctions aforesaid; and of the Bishop's non-residence, and that he was a secret favourer of the Bishop of Rome, and held certain unsound doctrines. As to these matters, he laboured to carry himself towards Crum-

Crumwel offended with him.

CHAP. XLII.

wel in a very humble complying way: "acknowledging
Anno 1538. "some things, and professing his profound obedience to
"the King's will. But he owned that he was no friend to
His vindication of himself. "novelties, except manifest necessity required it. That as
"concerning a sermon he preached at Chichester, on the
"day of our Lady's conception, if Crumwel himself had
"been present, he would have been well contented with it.
"That if any other preached amiss in his diocese, if he
"knew it, he would reform him, or correct him for the ex-
"ample of others. As to his remissness in resorting no
"oftener to his diocese, he would reform it. That whatso-
"ever should be set forth by the King, he trusted that nei-
"ther the King nor he should have any travail for his
"diocese, he would settle that people in such a sure sort of
"quietness and obedience. That he would send down such
"a preacher to Rye, and the parts about it, that a reform-
"ation should follow, concerning worshipping images, set-
"ting up candles before them, kneeling to them, and the
326 "like. That whereas some complaints had come to Crum-
"wel against him from Rye and Lewes, he desired to know
"the specialities, and he should know his answers. That
"there was not any in England or Germany, but that he
"dared to adventure his life, he was no more Papist than
"he: and that it was well known to his Lordship, that
"none was in more obloquy among the Bishop of Rome's
"friends beyond the seas than he was, [because of the book
"he had writ against him.] And therefore he prayed him
"to suspend the persuasions of his mind concerning him,
"till he should hear his answers to the accusations made
"against him, as though he had dealt rigorously with some
"people. That he had used temperance and moderation
"in all his doings. That where there was a fault, he would
"grant it and amend it. And finally prayed him, that as
"he had been his good Lord, so he would continue to be
"in his just defence, from his accustomed goodness." But
N°. XCII. behold him speaking in his own words, in his letter.

This Bp. in the Tower. But notwithstanding all this, he could not clear himself from some matters laid to his charge; as his good-will to

CHAP. XLII.

the old superstitions, and particularly relieving some Papists, impugners of the King's authority, that were prisoners for it; but was sent to the Tower in the year 1539, and there I find him in 1540. At an examination in which year, to get himself the more favour by being open, he confessed a combination between the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, London, himself, and some others, to do all their utmost endeavours to preserve the old religion, and the usages and traditions thereof. It was then, when that which was called *The Bishops' Book* was framing at Lambeth by the Bishops commissionated thereunto by the King. The Bishop of Durham used to carry an old Greek book with him, wherein were divers things favouring the traditions of the Church. Having this Bishop Sampson in his barge with him, passing over to Lambeth, he did often produce to him several places in that book, wherein matters that were here in controversy were ordained by the Greek Church. And in this book, or another, he likewise shewed him a Mass written, either of Basil's or Chrysostom's. And the Bishop of London, Stokesley, brought certain other Greek books: which both he and Durham conferred together, searching to find out the old canons in them. And Durham taking occasion from these books, exhorted Sampson to stand for the old customs of the Church. And so he did likewise, when they were busied with the German Divines, in 1538. Stokesley of London took him aside in the gallery at Lambeth, at their departure from the Archbishop, (who stood against them,) and was very earnest with him for the usages of the Church, when, it seems, Cranmer had well nigh persuaded him on the other side: both he and Durham being fully bent to maintain as many of these old customs and traditions as they could; urging how necessary it was so to do, because they found them in the Greek Church. The Bishop of Winchester, he confessed, more lately urged him, "to help "things forward, because the King was well disposed to "them. He bade him be diligent in the ceremonies, and "omit none. He told him, that old traditions were not to "be broken without great cause; and some of them in no

Anno 1538. His confession;

Concerning the Bishop of Durham;

Stokesley, Bishop of London;

And of the Bishop of Winchester.

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538. 327

" wise to be broken. And that he and the Bishop of Ro-
" chester (who, it seems, was more moderate, yet) agreed in
" effect in this point, for the necessity of retaining some old
" traditions."

All this the Bishop of Chichester confessed to the Lord Crumwel, being in great trouble, and extraordinary dejection of mind, even to the danger of his life, upon the fear of the King's displeasure and Crumwel's. But this Lord comforted him with the assurance, that the King was his gracious Lord. But when Crumwel had charged the Bishop of Durham with these matters, confessed by Chichester, he denied them. Whereat the said Lord sent his servants, Dr. Peter and Bellows, to him in the Tower, signifying as much: which made him send a letter to Crumwel in vindication of the truth of what he had said. The tenor of which may be found in the Appendix. Upon these confessions and submissions he was delivered out of the Tower, but how soon after I cannot tell.

No. XCIII.

The King turns the church of Norwich into a Dean and Canons.

Thus matters now were with the Bishop of Chichester. Another Bishop, *viz.* Rugg, alias Reps, Bishop of Norwich, saw his church this year transformed from the original constitution of it, by Prior and Monks, into a secular Dean and Canons. For King William Rufus, in the tenth year of his reign, gave certain lands to Herbert, then Bishop of Norwich, to erect a monastery with Prior and Monks in Norwich. And thereupon the said Herbert erected the said monastery, and endowed it with lands: which continued so until the second day of May, anno Reg. Henry VIII. xxx°. when he translated the Monks from Prior and Covent, into a Dean and Chapter: the letters patents are as follow:

His patents for the same. E MSS. Cecilian.

" Henricus Octavus Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex,
" Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et in terra supremum
" Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omnibus, &c. Cum apud Nor-
" wicum, a tempore cujus contrarium memoria hominum
" non existit, una sedes episcopalis in ecclesia cathedrali
" Sanctæ Trinitatis Norwici ibidem fundata, ordinata et lo-
" cata extiterit, ac etiam in ea ecclesia, ac prope eandem,
" unum vetus cœnobium sive monasterium aut prioratus, a

" tempore prædicto similiter fundatum, ordinatum et loca-
" tum extiterit: in quo quidem cœnobio monachi ordinis
" Sti Benedicti ab eodem tempore usque nunc sub uno Anno 1538.
" Priore ibidem monachis, regulis, observantiis et servitiis
" divinis ministraturi et servaturi degebant, negotiaque
" ejusdem cœnobii per Priorem prædict. pro tempore ex-
" isten. seu per eundem Priorem cum consensu convent.;
" ejusdem cœnobii sub nomine Prioris, aut sub nomine Pri-
" oris et Conventus ecclesiæ cathedralis Stæ Trinitatis Nor-
" wici, continue tractabantur et fiebant: de quo quidem
" cœnobio quidam Willielmus Castelton (non immerito)
" Prior existit: Nos diversis causis et considerationib. et
" præsertim ad laudem, gloriam et honorem Stæ et Indivi-
" duæ Trinitatis, illud cœnobium de Priore et Conventu ec-
" clesiæ cathedralis Stæ Trinitatis Norwici constitutum,
" in Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis Stæ Tri-
" nitatis Norwici, transponere et mutare proposuimus.

" Quamobrem, ut dicta nostra intentio absque temporis
" dilatione in ea parte perimpleatur, Sciatis quod nos auc-
" thoritate nostra regia, et auctoritate nostra in terra su-
" premi Capitis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ qua fungimur, de gra-
" tia nra. speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nris. 328
" dictum cœnobium de Priore et Conventu ecclesiæ cathe-
" dralis Stæ Trinitatis Norwici, sic ut præfertur constitut.
" et fundat. in Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis
" Stæ Trinitatis Norwici, transponimus et mutamus per
" præsentes, et pro sic translato et mutato deinceps repu-
" tari et haberi volumus in perpetuum per præsentes. Et
" præterea de scientiis, virtutibus et cæteris gratiarum donis
" præfato Willielmo Castelton a Deo collatis plurimum con-
" fidentes, cui tam de habitu suo quam de regula legitime
" dispensatum est, ipsum Willielmum Decanum ecclesiæ
" cathedralis prædictæ, præficimus, ordinamus et constitu-
" imus: ac quosdem Walterum Grym. W. H. E. N. &c.
" commonachos dicti nuper cœnobii, quibus etiam tam de
" habitu suo quam de regula similiter dispensatum est,
" Præbendarios in eadem ecclesia cathedrali: ac quosdam
" Robertum Thwaytes, T. R. R. F. &c. similiter commona-

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1538.

"chos dicti nuper cœnobii, quibus etiam tam de habitu "quam de regula similiter dispensatum est, Canonicos sæ- "culares in ecclesia cathedrali prædict. similiter tenore "præsentium, acceptamus, ordinamus, et constituimus. Ip- "sosque Decanum, Prebendarios, et Canonicos in ecclesia "prædict. realiter ponimus et constituimus per præsentes."

The patent void, for want of the Bishop's consent.

But because the Bishop, who was the founder of the said priory in succession, did not give his consent to the said translation; these letters patents were long after, under Queen Elizabeth, doubted not to be good in law. And it was urged, that all the grants made to this foundation as Dean and Chapter were void, because they continued Prior and Monk till their death. Until which time, as the case was enforced, the King had nothing in the said priory and lands. But afterwards, the last of the Monks being dead, which happened about the xviith of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the same priory and lands were said to come to her Highness by an act of Parliament made in the xxxth year of King Henry VIII. for the dissolution of monasteries, since which time the Queen granted them to the Lord Wentworth's assigns. And this cost a long suit in law between them and the Church, one Gardiner being then Dean. Which case was referred at last to the Lord Treasurer.

CHAP. XLIII.

Treaty with the German Princes, confederates. Melancthon's letters to the King. The writings of the Bishops concerning divers abuses in religion. The King excommunicated by the Pope.

Mount sent to the German princes.

THE King this year shewed some apprehension of dangers from abroad. For he rode to Dover, caused the haven to be fortified, sent commissions throughout the realm, to have the people mustered. Whereat many feared the Pope would have brought foreign princes suddenly to invade the realm. And these apprehensions might be the reason the

329 treaty between the German confederates and the King

(obstructed now for about two years) began again. For the Protestant princes being the latter end of the year 1537. at Brunswick, Christopher Mount (a German by birth, but made much use of in messages by the King) was now sent to meet them there. Who told them in the King's name, "of his Christian zeal and propension of mind towards the "word of God; and that he desired to plant the sound "doctrine of Christian religion in his kingdoms, and to "gain all his subjects to Christ our Saviour, and wholly to "take away and abolish the impious ceremonies of the Bi-"shop of Rome." This year 1538. the German princes, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave, sent their ambassadors to the King, "declaring their joy at this, and mak-"ing no doubt, that God by his goodness would be present "with the King in this matter, and would graciously go-"vern and prosper him, to the praise of his name."

CHAP. XLIII.

Anno 1538.

Cleop. E. 6. p. 272.

Mount had a further business also with the Germans, namely, to see who the confederates were, and whether their league was for a general defence, or for matters of religion only. And whereas the princes had desired the King to come into the confederacy with them, and own the Augsburgh Confession, he was desirous to hear those points discoursed between some of his divines and theirs. This caused another despatch from the Germans, who sent Francis Burgart, Vice-Chancellor, to the Elector of Saxe, George a Boyneburgh, and Frederick Myconius, the Divine, into England. With the first, for his better credit and acceptation with the King, Melancthon (of whom the King had a great opinion) sent a letter, written with his own hand, dated in May 1538, wherein he gave his Majesty a great character of that Ambassador, *viz.* Burgart: "what inti-"mate friends they were, that Burgart could testify his "perpetual observance of the King, and how well affected "he stood to illustrate the godly doctrine. But that pri-"vate men greatly needed prosperous kings and states to "further the good work. That his Majesty did mightily "raise the hearts and hopes of all good men, that he would "be assistant in forwarding the desires of pious men,

The German ambassadors sent to the King.

Melancthon's letter.

CHAP. XLIII.

Anno 1538.

"earnestly calling for the reformation of the Churches; "whereas the Bishop of Rome's faction aimed at nothing "but to extinguish the truth divinely revealed, and to "exercise unheard of cruelties towards many princes and "nations, and to constitute an unbounded and more than "barbarous tyranny in the Church, to defend and main- "tain his impious abuses. And that therefore, when the "universal Church was in such imminent danger, he would "not cease to exhort and beseech him, to cast his eyes "upon the true Church, throwing herself as it were at his "feet, that he would be the author of settling some firm "and lasting consent in this behalf, and of moving the "minds of other princes from joining with papal coun- "sels. That this was a thing so great, that nothing could "be greater; and so was worthy of a King, excelling others "so much in learning and wisdom." This excellent letter is in the Appendix.

No. XCIV.

Conference between the ambassadors and English divines.

Vit. Mycon. 330

These orators being arrived in England, the King appointed certain Bishops and Doctors (three of the former sort, whereof Tonstal was one, and four of the latter, as Melchior Adam writes) to enter into conference and debate with them, of each of the heads of Christian doctrine contained in the Augustine Confession, and of divers abuses brought into the Church. It seemed to be managed by writing; the King's questions and doubts first being offered to the orators, and they then returning in their answers thereunto; and afterwards disputing it with the English Divines. This held for divers months. And in fine, they came to an agreement (at least seemingly) in the main and chief doctrines and articles. Thence they descended to dissert the single life of Priests, and some other corruptions crept into religion. But the year wasting, and ships waiting for them, the orators were willing now to depart home. Myconius, either through too great painfulness and study, or the disagreement of this soil with his constitution, fell very dangerously sick, insomuch that he despaired of his life, if he returned not home speedily to his own country. So he, in the name of the rest, by a letter to

Myconius to Lord Crumwel.

the Lord Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal, earnestly desired him to procure them the King's gracious dismission. Myconius's letter is reposited in the Appendix. Departing, they left a large discourse, by way of letter to the King, dated August 5th at London; *de utraque specie, de privata missa, et de conjugio sacerdotum:* upon which three points they reckoned the foundation of papal tyranny to rest. For, it seems, they perceived after much despatch the English Bishops and Doctors would not let go their communion in one kind, their private mass, and celibacy of Priests. This original letter is in the Cotton library. Which being very long, the King bade the Bishop of Durham to draw up the heads of it; and that in order to a distinct answer. It was drawn up in Latin; the English whereof epitomized, may be read in the Appendix. But the whole letter is transcribed by the care of the Bishop of Sarum, and printed in his history; as also the answer the King procured to be drawn up to this letter. Wherein the King, making use of the Bishop of Durham, shewed his mind to retain those points.

Anno 1538.

N°. XCV.

N°. XCVI. Addend. to the Collect. vol. i. Numb. vii.

The Bishops will not treat of abuses.

There was great endeavour used by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to persuade the rest of the Bishops to enter into conference with the Germans about these abuses, before their departure, and to set down their judgments hereupon in writing, as they had done in other points. But they utterly refused so to do, making this excuse; that they knew the King had taken it upon himself, to answer the orators in that behalf; and that thereof a book was already devised by his Majesty; and therefore, they said, they would not meddle with it, lest they should write therein contrary to him. And so they required the Archbishop to proceed, to treat of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; though they also knew, that the Germans would not agree with them, except in matrimony only. Hereupon the Archbishop wrote to the Lord Crumwel, August 23, telling him, "How the Bishops declined to discourse of *abuses*, seeing "manifestly, as he said, they could not defend them, and

CHAP. XLIII.

Anno 1538.

"yet would in no wise yield to the Germans concerning "them. And that their main end was, to break the con- "cord. And therefore desired the Lord Crumwel to move "the King to issue out some special commandment unto "them." But however, I think there was no entrance made into any conference of these abuses. I find indeed the writings of divers Bishops and Divines, containing their
331 judgments upon some other abuses; which I do suppose they drew up by the King's order at this meeting: as, a writing concerning *pilgrimages*. To which is the subscription of four Bishops, *viz.* of Bath and Wells, of London, of Lincoln, and of Durham, and one Abbot, namely, of St. Benedict. Also a writing of *auricular confession* by the Archbishop of York, and Bishops of Winchester and Durham. And a writing concerning purgatory, by Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, with King Henry's annotations in the margin. In the same place is also two writings under the King's own hand: the former of purgatory; wherein he endeavoured to confute the Bishop of Worcester's discourse: the latter contains some notes concerning the marriage of Priests. All these writings I have laid in the Appendix, as very valuable pieces.

Number XCVII. XCVIII. XCIX. C.

The King parts with the orators.

The German agents being now ready to depart, waited upon the King; who, though he, overpersuaded by his Bishops, could not be brought yet to let go these abuses, yet took a very smooth and gentle farewell of them; thanking them for taking so much pains, and suffering so much labour by land and sea, enduring so long absence from their own country, to come and discourse with his Divines. And he invited them, after they had fulfilled their Prince's orders, and settled their own private affairs, to come again and see him; whose access would be very welcome unto him. The next year accordingly, some of them came again. And how they prosecuted their disputations upon other points of religion, we shall see in due place.

Melancthon's counsel to the King.

When Burgart came home, he related to Melancthon how kindly the King spake of him, and what a good opinion he had of his learning. Which caused Melancthon to

write another letter to the King, dated March 26, 1539, "acknowledging his favour, and stirring him up in the "cause of religion; and wishing for a consent of pious "doctrine among these Churches, which had condemned "the Pope's tyranny. And that as the King had begun "to take away wicked superstitions, he would take upon "him the emendation of the abuses that remained. That "whatsoever attempts the adversary made, they should "never suppress the doctrine professed; and that God "would be the keeper of their states and princes. That "they were rather for peace; but if the enemy would take "arms, the princes would not be wanting to their duty. "He remembered the inscription upon a piece of coin of "one of our Edwards, *And Jesus passed through the midst "of them.* Of which he made this interpretation, that that "wise King, who gave this motto, did mean thereby, that "good governors are divinely protected, when they defend "causes that are just. That it is especially an heroical part, "to bear arms for the Church against tyrants." But I will not detain the reader from the perusal of the letter itself, which I have laid in the Appendix. N°. CI.

The King protests against the Council at Vincenza.

This year was a General Council proclaimed by the Pope, to be holden at Vincenza, a city in the dominion of the Venetians. Concerning which the King remained of the same mind as he was concerning that indicted to be held at Mantua in the year 1536. For being requested by the Emperor to come or send to this Council, he made his protestation against it, by way of letter to the said Emperor; beginning thus: "King Henry VIII. by the grace of God, of Eng-"land, France, and Ireland, King, &c. saluteth the Em-"peror, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, 332 "desiring peace and concord among them," &c. Which protestation being very large, I omit it here: and who will, may see it in Fox's Acts and Monuments. P. 1034.

The Pope excommunicates the King.

In the month of December, the Pope thundered out his bull of excommunication against the King, and caused it to be fixed up in divers places of Flanders, as Bruges and Dunkirk, and Bulloign and Diep in France; and St. An-

CHAP. XLIII.

Anno 1538.

drews in Scotland. Hereby the Pope "absolved all the "King's subjects from their oaths of allegiance and obe- "dience; commanded the nobility, gentry, and others of "his realms, to expel and depose him from his dominions; "declared all his leagues with other princes to be null; "and they enjoined to renounce all amity with him, or "else to lie under interdiction; exhorted and commanded "all princes to invade, spoil, and fight against him; gave "them a right and property to his ships, goods, and what- "soever pertaineth to him; willed all ecclesiastics publicly "to declare him and all his adherents excommunicate by "bell, book, and candle." Which excommunication was so sharp and unmannerly towards so great a Monarch, that the sober sort of Papists liked not of it. Father Paul, the excellent writer of the Council of Trent, said, "It was such "as never was used by his predecessors, nor imitated by his "successors." This bull the Pope had decreed in the year 1535, but kept it by him till now, that he could no longer forbear to shoot his thunderbolt, and to declare how displeased he was with the King, who had lately demolished the shrine of his saint, Thomas a Becket.

CHAP. XLIV.

Books set forth against the Pope's supremacy in England. The Bishop of Durham preaches against the Pope before the King.

A book shewing the Pope to have no power here by our laws.

THE Pope, no question, was not a little offended with the King, for some state books which shewed themselves abroad this year. One was a treatise, printed by Thomas Barthelet, entitled, *A treatise proving by the King's laws, that the Bishops of Rome had never right to any supremacy within this realm.* Who the author of this book was, I cannot tell. In the preface, he proved the Bishop of Rome had no title over kings by the laws of God: and then in in the book he proceeded to mention the statutes of Eng-

lish Parliaments, that ever rejected the Papal power: and, "that notwithstanding the Bishops of Rome in many "realms, and especially in those in which the law civil is "used, having of long time had possession of their said "usurped power, yet the same never could take full and "perfect effect in this realm; but the King and his noble "progenitors, always justly resisting and repugning the "same, have been continually supreme judges here under "God. So that all laws, powers, and jurisdictions pre-"tended by the Bishop of Rome and the Clergy within "this realm, have been under the correction and orders of "the King, and their laws:" as is made appear in that book, by divers reasons, laws, statutes, and customs of this 333 realm. Whereby men may also well perceive, and perfectly know, that the King's Majesty being recognised to be supreme Head, under God, of the Church of England, hath thereby no new power given unto him, but the self-same power and supremacy hath always before been in his most noble progenitors, Kings of this realm, and united and knit to the imperial crown of the same; though they did not use to write the same in their style. This book, put forth no doubt by public order, may be worthy to have some particular notice taken of it. And therefore I will give a taste of it, by rehearsing the beginning *verbatim*.

"That the Bishops of Rome had never rightful power "or authority of supremacy in any country; nor their "writings, certificates, or processes were at any time obeyed "here, by the laws of this realm.

The first Chapter.

"The Bishops of Rome, sometime called Popes, never "had jurisdiction, power, or supremacy rightfully over "kings, by the law of God, as appeareth by the texts of "Scripture before rehearsed, and diverse other; nor yet "over other Bishops, as appeareth by the Council of Ni-"cene; where the Bishop of Alexandria is first spoken of "before the Bishop of Rome: which should not have been "so, if he had had any supremacy over them at that time.

CHAP. XLIV.

Anno 1538.

" And also in times past the Bishop of Constantinople " tooke himself highest of all Bishops, and called himself " *Prince of Bishops*. But the said pretenced power and " supremacy, aimed by the Bishops of Rome, began first, " as it seemeth by colour, that Phocas the Emperor or- " dained, that the Church of Rome should be head of all " churches, Boniface the Third then being Bishop there. " Whereupon it might happily follow, that the said Boni- " face took on him to be head of all Bishops and Priests, " but not of the universal Church. Howbeit by occasion " thereof, the said Bishop and his successors have sythen " that tyme fayned and pretended, not only to be the head " of all Bishops and Priests, but also of Kings, and all other " Christen people, and to be God's vicars on earth, and to " lose and bynd above all other. Which pretenced power " the laws of this realm have always rejected and con- " demned, and never took full peace; as shall appear as " well by the common laws of this realm, as by divers sta- " tutes made in the parliaments of the same, as hereafter " ensueth," &c.

Another book against the Papal superiority.

Another book also, upon the subject of the Pope's usurped supremacy, was printed about this time by the same Thomas Barthelet. The author, Thomas Starky, a man of great learning, a Chaplain of the King's, brought into the Court by Crumwel, and the same who, as before was related, wrote several letters to Cardinal Pole. This book was entitled, *An exhortation to the people, instructing them to unity and obedience*. Herein addressing to the people, he told them, " that few other causes he saw of " greater efficacy, than this usurped long and many years " superiority of the Pope: which, for the maintaining of " his authority under the cloke of religion, had brought in " among Christen nations much false superstition; and, " for the maintenance of his high pride and cloked ty-
334 " ranny, had among Christen princes many times, to the " great ruin and common quietness, set great division. For " who is he, that of story hath any consideration, which " plainly do not see how few Christen princes there be,

" which, for the setting up of his arrogancy, hath not once, " one against another, drawn their swords, to the great ef- " fusion of Christen blood, and ruin of all good civility; " yea, and which is worst of all, they have been persuaded " thereby to set up Christ's honour and religion. O Lord, " what a blindness was this, reigning in princes' hearts! And " what a superstition, one Christen man to kill another, " under the profession of Christ's religion! And as for " the abuses of that authority, as well in pardons and dis- " pensations, as in interdites and excommunications; I " think there is no man so blind, no, nor yet nation so far " from judgment, nor so far from the common sense and " true consideration, the which that doth not see and " observe. For among Christen men, no nation there is, " which, being obedient to that authority, hath not felt, by " pilling and polling and tyrannical exaction, ever covered " with the pretext of religion, of these abuses the plain and " manifest experience. This thing I have observed, dere " friends, long and many a day, not without great sorrow " and dolour of mind," &c.

And again, " To affyrme that Christ establyshed among " his disciples any such superiority, making thereby Peter " chief head, and also consequently the Bishop of Rome, " that he thereby upon all Christendom should be a chief " judge; and upon all princes and laws to have authority " and interdites and dispensation, them to temper and rule " at pleasure; yea, and upon the word of God alone to " have power of interpretation: this to my judgment, when " I weigh the thing with my self, appeareth to me more " than madness and extreme folly. For thys passeth all " pryde and arroganey; this is above all tyranny. Christen " nations were never so mad, by open decree or consent in " council general, ever to give to any one man such au- " thority. But undoubtedly by the simplicity of Christen " people, and by the patience of good princes, yea, and by " the arrogancy and pryde of those, the which have used " and occupied the see of Rome, it is grown by little and " little into this intolerable tyranny. The which after this

CHAP. XLIV.

Anno 1538.

"sort, as it is used, to affyrme to be of the law of God, "and of necessity, is plain contrary to the law of God, and "much to the obscuring of his glory."

Then he proceeded to consider the pretences for the Papal superiority both from Scripture and history. "Of the "grounds of Scripture, saith he, and of Christ's Gospel, no "man can take sure argument of the Pope's prerogative, &c. "From the tyme of Peter, untyl the tyme of Silvester, Bi-"shop of Rome, in the reign of Constantine, about the space "of ccc yeres, of this head, with such superiority, was "no mention at all. For this by certain story is known, "that all the time the Bishops, in every place, chief "and principal, as Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, "were both chosen and institute of the whole congregation, "or else by the priests, to whom was given of the multi-"tude such auctority. And no mention is had in all that "space, that they ran to the Bishop of Rome, as their "common head and superior; which at the same tyme
335 "was rather, as by probable conjecture we may gather, "long and many a day, inferior unto the Church of Jeru-"salem and Alexandria."

And again, "All the antient and good interpreters of "Christ's Gospel among the Greeks, whom I judge to "have more light in the holy Scripture, as they had in all "other letters and learning, than any other nation that "ever yet received the truth of Christ's religion, (the which "without proof here of me, is open by their works to all "men, that with diligence them will read;) all these, I say, "with one consent, keep silence of this auctority to be "given to the Bishop of Rome of such necessity. In their "works, thereof ye shall never find mention. The which "is not like they would have done, if they had judged it "to be so necessary a thing; and a Gospel-truth of Christ "institute and stabled. Besides this, if this ground were "true, then should all the Indians, all those thousand "yeres, have run headlong to damnation, which never "took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church, "and his Vicar on earth, nor of him take any tradition.

" And yet they have, yea, and yet are now in our days, " under Prester John, their King and Head, of Christ's " doctrine devout and true professors, and with us in all " the grounds of Scripture utterly agree. In ceremonies " and rites ecclesiastical, there is much diversity; as it is " necessary according to the nature of the country and " people. The same thing might be said of them in Ar- " meny, which never should be obedient to the Bishop of " Rome; but had among them their head, whom they " called their Catholyke, as he that was a true professor " and maintainer of the Catholike faith. The same also " might be said of the Greek nation; which would never " confess the obedience to the Church of Rome to be neces- " sary to the salvation of man. Wherefore, chiefly by the " Bishops of Rome, they were most unjustly noted, not to " be as members of Christ's universal and catholike body.

" But now all these nations, Indians, Armenians, and " Greeks, utterly to condemn and separate them from the " benefyte of Christ's passion, wherein they have ever had " their chief comfort and trust, only for because they would " not nor were not to this head, as to the Vicar of Christ, obe- " dient; all these, I say, to condemn and cast them into the " depe pyt of hell, seemeth playne madness, and most " blynd arrogancy. And I pray God, that they which so " blyndly judge, be not for their own judgment rather to " be condemned. For this judgment hath no ground, ney- " ther of Scripture, nor yet of reason, but is a playn, blynd " superstition.

" Wherefore, dere friends, seing that neither Scripture, " story, nor good reason, driveth us to confess this superi- " ority to be necessary to our salvation, and to be of Christ " institute, let us not, blynded with foolish superstition, by " process of tyme cropen into our hearts, bynd our own con- " science with scrupulous necessity of such a thing: which " undoubtedly grew in among us, only as a thing of conve- " niency, and as a thing of great help and succour, to the " maintenance of a certain unity in Christ's Church, and " not as a thing of necessity."

CHAP. XLIV.

But the inconvenience of maintaining unity by this means he then proceeded to shew; concluding, "There-

Anno 1538. 336 "fore, dere friends, briefly to conclude, as it is in the politike life and civil, nothing convenient to have one Emperor, by whose judgment all other causes worldly and politike in all nations should be defined; (forasmuch as thereby all princely authority should be derogate, and be in subjection;) so it is in the spiritual policy of Christ's Church, one head to be with such authority, as of many years hath been used, a thing most inconvenient, and to all Christen nations plain injury; yea, and playnly to say, to the doctrine of Christ nothing agreeable. Wherefore, dere friends, seeing that this superiority geven to the Bishop of Rome is neither by God's word in his Scripture graunted, nor by the practyse thereof by his Apostles inspired with his Spirit, confyrmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary; I see no cause, why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugne to such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloked tyranny, which, under the pretext of religion, hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruine and decay of the sincere, simple, and pure doctrine of Christ."

Bishop of Durham's sermon against the Pope.

This year also did Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, preach a notable sermon before the King upon Palm Sunday, in behalf of the King's supremacy, and in declaiming against the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. When he thus delivered himself: "What shall we say of those whom God hath created to be subjects; commanding them by his word to obey their princes and governors; who do not only refuse to obey God's commandment, but, contrary to his word, will be above their governors in refusing to obey them; and furthermore also will have their princes prostrate upon the ground, to whom they owe subjection, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth, and to kiss their feet, as if they were gods, where they be but wretched men? And yet they look that their princes

" should do it to them, and also all other Christen men, " owing them no subjection, should of duty do the same. " Do not these, as ye think, follow the pryde of Lucifer, " their father, who make themselves fellows to God, con- " trary to his word? But who, I pray you, be these, that " men may know them? Surely the Bishops of Rome be " those whom I do mean; who do exalt theyr seat above " the stars of God, and do ascend above the clouds, and " will be like to Almighty God," &c.

Again, " The Bishop of Rome offereth his feet to be " kyssed, shod with the shoes on. For I saw myself, being " then present thirty-three year ago, when Julius, then Bi- " shop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamber- " laynes held up his skirt; because it stood not, as he " thought, with his dignity, that he should do it himself, " that his shoe might appere, whiles a nobleman of great " age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed " his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of " duty. Where methought I saw Cornelius the Centurion, " captain of the Italian band, spoken of in the tenth chapter " of the Acts, submitting himself to Peter, and much ho- " nouring him. But I saw not Peter there to take him up, " and byd him ryse, saying, *I am man, as thou art*, as St. " Peter did say to Cornelius. So that the Bishops of Rome " admytting such adoration due unto God, do clime up 337 " above the heavenly clouds, that is to say, above the " Apostles, sent into the world by Christ, to water the " earthly and carnal hearts of men by their heavenly doc- " trine of the word of God.

" Unto the high powers all men must obey; Apostles, " Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and all of the " Clergy; and all noblemen of what degree soever they " be, being within their governaunce, with all the people " also. And therefore the Bishop of Rome oweth likewise " to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word " of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other Bi- " shops owe to their Princes, under whom they be. And " therefore Agatho, the Bishop of Rome, in whose time

CHAP. XLIV.

Anno 1538.

" was the sixth synod and council general, after his elec-
" tion, sent to the Emperor, then being at Constantinople,
" to have his election allowed, before he would be conse-
" crate, after the old custom at that time used."

Then he proceeded to confute the interpretation of those texts of Scripture that are wont to be brought in favour of the Pope's power: as, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my Church:* that is, said he, as Chrysostom in his 26th sermon of the feast of Pentecost expounds it, *Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith.* And that text, *I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind,* &c. And that, *Feed my sheep.*

Next, he notes the Pope's late excommunication of the King: " That because he can no longer in this realm
" wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was
" wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insa-
" tiable, innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great
" exhausting of the same; he therefore moved, and, replete
" with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir
" all Christen nations, that will give ear to his devilish en-
" chauntments, to move war against this realm of England,
" giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will
" invade it. Which few words, *to give in prey*, how great
" mischief they contain, I shall open to thee, thou true
" Englishman. First, To make this realm a prey to all
" venturers, all spoilers, all snaphaunces, all forlorn hopes,
" all cormorants, all ravenors of the world, that will invade
" this realm. That is to say, Thou possessioner of any
" lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from
" the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed,
" and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all
" for themselves. And thou mayest be sure to be slain.
" For they will not suffer thee nor none of thy progeny to
" live, to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged:
" for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused
" before thy face; thy daughter likewise deflowered before
" thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house
" spoiled; thy cattel driven away and sold before thy vi-

" sage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; " all thy goods, (wherein thou hast any delight, or hast ga- " thered for thy children,) ravened, broken, and distri- " buted in thy presence, that every ravenour may have his " shayre, &c. To take the whole realm *in prey*, is to kill " the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as " they will do, if they can."

Next, he reproacheth the Pope for his infecting Pole with rebellious principles and practices. " To set forth his " pestilent malice the more, he hath allured to his purpose " a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, comen of a noble " blood, and thereby the more errant traitor, to go about " from prince to prince, and from countrey to countrey, to " stir them to war agaynst this realm, and to destroy the " same, being his native countrey. Whose pestilent purpose " the princes, that he breaketh it unto, have in much abo- " mination; both because the Bishop of Rome (who, being " a Bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war; and " because this most errant and unkind traytor is his min- " ister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the countrey he " was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do. " But for all that, without shame, he still goeth on, exhort- " ing thereunto all princes that will hear him, who do ab- " hor to see such unnaturalness in any man, as he shame- " less doth set forwards. Whose pernicious treasons late " secretly wrought against this realm, have been, by the " work of Almighty God so marvelously detected, and by " his own brother[a], without looking therefore, so disclosed, " and condigne punishment ensued; that hereafter, God will- " ing, they shall not take any more such root, to the noysance " of this realm, &c. And beside his pestilent treason, his " unkindness agaynst the King's Majesty, who brought " him up of a very child, and the which promoted both " him, and likewise restored his blood being attainted, to " be of the Peres of this realm, and gave him mony yearly " out of his coffers, to find him honourably at study, mak- " eth his treason much more detestable to all the world,

338

Pole infected by the Pope with unnatural principles.

[a] Sir Geofry Pole.

CHAP. XLIV.

"and him to be reputed more wild and cruel than any "tygre." This sermon was printed by Tho. Berthelet.

Anno 1538. And thus the state at this time stood affected, or rather disaffected, to the Pope; and so sensible were the learned Bishops and Clergy of his usurpations; however afterwards this Bishop, Tonstal, and others, calmly took his yoke upon their own necks, and laid it again upon the neck of the nation.

CHAP. XLV.

Affairs between the King and the German Protestant Princes. Another letter of Melancthon to the King; and to Crumwel. The King's agents with those Princes. Their reports.

Anno 1539. THE German princes and states had been the latter end of the former year treating with the Emperor at Frankford about a pacification. Which put the King into some doubt of them, whether they would stand to their former principles; fearing lest they might comply with the Emperor upon some terms, for the sake of peace and quietness. And it added to the King's jealousy, that after the return of their ambassadors from England, they did not presently write to him. The King also was minded to have some of their learned men to be sent over for a further disputation; because the King was willing, if possible, to bring the German Protestants over from some articles of theirs in the Augustine Confession; which nevertheless they would not do. To them therefore the King sent two agents, Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel. Who, resorting to the princes, told them the King took it in evil part, that they went about such a matter, as treaty with the Emperor, without him; desiring to know the conditions they proceeded upon. Burgart therefore, and another agent, who spake sundry languages, and had been in divers other embassies, with four more, were soon despatched by the Duke

The confederates send ambassadors into England.

339

and Landgrave into England; who came hither in company with Mount and Paynel, from Frankford, April 23. Where the assembly was not yet dissolved, nor any full conclusion made: but it was thought it would end in a truce on both sides for eighteen months. CHAP. XLIV. Anno 1539.

The said Mount and Paynel his colleague repairing to the King, brought him word from the Elector and Landgrave, that they continued in their loving and friendly observation of his Majesty, and would be very glad of the King's allowance of them. And their own orators brought the same intelligence and message: and from their masters required concord in doctrine, and mutual defence. A late proclamation of the King, that disallowed of the marriage of priests, and concerning the vows of religious persons, gave them disgust. And Melancthon, in a letter to Crumwel, shewed himself to observe this, and some other true doctrines disproved by the King: but that considering how in that proclamation the King promised to abolish abuses, he hoped he would more exactly consider that point. They earnestly doubt with Mount, while he was in Germany, upon this point. Who answered them, "that although "he knew not the King's considerations in this behalf, "yet he might affirm, the King would not be so scru- "pulous in the matter of *vows*. And that sundry nuns "and religious women were discharged out of their houses "with pensions during their lives, and were not forbid to "marry. But as for priests, he thought the cause of the "prohibition was, because they might preach the word of "God, and to prevent the common people's imagination "of concupiscence in them, if they should take wives; and "so confute and condemn their own preaching and the "word of God. But what the King would do afterwards, "when the people should wax stronger in knowledge, he "could not tell; yet doubted not but he would do nothing "without good reason and great consideration." And with this discourse the Landgrave and the rest shewed themselves to be well satisfied. Their message.

CHAP. XLV.

Anno 1539. The King receives another letter from Melancthon.

Burgart, as he brought a letter from Melancthon to the King the last year, so he brings another from him this. Wherein he gave the King assurance of the extraordinary praises Burgart upon all occasions gave him: bestowing a good character likewise upon the said orator; and exciting the King to further so good a cause as he and his colleagues came about; namely, to negociate of matters pertaining to the common safety of the Church, and the preservation of godly doctrine; a cause, than which there could be none in the world more honourable, and more worthy of royal protection. But the reader may peruse the letter itself, if he pleaseth, in the Appendix.

N°. CII.

340 The report of the King's agents to Crumwel. N°. CIII.

But I will step a little back to our own orators, Mount and Paynel; who being now ready to return home to their master King Henry, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave put into their hands an obliging answer to his embassy by them: which may be read at full length in the Appendix, as I translated it into English from the Latin original. But in short, the message they brought back from the Princes, as they related it to the Lord Crumwel, was, "That the "league *evangelic* was stedfast, and that they would die "rather than give it up. They looked shortly, that either "one part or the other would have the upper hand: for "they thought that Antichrist and the Devil would not "sleep, but practise to overcome the evangelics. That "things were so far gone, that either the evangelics must "destroy them, or they the evangelics. That the Emperor "above all things desired of the confederate princes, that "they would receive no others into their league than were "already. And that caused a great stickling at the diet. "And that to quiet them, the Emperor's fleet was returned "to Zealand, and that all the ships should be dismissed, "and his artillery discharged out of them, and brought "ashore." This was what the King's agents told Crumwel. And Crumwel told the King moreover, "that he was as-"sured, that the coming of those orators from the Germans "would be formidable to the Bishop of Rome, and other

" his adherents; not doubting, but if his Majesty would " join with them, the Papists, in his judgment, would be " half in despair."

Anne of Cleves.

The match between the King and Anne of Cleves was now in motion. And by this agency also it was told, that the Duke of Saxony had exhorted the Duke of Cleves to go through without any difficulty.

Melancthon's letter to Crumwel.

A letter came now from Melancthon to the Lord Crumwel. The sum of which he communicated to the King. Which was, " that the Bishops in England did as many in " other countries used to do; namely, by interpretations " craftily devised, to excuse and colour over abuses; there- " by to establish them by art. As was lately done in a " book put forth at Colen, called *Enchyridion*. Which so- " phistry he saw, as he said, pernicious to the Church. " And that care was to be taken, that the truth were not " overwhelmed with these cheats. And that simple truth " was more profitable to a lasting tranquillity." This and a great deal more of matters relating to Germany, Crumwel wrote to the King, being sick of an ague at London; and so could not come to tell the King by word of mouth. This letter is placed in the Appendix.

No. CIV.

Sarcerius, the Prince of Nassau's Chaplain.

While Mount and Paynel were at Frankford, they met at Melancthon's apartment with Erasmus Sarcerius; who was Chaplain to Prince William of Nassau, and came thither upon his command. They asked him, if he were that Sarcerius that had writ *A Method upon the chief places of Scripture*. He answered, he was. They told him, that by the King's command his book had been put into English; and that if he pleased, they would carry a letter from him to the King. And upon this motion, he writing one, they carried it. Which may be read in the Appendix. In this letter he promised to send the King his *Common Places*, methodically digested, more enlarged, and his *Postils* upon the Epistles and Gospels. The King looked for address; and was well pleased when he had it from such as had a repute for learning. Mount and Paynel knew this well; and therefore excited those Germans that were learned to write to the King, and pay him a de-

No. CV.

341

CHAP. XLV.

ference, as they did Sarcerius; hoping hereby to bring the King to read their books, and to affect their religion.

Anno 1539.

How far the Germans did go in accord with the Roman faith.

Cleop. E. 5. p. 228.

But the German orators being now here, fell upon their business in adjusting the points of religion with the King's Divines. And whether it were to recommend themselves the more to the Popish Bishops, or to shew their disposition to peace with all Christians, and even with those of Rome, they drew up at this time a copy of such things as Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, with certain cities and princes of Germany, their adherents, had admitted. Which were these that follow: the reader must excuse the ill English, which I write as I find in the MS.

A policy in the Church.

"First, We confess, that there ought to be a policy in "the Church, and a regime. In the which there must be "Bishops, who shall have the power of the examine, and "ordinance of the ministration of the same, for to exercise "the jurisdiction of the same. Who shall diligently see, "that the Churches committed unto them may be truly in-"structed with pure and sincere doctrine.

A Bishop of Rome.

"We admit, that it is good and convenient, that in the "Church there be a Bishop of Rome, that may be above "other Bishops; who may gather them together, to see "the examination of the doctrine, and the concord of such, "as do teach discrepancies in the Church. But we admit "not the pomp, riches, and pride of the Bishop of Rome; "who would make realms subject unto him. The which "things do neither help nor promote the Gospel; because "the Kings that have right thereto may and owe to rule "the same.

Ceremonies.

"We confess, that as concerning choise of meats, holy "days and *ceremonies*, there might an agreement be made "easily, if there could be a concord in the doctrine of the "Church, and not such discrepance as there is. For if "there were a concord of doctrine in the Church, we "should not think reasonable to divide us from the "Church, seen that it is not possible that the world "might stand without ceremonies and man's constitutions: "seen that all innovations without necessity ought to be ex-"cluded; and that there is no peril, to us I mean, in the

" observation of the said ceremonies and men's constitu-
" tions; for that the doctrine be purely handled.

" We judge to be profitable, that *confession* and rehears- Anno 1539.
" al of sins be made in the Church. For taking the same Confession.
" away, the doctrine of remission of sins, and of the power
" of the keys, should be offuscate and taken away; seen
" that in the Confession, among other things, the people
" ought to be taught, whence cometh the remission of sins.
" Provided, that there be honest fashion to instruct the
" persons that be shriven, and that the consciences be not
" overlayd with rigorous and exact rehearsal of all sins.

" We believe that *justification* is made by faith. Because Justification.
" there be no works whereby we may satisfy, or obtain re-
" mission of sins. Yet nevertheless the same faith that jus-
" fies us ought not to be idle, but adorned with good and
" godly deeds.

" We confess that *free will* holpen with the Holy Ghost 342
" may do somewhat, whensoever we will withdraw from sin. Free will.

" We confess, that after the remission of sins the Holy Departure of the Holy
" Ghost is given to the man; from the which he departeth Ghost.
" again, as soon as he committeth any deadly sin.

" We use the fashion accustomed in the office of the Use of the Mass.
" Mass. For what should avail a change of ceremonies with-
" out necessity? But we admit not the privie masses,
" because they have occasion of sundry abuses. Because
" there is an open fair or market made of celebration of
" masses.

" We believe thus concerning the Supper of the Lord. The real presence.
" That like as Christ in his last Supper did give unto his
" disciples his true body to be eaten, and his blood to be
" drunken; and so he gives dayly to us his disciples, and
" loyal men, as often as we keep the Supper, according to
" the form commanded, *Accipite et comedite*, &c. the true
" body and blood to be eaten and drunk. This is the mind
" of the three Evangelists and St. Paul. And so their words
" do sound clearly. Wherefore away with all such errone-
" ous interpretations as are made upon the said words.

" We be taught that Christ did give to his disciples his Both kinds.

CHAP. XLV.

Anno 1539.

" body and blood under both *species* and kinds; and that " therefore we owe to observe the same; as we do indeed. " But because one of the *species* hath by men's constitu- " tions been forbidden by the Bishop of Rome, there might " be a remedy found without peril or danger; so that he " that would, might have both *species;* and that there " should be a prohibition made, that the one should not " insult against the other.

Invocation of saints.

" Seen that it appeareth by the holy Doctors, that the " holy days and feasts of saints have been accustomed to " be observed; and as we see as yet some holy canons of " that matter, but it appeareth not that there is made in " the same a mention of their *invocation;* but it appeareth " only by the same, that they be proposed unto us for an " example, to learn to follow their lives and conversations; " yet nevertheless, seen that by some custom the interces- " sion of saints ought to be admitted, then there should be " prayers made unto God, that it might like him to hear " them by the intercession of some saints: we affirm for a " certainty, that the saints do continually intercede for the " Church: albeit the Christen men owe to be taught, that " they shall not convert the same hope to the saints, which " they ought to have unto God.

Images.

" We do not reject the *images* of Christ and of saints, " but the adoration made to them; whereof idolatry is " sprung.

Monkery.

" Also we dampne not the *monastery*, or life of such as " be closed in the cloisters; but only the trust that some " men have put in the *regular* observation. Also we reject " the vows which have been made upon such things as men " cannot observe. Yet nevertheless we will not the mo- " nasteries be put down for the same, but that they may " be turned to schools; in which good doctrine should be " taught. And that the Pope may dispense with vows; " so that it were free for every man to keep or not keep " them. And so the same should be to the quiet and tran- " quility of mind; and the vows should not be the snares " of malice.

"Then the marriage of the Priests should be in the "Pope's hands, who might admit the same; and the concubinate of many should be forbidden. For we see few "chaste. But if the law to contract should not have place, "then, for to avoid slander, there should be none advanced "to the dignities ecclesiastical [but] grave persons, and of "full age. 343 Priest's marriage.

"We think it best to dispute of *purgatory* and *pardons* "in the schools, rather than in the pulpit to dispute of the "same publicly without any profit: so that the markets "and bargains thereof should be avoided. For we do re- "ject in those things and others, wherein we do not agree, "the abuse rather than the thing [it] self. The which ne- "vertheless may be discussed and emended by councils "lawfully assembled. Purgatory.

"The Zwinglians and Oecolampadians have not yet re- "ceived those articles, but the simple people shall be easily "reduced; and we trust they shall shortly do conformable "thereto. Zwinglians.

"Luther hath revoked all the books wherein there be "many things contrary to those articles, and hath retracted "them with his own hands, and knowledged his faults. In "March 3, 1529." Luther.

But these steps to a good concord between the King and the Germans came to nothing; the King taking some misconceit against the Duke of Saxony, because it was said, he rather inclined to have his sister-in-law, the Lady Anne of Cleves, married into Germany than to him. This Winchester made use of as an handle to alienate the King's mind from the Duke. He also put the King in fear, if he should join with the Protestants, of drawing against him the Emperor, the French King, the Scot, the Pope, and other foreign power; and especially civil tumults and insurrections at home. This German embassy succeeded not: and why.

CHAP. XLVI.

Injunctions concerning books and sects. Monasteries dissolved. New bishoprics erected out of them.

Anno 1539. ABOUT this time Crumwel's interest was not so absolute, but Winchester sometimes got the ascendant of him with the King; as he had now, or somewhat before, when there came forth a book of Injunctions against good books, and in favour of some superstitious ceremonies. The said Bishop of Winchester had complained to the King of the creeping in of the heresies of the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists, and of many books in English imported and sold by them; and so, under the cloak of heresy, prevailed with the King to exterminate all good books, and with them the holy Scripture, and to take opportunity to persecute many honest professors of the Gospel. And these Injunctions being resolved upon, several other Injunctions were also added. I mention them, because I do not find our latter Church historians taking notice of them. They were entitled, *Certain Injunctions set forth by the authority of*
344 *the King against English books, sects, or sacramentaries also, with putting down the day of Thomas Becket.* Which last seems to have been a stroke of Crumwel's pen, to make some allay for the rest. They are in number ten, and extant in Fox, whither I refer the reader. Only take here the sum of them.

Severe injunctions from the King.

Bishop of Winchester's insinuations.

The first was, "That none, without special licence of the "King, transport any English books, nor sell or vend "them, upon pain to forfeit all their goods and chattels, "and imprisonment during the King's pleasure.

"Secondly, None to print or bring over any English "books, with annotations or prologues, unless the books be "examined by the King's Privy Council, or others ap-"pointed by his Highness. Nor to print any translated "book without mentioning the name of the translator. "Else the printer to be reckoned the translator, and to suf-"fer the fine and imprisonment thereof.

" Thirdly, None to print or utter any English book of " Scripture, unless it be first viewed and examined by the " King's Highness, or one of the Privy Council, or one " Bishop within the realm, whose name shall be expressed " therein; upon pain of his high displeasure, and loss of " goods and chattels, and imprisonment.

" Fourthly, That Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any " other that sell books, having such opinions in them, the " books and persons shall be detected immediately unto the " King's Majesty, or unto one of the Privy Council; to " thintent the person so detected, to be punished without " favour, and with all extremity of law.

None to dispute upon the Sacrament.

" Fifthly, None to reason or dispute upon the Sacrament " of the Altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and " chattels; only the learned in divinity to have their li- " berty in the schools.

" Sixthly, The holy bread and holy water, procession, " kneeling and creeping to the cross on Good Friday and " Easter-day, setting up lights before *corpus Christi*, bear- " ing of candles on Candlemas-day, &c. to be observed, till " it please the King to change and abrogate them.

" Seventhly, That married Priests, known to have wives, " or that hereafter do marry, be deprived of all spiritual " promotion, and from doing any duty of a Priest, and " have no commodity pertaining to the Clergy. But shall " from henceforth be reputed as lay persons. And those, " that after this proclamation shall marry, shall run into " his Grace's indignation, and suffer imprisonment.

" Eighthly, A charge to all Archbishops, Bishops, " Archdeacons, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, &c. within their " cures, diligently to preach and set forth the glory of " God, and truth of his word: and, considering the su- " perstitions crept into the hearts and stomachs of many, to " preach the word of God sincerely and purely; declaring " the difference between things commanded by God, and " the rites and ceremonies used in the Church.

" Ninthly, That considering Thomas Becket stubbornly " withstood the wholesome laws established against the

CHAP. XLVI.

Anno 1539.

"enormities of the Clergy, and fled into France, and to the "Bishop of Rome, to procure abrogation of those laws; and "that his death, untruly called *martyrdom*, happened upon "a rescue made, and that he gave opprobrious words to
345 "the gentlemen, which counsilled him to leave his stub- "bornness, and called one of them *bawd*, and took another "(*viz.* Tracy) by the bosom, and violently shook him, and "had like to have thrown him upon the pavement: in which "fray one of the company struck him, and so in the throng "he was slain: and considering that his canonization was "made by the Bishop of Rome, because he had been a "champion to maintain his usurped authority: therefore "the King, by the advice of his Council, declared, that "there appeared nothing in his life and conversation "whereby he should be called *a saint*, but rather be es-

Thomas Becket not to be called Saint.

"teemed a rebel and a traitor. And therefore the King re- "quired and commanded, that henceforth Becket shall not "be called *a saint*, but Bishop Becket; and that his images "and pictures, throughout the whole realm, shall be plucked "down out of churches and chapels; and his days, used "to be festival, shall not be observed; and all services and "offices, antiphons, &c. shall be razed out of all books; "and that his holydays shall not be solemnized. To the "intent, that his Grace's subjects shall be no longer blindly "led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in "times past.

"Tenthly, Charge and command is given, that the King's "subjects do keep and observe all the injunctions made by "his Majesty upon the pain therein contained."

Monasteries dissolved.

This year the greater monasteries were suppressed and dissolved. The common people well liked them, and generally were very fond of them; because of the hospitality and good housekeeping there used. The inhabitants of these cloisters relieved the poor, raised no rents, took no excessive fines upon renewing of leases: and their noble and brave built structures adorned the places and countries where they stood. The rich also had education here for their children. Therefore, to make way among the people

for the taking them away, and to make them the willinger to see them destroyed, it was given out and pretended by the great instruments employed herein, "that the King's "Exchequer should be for ever enriched; the kingdom and "nobility strengthened and increased: the common sub- "jects acquitted and freed from all former services and "taxes: and that the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns being "suppressed, in their places should be created forty earls, "sixty barons, and three thousand knights, and forty thou- "sand soldiers with skilful captains, and competent main- "tenance for them all for ever, out of the ancient Church "revenues. So as in so doing, the King and his successors "should never want treasure of their own, nor have cause "to be beholden to the common subject: neither should the "people be any more charged with loans, subsidies, and fif- "teens. Since which time (if you will believe my author) "there have been more statutes, laws, subsidies, and fif- "teens, than in five hundred years before."

CHAP. XLVI.

Anno 1589.

Howe's Pref. before Stowe's Chron.

And to please those of the new learning, it was given out, that by these revenues of the monasteries, better provision should be made for the poor, and preachers should have salaries to go about and preach the knowledge of Christ. But nothing of this came to pass. For neither was there provision made for the poor, nor yet order set for preaching the Gospel. And in fine, "a great part of it was turned to "the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting; "yea, I would I could not by just occasion speak it," saith one that lived in those days, "bribing, whoring, and swear- "ing: the town's people and households miserably decay- "ed." But vast were the treasures that came in to the King by this dissolution.

The good promised thereby not done.

346

Bale in his Image of both Churches.

But good men, that desired the reformation of religion, were well enough pleased to see this end of the monasteries; because hereby the religious sects of monks and friars were come to an end and abolished in England: swarms, not only of useless men, but the great pillars of superstition and popery. Archbishop Cranmer, in his homily of Good Works, (for I suppose him the compiler of it,) thanked God that

Monks and friars at an end in England.

CHAP. XLVI.

had made King Henry the instrument of so good a work. "Honour be to God, who did put light into the heart of

Anno 1539. "his faithful and true Minister of most famous memory,

Homily of Good Works.

"King Henry VIII. and gave him the knowledge of his "word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to "put away such superstitious and pharisaical sects, by "Antichrist invented and set up, against the true word of "God, and the glory of his most blessed name." The evil of these Religious you may take a prospect of in the foresaid homily, which the Archbishop set forth in these words: "Meek and faigned religions were neither the fortieth "part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously "and ungodlily abused, than of late days they have been "among us. Which sects and religions had so many hy- "pocritical and feigned works in their state of *religion*, as "they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, "ran all over, able to satisfy, not only for their own sins, "but also for all others, their benefactors, brothers and "sisters of religion, as most ungodlily and craftily they had "persuaded the multitude of ignorant people; keeping in "divers places, as it were, marts or markets of *merits;* be- "ing full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works "of overflowing abundance, ready to be sold. And all "things which they had were called HOLY; *holy* cowles, "*holy* girdles, *holy* pardons, *holy* beads, *holy* shoes, *holy* "rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be "more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that "men, women, and children should wear a friar's coat, to "deliver them from agues or pestilence; or when they die, "or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in "hope thereby to be saved? Which superstition, although, "thanks be to God, it hath been little used in this realm, "yet in divers other realms it hath been and yet is used "among many, both learned and unlearned. But to pass "over the innumerable superstitiousness that hath been in "strange apparel, in silence, in dormitory, in cloister, in "chapter, in choice of meats and drinks, and in such like "things, let us consider what enormities and abuses have

" been in the three chief principal points, which they called " *the three essentials*, or *the three foundations* of religion: " that is to say, obedience, chastity, and wilful poverty.

The three chief vows of religion.

" *First*, Under pretence or colour of *obedience* to their " father in religion, (which obedience they made themselves,) " they were made free by their rules and canons from the " obedience of their natural father and mother, and from 347 " the obedience of emperor and king, and all temporal " power, whom of very duty by God's laws they were " bound to obey. And so the profession of their obedience " not due, was a forsaking of their due obedience. I.

" And how their profession of *chastity* was kept, it is " more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the world " judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste " words, by expressing of their unchaste life, to offend chaste " and godly ears. II.

" And as for their wilful *poverty*, it is such, that when " in possessions, jewels, plate, and riches, they were equal or " above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls, and dukes, yet " by this subtle sophistical term, *proprium in commune*, " that is to say, *proper in common*, they mocked the world; " persuading, that notwithstanding all their possessions and " riches, yet they kept their vow, and were in wilful po- " verty. But, for all their riches, they might never help fa- " ther or mother or others, that were indeed very needy " and poor, without the licence of their fathers, abbots, " priors, or wardens. And yet they might take of every " man, but they might not give ought to any man; no, not " to them whom the laws of God bound them to help. And " so through their traditions and rules, the laws of God " could bear no rule with them." III.

The monks' ill-behaviour.

The unchaste behaviour of these religious men, and their abominable dissolute courses with the wives and daughters of the laity; and withal, their imperious carriage towards the gentry, begot them hatred, and hastened their fall. And here allow me to set down a story to illustrate this matter, happening between the monks of Sawtry in Huntingtonshire, and one Mr. Edmond Loud, a gentleman of good

CHAP. XLVI.

quality, living near their monastery, being set down and attested by one Loud, living in these times, and, as it seems, of the same family. Which Edmond was murdered by the said monks and priests of Sawtry abbey, about the 13th of Henry VIII. anno 1522.

Anno 1539.

Mr. Loud and the monks of Sawtry. Foxii MSS.

Edmond, the son and heir of Mr. Thomas Loud, of Hunningham Castle, Cretingham and Sawtry, a mile from Sawtre abbey; descended of noble parentage: (for his mother, Anne Loud, was the daughter and heir of Sir Edmond Molso: his grandmother, Katharine Dudley, married to Lionel Loud: his great grandmother was Mary of Henault, married to Roger Loud, and cousin to Lionel, Earl of Ulster, and Duke of Clarence.) The said Edmond was an enemy to the wanton monks of the abbey, and to two lewd parsons of Sawtre: for they haunted most shamefully the wives of Mr. Thomas Loud's tenants in the town. Whereat both Mr. Loud the father, and the said Edmond his son, especially, found fault with this misrule of the monks and priests. And sometimes when the houses by them were watched, and the monks with their tenants' wives, the monks would beat down the walls of the house, and slip away to the abbey. And sometimes there were hot skirmishes among them. At one time they caused the peace to be taken of the said Edmond; and for breaking of it, got him in Cambridge castle. Unto him there resorted one Richard Wine, an abbey lubber of Ramsey and Sawtre; he was an attorney: who said to Mr. Loud, then the King's prisoner; O! Mr. Loud, had it not been better for you to have lived
348 quietly at Sawtrey, and to have hunted and hawked at your pleasure, than here to remain a prisoner against your will? No, said Mr. Loud, I am here but for striking a lecherous knave; and I count it better to be here for so small a cause, than to be set in the stocks, as thou wert, for stealing silver spoons at Ramsey abbey; and with that reached Wine a blow with his fist, and dashed out all his fore-teeth. By which blow he lisped as long as he lived.

This blow was declared to the chaste Clergymen in the country, and by them to the mighty Clergy at the Court:

and by them in the most grievous manner aggravated to the King: thinking this had been enough to rid him out of their way at Sawtre. But the King laughed heartily at the petty lawyer's deformity, and thought it a condign reward for such a saucy fellow; saying, "Do you think it was well "done of him, to upbraid a prisoner, being imprisoned by "his means? He was served well enough: I perceive Loud "is a tall gentleman: we do pardon him of his fault and "imprisonment." So Edmond Loud came home again, after he had been there a while, making merry continually with Mr. Bennet Molso, and divers other gentlemen, students in the University; who being of kin to him, came daily to make merry with him.

One kisses his daughter.

In short time the monks and priests of Sawtrey, like swine, turning again to their dirty puddles and former stinking life; and Edmond bearing himself bold with the King's late saying, and of his friends in the Court, by reason of his blood, warned, and threatened them beating, if they would not forbear to resort to his father's tenants and his. And see the chance: one of these persons, the parson of St. Andrew's, had been at Walsingham; he was a notable whoremaster; and coming home, kissed many wives, and among them Katharine Loud, daughter to the said Edmond, openly in the churchyard of Allhallows. For then it was thought an holiness for maids and women to be kissed by persons coming from thence. And the lecherous Catholic had opinion that Mr. Edmund Loud would not be offended at his doings. But it came no sooner to Mr. Loud's ears, but he, after his wont, took his molespade in his hand, and by chance quickly met with the priest. The good parson liking not his looks, down he fell upon his knees, off went his cap, praying him not to beat him, for he was within holy Orders. O! thou bawdy knave, said Mr. Loud, darest thou kiss my daughter? Wilt thou not leave this women's company? And seeing his new broad-shaven crown, he took up the cow's dung with his spade, and clapped it upon his crown; adding these words, You, said he, all the sort of

CHAP. XLVI.

you, will, ere it be long, be glad to hide your shaven pates, rather than they should be seen.

Anno 1539.

Besides this, the said Edmond conceived such an hate against that religion and that holy priest, that he came once into the church, and plucked the fellow from the altar, as he was about to make his god.

A fray between Loud and some employed by the monks.

Shortly after, the clean-fingered Clergy, having encouragement enough both above in the Court and in the country, contrived how he should be made away. He used to walk a quarter of a mile to a great pasture he had, called Woodfield Close, containing six hundred acres within an hedge, assigned him for his wife's jointure, who was Edith, the daughter of John Stukley, lord of Stukley, nigh Hun-
349 tingdon; and he had with him in his arms John Loud, his youngest son, of the age of three years and more. Suddenly rushed out behind the hedges and bushes the two Skeltons, father and son, tenants to the abbey, and four more, well weaponed. Mr. Loud knew they came to despatch him, and they said no less. Yet, said he, do no harm to my little boy. With that they fearlessly laid at him, and he at them. At last cometh the good Catholic priest with holy water, in his surplice. And the constable heard of this tragical murder prepensed, and thought to shew himself not too slack in doing his duty, and came to the finding Mr. Loud nothing hurt. But he had basted the Catholic men so, that they prayed peace of him: and he, to take breath, was contented to hold his hand. The constable commanded the peace in the King's name to be kept. They all agreed to obey, so that Mr. Loud would deliver his forest-bill to the constable, which he was loath to do, but for the constable's fair promises. They gave place to Mr. Loud to go afore them, and the constable next. But when he was upon the stile to go over, Skelton the father caught him by the arms, and Skelton the son struck him on the head; and so he fell off the stile. The club was gotten in Monk's wood, half a mile from Sawtrey. So the priest came too soon with his holy water: for Mr. Loud was alive at his

Who barbarously kill him.

coming, yet he was carried home, and was speechless. For the film called *pia mater* was perished with the blow. He lived about seven days after, and making all things strait in the world, forgave all his enemies. His wife sued an appeal of murder; but many delays were made, and nothing done. Her husband was taken for an heretic, and the clergy was mighty. But see the vengeance of God. Skelton with his son ran away: and the father was afterwards hanged, and the son was drowned: and the priests could never get their pardon of the King. And now, after this digression, let us return. Anno 1539.

The monks and friars, after they were thus discharged their religious houses, bore a favour still to their old superstitions: and being scattered about the nation, did what they could to infuse into the commons their prejudices for the old religion, and against the new learning. And though some of them seemed to comply with the King's supremacy, and other his injunctions, yet they secretly disliked them, and hindered the people's obedience to them as much as they could. For "though their cowles, coats, and rockets "were off," as one writes in those days, "yet had they still "the same popish hearts, and the same superstitious fro- "wardness, that they were wont to have." One Mr. Wharton was employed, as it seems, by Crumwel, as his visitor about Suffolk and those parts, who took divers of these cashiered friars to be his assistants: but about Bungay they played their false tricks. Which Bale styles, *their calking for Crumwel*; meaning, I suppose, their endeavouring to replant Popery among the people, who in those parts were good Gospellers. She discharges religious men their employment. Im. of both Churches.

But the King did some real good for religion and learning with all this treasure, that flowed in upon him from the religious houses, which is still remaining: and all of it that was otherwise employed is utterly lost and gone. For he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterburgh, Bristol, Chester, Glocester. And instead of monks in divers of the old cathedral churches, abolishing them, he placed Canons in their rooms: the revenue, bestowed upon New cathedrals founded out of these houses. 350

CHAP. XLVI.

all these by the King, amounting to 8000*l.* per annum, according to the Lord Herbert. The benefit that accrued to the Church hereby was very great. For the Church having more Bishops, the flock of Christ might be the better regarded. And the Canons in each cathedral, being a society of learned men, well seen and grounded in religion, were to assist the respective Bishops, the heads of the diocese, in all good and wholesome consultations, and to preach the Gospel, and convince errors and heresies, and to keep hospitality. For the founding therefore of these, the King got great renown. And this, Edmond, Bishop of one of these new foundations, *viz.* that of Peterburgh, told Queen Elizabeth long time after in a letter: "for this his Majesty's most famous "work, of erecting cathedral churches, instead of monkish "and superstitious houses, was and is the beauty of his re-"formation and religion, and the greatest benefit, next to "the doctrine of the Gospel itself, that the Church of God "in his realm received at his most royal hands; far exceed-"ing all other acts that were done by any of his progenitors "before him, and surmounting all that is like to be done in "any time to come."

Anno 1539. Life of King Henry, p. 508.

E MSS. D. Gul. Hickes. Eq. aur.

But before this was effected, it is worth shewing the contrivance, study, and care the King was exercised in, to bring it to pass. For this there were drawn up, for the King's consideration, two tables, with several columns, in which to insert what he thought good. One of them contained the names of towns and places thought fit to give nomination to the new intended sees; which were about twenty in number: and in another column is specified in what counties those towns were. As for example; Waltham to be made a bishopric, standing in the county of Essex; St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, &c. as though those counties were intended to be the extent of the jurisdictions of those bishopries. At the top of which table is this writing of the King's own hand, (shewing his good design upon his dissolution of the monasteries,) *Bishoprics to be made.* And all the whole table that follows is written by the King. In the same table, the title of a third column is thus, of the King's writ-

The King's care about contriving new bishoprics and deaneries. Cleop. E. 4.

ing also: *Placys to be alteryd according to our devyse, which have sees in them.* The other table, drawn up also for the King's use and perusal, contains the names of divers deaneries and colleges to be founded, out of some rich bishopries and colleges: in one column whereof are set down the revenues of each; and in another, what portion thereof was allotted for the respective Bishops. And the first column was left blank for the King to nominate the persons for those new deaneries: the names of them are set down there by his own pen. These two curious tables I esteem worthy to be preserved and read, for the better knowledge of those great transactions. But alas! these many new bishopries and deaneries, at first so well intended, dwindled away at last to six bishopries only, as was shewn above.

Number CVI. CVII.

The King's own preamble to the act for the new bishoprics.

And accordingly an act of Parliament was made for the erecting those new bishopries. The preamble to which was of King Henry's own handwriting: the copy of the rest of the act was only interlined with his hand in divers places, as it remains still in the Cotton library. That part of the act that is of the King's writing is this that follows: "For- "asmuch as it is not unknown, the slowghfull and ungodly "lyff which have bene usid among all those sects that have "born the name of *religious folk*: and to thentent that "henceforth many of them myght be tornyd to better use, "as hereafter shall follow; whereby God's word myght bet- "ter be set forth, children brought up in learnyng, Clerks "norysshed in the Universities; old servaunts decay, to "have lyvyinges: almys howses for poor folk to be ayd; "reders of Greke, Ebrew, and Latyne, to have good sti- "pend; dayly almes to be mynystrate; mendyng of high "wayes; exhibition for Mynysters of the Chyrch: It is "thought therefore unto the Kyng's Highness expedient "and necessary, that mo byshoprickes, collegial and cathe- "dral chyrches, shall be establyshed, instead of those fore- "sayd religious howses: within the foundation whereof "these other tytyls afore rehearsed shall be stablished."

351

This that follows is another hand, being a copy of the act,

CHAP. XLVI.

Anno 1539.

but interlined throughout with the King's pen: "Bee it "therefore enacted by authority of this present Parliament, "that his Highness shall have full power and authority "from tyme to tyme, to declare and nominate by his let- "ters patents, or other writings to be made under the Great "Seal, such number of Bishops, such number of cities, sees "for Bishops, cathedral churches and dioceses, by metes "and bounds, for the exercise and ministration of their "episcopal offices, &c." as it ran in the printed act, anno 31. Henry VIII.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Act of Six Articles: sadly resented. Shaxton and Latymer leave their bishoprics. Many burnt upon this act. A book of ceremonies framed in Convocation. The English Bible allowed. The German agents depart.

Six questions propounded in Convocation.

THE King about these times was very wavering in matters of religion: and sometimes favoured a reformation of it, and sometimes again was against making any alterations: thinking it unsafe for his crown so to do. And of this the Bishop of Winchester did most studiously endeavour to possess the King's mind: a Convocation therefore was now called; wherein these six questions were propounded.

I. Whether the substance of bread and wine remained in the Sacrament of the Altar after the consecration.

II. Whether it were necessary by God's law, that all men should communicate in both kinds.

III. Whether Priests, that is to say, men dedicate to God by priesthood, may by the law of God marry afterwards.

IV. Whether the vow of chastity or widowhood be by the law of God to be observed.

352 V. Whether private masses stand with the law of God, and be to be used and continued in the Church of England, as things whereby good Christians may receive godly consolation and wholesome benefits.

VI. Whether Auricular Confession is necessary to be retained, continued, and used in the Church.

Anno 1539.

All these articles were resolved by the Convocation the old popish way, and by the Parliament, that began in April 28, made an act; which was entitled, *An Act for abolishing of Diversity of Opinions:* and, because of the rigorous penalties, and the blood that was shed thereupon, was called, *The bloody Act of Six Articles.*

Enacted in Parliament;

But great striving and struggling there was in the House about the passing these articles. Besides the Archbishop of Canterbury, other divines and lawyers argued well against them, appearing to be not only against the truth, but against the common judgment: insomuch, that they would not have passed, had not the King come himself in person into the Parliament House, and that the Parliament perceived his peremptory resolution to have them made an act: as appears by what Archbishop Cranmer wrote in his answer to the second demand of the rebels of Devon in King Edward's reign.

But with difficulty.

But very sad and amazing were the resentments of the sober and religious side, while this was transacting, and hardly yet completed: Simon Heynes, D. D. a learned man, and that had been employed abroad by the King, and who was the first Prebendary put into Westminster church, when the King founded it for a bishopric, anno 1540. this man being now at Eaton, had heard a Priest make a mighty clamorous triumph, that transubstantiation was now determined to be believed by all as an article of faith, and two other articles. For, it seems, at first three articles were only spoken of; to which three others were added, when their hands were in. This made this grave man write a letter to some certain man of the Court, as it seems, of great authority: "admiring, how the King could "pretend authority of Scripture for those articles, there "being not any express word of God written for them: "unless men use Scripture, said he, for proving these, as "the Bishop of Rome quoteth the Scripture to prove his "authority. That the determining these articles to be of

Sadly resented.

CHAP. XLVII.

Anno 1539.

"faith, without plain authority of Scripture, will, instead of "*making quietness*, (for that was the pretence, as appears "in the preamble of the act,) create disquietness. That "this would reflect upon the King's honour, who had be- "fore set forth the Gospel within the realm. That if these "matters should be declared to be *jure divino*, the Em- "peror and French King had the same authority in their "dominions, as our King in his; and so might determine "other things [probably meaning the Pope's authority over "princes] to be *jure divino*, by Scripture misunderstood; "and so might the Pope too." But I will not forestal Dr. Heynes's letter, which who will may read in the Appendix.

N°. CVIII.

Bishop Shaxton and Bishop Latimer leave their bishopries.

Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, upon this act were imprisoned, and resigned their bishoprics, and returned to a private life. But Shaxton, not long before the King's death, notwithstanding all his
353 zeal for religion before, returned to the old religion, and preached at the burning of Anne Ascue. I find nothing of him in King Edward's time; but in Queen Mary's I find him a busy man against the Protestants, and Thirlby the Bishop of Ely's Suffragan in the year 1555. And in 1557. he was with Dr. Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, and John Fullers, the Bishop of Ely's Chancellor, an examiner of heretics. And these sitting upon Pygot and Wolsey, martyrs, he used these words: "He bade them remember "themselves, and become new men; for I myself, said he, "was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am "now become a new man." He was now old, and, I suppose, lived not long after. Latimer continued firm to the last gasp, and came to the glorious end of a martyr. Soon after the laying down his bishopric, as near as I can conjecture, a Bishop, probably Winchester, sent for him, and marvelled that he would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. He answered him boldly and bravely, "that he would be ruled by God's book, and rather than "he would dissent one jot from it, he would be torn with "wild horses." He chanced in this communication to name the Lord's Supper: Tush! said the Bishop, what do ye call

Fox, p. 1557, 1558.

Latimer's second sermon before the King. fol. 36.

the *Lord's Supper?* What new term is that? There stood by him one Dr. Dubber, and said, this term was seldom read in the Doctors. Latimer made answer, that he would rather follow Paul in using his term, than them, though they had all the Doctors on their side. Why, said the Bishop, can we not without the Scriptures order the people? How did they before the Scriptures were written and copied out? God knows, full ill yet, would they have ordered them, said Latimer again.

Many burnt upon this act.

The Lord Crumwel did his endeavour to protect the Gospellers from burning, the punishment appointed in this act, but could not: yet the penalty of these articles did not so much take place during his life, who died about a year after: but after his death a cruel time passed. Commissioners were appointed in every shire, to search out and examine such as were refractory. And few durst protect those that refused to subscribe to the articles; so that they suffered daily, as we shall see under the next year. But it was the Lord Herbert's observation, "their punishment "did but advance their religion; and it was thought they "had some assistance from above, it being impossible other-"wise that they should so rejoice in the midst of their tor-"ments, and triumph over the most cruel death."

Life of King Henry, p. 530.

Others fly beyond sea.

The severity of these times, as it light upon several, so, to prevent the danger thereof, many betook themselves into other countries, and turned exiles for religion. Of these were Hooper and Rogers, who went into Germany and Helvetia, where the true religion was professed. Insomuch that now, and after, these places were replenished with English. Many also came to sojourn in these parts that were young gentlemen, and others that were students, to furnish themselves with good learning and knowledge in religion. Where they might freely read and study divinity, as they might not with safety do in the countries under the papal tyranny. Among these noble young men and scholars, there came one John Butler, of a noble family, who lived abroad in great state and plenty: having travelled about Germany, and thence into France, and afterwards

CHAP. XLVII.

into Italy, he seated himself at last in Zurick. There, about the latter end of King Henry, and beginning of King Edward, he became greatly acquainted with John Wolphius, the learned printer; who seemed to have been the director of his studies, and to whom Butler was in compensation very munificent. To whom Wolphius, in the year 1552, dedicated the second edition of P. Martyr's tract of the Sacrament, consisting of some of his readings at Oxon, as a present at his return from the Baths, where he had lately been.

Anno 1539.

John Butler at Zurick.

A book of ceremonies.

In a Convocation this year, as near as I can guess, was a book of ceremonies hammered out and presented. The main drift whereof was, to make as fair a representation as might be of all the old corruptions and superstitions crept into the Church. The Bishop of Winchester and his party had the great hand in this business, hoping in this juncture, when Popery seemed so much to prevail, to get them received: but they were not. This, if I mistake not, was the book of eighty-eight articles, which Fox tells us Archbishop Cranmer gave a full answer to; and, I suppose, got them quashed by the King. I have set this long book in the Appendix, that he who is minded may peruse it.

N°. CIX.

Letters patents for the English Bible. Hist. Ref. p. i. Coll. 15. b. iii.

Notwithstanding the oppositions that were thus made against the Gospel, yet the English Bible had the King's countenance. For in November the Lord Crumwel obtained from the King his letters patents: wherein he acknowledged, "that by the knowledge of God's word the "people would the better honour God, and observe and "keep his commandments, and do their duty to their Prince. "And therefore granted them the free use of the Scrip-"tures in their natural tongue. But for the diversity of "translations, he appointed the Lord Crumwel to take spe-"cial care, that no manner of person should attempt to "print any Bible in the English tongue of any volume, "during the space of five years, but only such as should "be deputed by the said Lord Crumwel." This was obtained in favour of Grafton, who was now printing the large Bible.

But the people, as they greedily bought up and read the holy Scriptures, so some of them provoked the King much, by taking upon them to expound and teach them, and by quarrelling and calling one another *papist* and *heretic;* and by reading the Bible in the church, during the time of service, with a loud voice, to the disturbance of the Priest and others, and disputing of it in alehouses and taverns. These were complaints before the act of the Six Articles came out. Therefore the King being offended, set out a proclamation, entitled, *For an Uniformity in Religion.* And because I do not find any thing of this in our histories of the Reformation, I shall set it down in the Appendix, from a draught of the Cotton library, with the King's emendations by his own hand. This proclamation had the force of a law, being, as it seems, the first proclamation the King issued out immediately after the Parliament now sitting had, by an act, enjoined his proclamations, made with the advice of his Council, to be obeyed and kept, as though they were made by act of Parliament. For in this very proclamation it is mentioned, how in the beginning of that Parliament then sitting, by authority thereof, this was granted to his Highness and his successors. 355

Anno 1539. A proclamation for reading it.

N°. CX.

In this proclamation, which came out about the beginning of May, being now equal with the law, the King commanded, "that none should call one another *papist* or *heretic*, unless they could prove the same, upon a great "penalty. That none should teach or preach the Bible, "but Curates or Graduates, or such as were licensed by the "King, or the Lord Vicegerent, or the Bishop of the diocese. "That none should read the Scripture openly in the church "or elsewhere, to disturb divine service or mass. But how-"ever, the King allowed all that would or could, to read "both the Old and New Testament secretly by themselves, "for their own edification. And that if they should doubt "of any thing they read, they were not to make their own "expositions, but to resort for instruction to such as were "learned in the holy Scriptures. And finally, he gave "them to understand, that he was not bound by any law

The contents thereof.

CHAP. XLVII.

Anno 1539.

" of God, to set forth the Scripture in English, but that it " was his own pure liberality and goodness, to bring his " people from their old ignorance to virtuous living."

This proclamation came forth a little before the Six Article act. For herein was an intimation of that act, namely, " that the King was proceeding to a full order and reso- " lution, to extinguish all diversities of opinion by *terrible* " laws to be made." That word was used in the first draught, most truly to express those bloody laws; though the King thought fit by his own pen to change that word into *good and just*, as may be observed in the said proclamation.

The King's discourse at parting with the German Ambassadors.

The Counsellors of the Prince Elector, that is, the agents before spoken of, having seen the marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves consummated, which was January 6, returned home, and told the Prince the happy news of it. They also told them what familiar communication the King held with them concerning other matters: *viz.* " that he " was willing to enter into a league in honest causes with " the Elector and Landgrave of Hesse, as he had made a " league with the Duke of Juliers; and afterward he would " treat with them about entering into a league of religion. " That as to that severe law of the Six Articles, they report- " ed how the King did moderate it, and that it was more " sparingly put in execution; that he protested how earn- " estly he desired the Churches might flourish in true doc- " trine. That as to some articles wherein the King agreed " not with them, he desired that they would prove them " upon good grounds, and send them to him, that he might " the better consider them, and consult with the learnedest " of his Bishops and Divines about them. And the truth " being known, he would execute his office, and prefer hea- " venly doctrine before the traditions of men."

The Prince's letters to the King.

The Prince soon after signified by letter unto the King, " that he with others the confederates thought well of him, " but were astonished at the Six Articles. That having " extinguished the power and authority of the Bishop of " Rome, they thought he would not have suffered others

" to have established errors brought into the Church by " the covetousness and ambition of those Bishops. But " they understood it was done by the conspiracy and craft " of certain of his Bishops. That in compliance with the " King, they had employed certain of their learned men to 356
" gather authorities out of the Fathers for confirmation of " four articles, *viz.* concerning the *Mass;* of the *use* of the " whole Sacrament; of the *marriage* of Priests; and of " *vows:* and that with their letters they had sent what " their Divines had writ upon these subjects. They offered " also to send their Divines to meet the English to confer " together, to Geldria, or Hamburgh, or Breme, or any " other place the King should appoint. Or if he had ra- " ther discourse with some of their learned men face to " face, they would send good men and learned to him. " They rejoiced, they said, at their affinity with him by " the marriage of the Queen, wished him all happiness by " it. They certified him, that the Bishop of Rome, and " some others of his party, did attempt certain things against " him. And so the Landgrave had signified to him once " before. For the preventing whereof, and for the more " prudent watching himself, they told him, the Germans " might be profitable to him."

This letter was sent from the Prince, being assembled with the orators of other princes and states of the empire, confederates with him for the reforming of religion; to which the Emperor had given them some encouragement. This they thought convenient to acquaint the King with; that no false rumours concerning it might be spread, to occasion any jealousy in the King concerning their present meeting. But I refer the reader to the perusal of the letter itself, as I have reposited it in the Appendix. N°. CXI.

CHAP. XLVIII.

A commission to certain Bishops and Divines, to examine the doctrines and ceremonies retained in the Church. Errors spring up. The King dissatisfied about his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Anno 1540. The Vicegerent's speech before the Lords, concerning a commission.

IN the year 1540. the King granted a commission (and got it confirmed by act of Parliament) to several Bishops and other Divines, to examine the doctrines and ceremonies then retained in the Church. Some of them were to draw up an exposition of such things as were necessary for the institution of a Christian man. And others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the use of them. The reasons of this commission the Lord Vicegerent, April 12, when the Parliament opened, did specify in a speech to the House: namely, "the King's desire of "an union; and the rashness and licentiousness of some, "and the superstition and stiffness of others; and some "called Papists, and some heretics; and that though the "Scripture were now in the people's hand, yet they were "grossly perverted by both sides. That the King leaned "to neither side; but set the pure and sincere doctrine of "Christ before his eyes. And therefore was resolved to "have it set forth to his subjects without any corrupt
357 "mixtures, and to have dissent not continued, and abuses "cut off, and the true use of ceremonies taught."

Their approbation. Vol. i. p. 274.

The Lords approved of this, and of the persons named; whose names may be seen in the History of the Reformation: and they ordered their days of sitting; which were three whole days in the week, and three half days. And in July a bill was brought in and agreed to, that whatsoever these Bishops and Divines, commissionated by the King, or others by him appointed, should determine concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies, should be believed and obeyed by all the King's subjects.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Anno 1540.

The Divines the King appointed in this commission, the statute calls, "the best learned, honestest, and most virtuous sort of Doctors of Divinity, men of discretion, judgment, and good disposition." And concerning the King's intention by this commission, the same statute saith, "that according to the very Gospel and law of God, without any partial respect of affection to the papistical sort, or any other sect or sects whatsoever, (these Commissioners) should declare by writing, and publish, as well the principal articles and points of faith, with the declaration, true understanding, and observation of such other points, as by them, with his Grace's advice and counsel, should be thought needful and expedient: as also the lawful rites, ceremonies, and observation of God's service."

The Divines of this commission, and their business.

Much of what was done by the Bishops and Divines hath been declared, partly in the History of the Reformation by Bishop Burnet, and partly in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. There such as consult them may see the judgments of divers of these Commissioners under seventeen questions, relating to the sacraments; and in several points of faith. And divers other discourses framed by the said Commissioners I have seen. The good way they took was by Crumwel's and Cranmer's direction. Who foresaw, that in these conferences between men of such differing judgments, there would happen nothing but verbose janglings and endless disceptations, and little would be concluded: therefore they ordered, that each person, having certain proper questions given him in writing, concerning the points to be debated, should in writing also give in his answers plainly and succinctly thereunto. The matters of *faith*, some whereof I shall set before the reader, were drawn up as a form of doctrine, which should be esteemed as the public judgment and the professed doctrine of the Church of England: as is plain from the phrases used in those writings, *viz. Docemus; Credimus. We teach; We believe.* Some of these I meet with in the Cotton library. Which I have digested into six articles: I. Of the Church. II. Of Insti-

What was performed by them.

Matters of faith.

Cleop. E. 4.

CHAP. XLVIII.

tution. III. Of the Eucharist. IV. Of Baptism. V. Of Penance. VI. Of the use of the Sacraments. Which may all be seen at length in the Appendix, under this title which I have prefixed to them, *Quidam Doctrinæ Christianæ Articuli pro Ecclesia Anglicana.*

Anno 1540. N°. CXII.

The King used to make reviews.

It is to be noted, that in the article *of the Church*, which is the first, there be added some corrections under the King's own hand; but so have none of the rest. The reason whereof, I suppose, was this: it was the King's practice to review all draughts of writings intended for the public, whether they were proclamations, or acts of Parliament, or state books; and so he did in like matters relating to religion, being himself a man of learning. And then his custom was to alter, correct, and add, according to his own judgment, as he was minded they should pass into the public. And this article of the *Church* the King had already run over, according to that his custom, with his own eye and pen: and so possibly intended to do by the rest, as his leisure served.

358

Errors now sprung up.

Notwithstanding the care of the King about religion, and the severity of some of his acts against some supposed errors, yet divers greater and real errors and *anabaptistical* opinions crept in about these days into the realm: but the King, being resolved to leave such as held them unto his laws, excluded them his general pardon at the conclusion of this Parliament in July this year. The errors were these:

Statute Book, 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 49.

"That infants ought not to be baptized: and if they were "baptized, that they ought to be rebaptized when they come "to lawful age. That it is not lawful for a Christian man to "bear office or rule in the commonwealth. That no man's "laws ought to be obeyed. That it is not lawful for a "Christian man to take any oath before a Judge. That "Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady. "That sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repent-"ance. That every manner of death, with the time and "hour thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed, and "determined to every man by God, that neither any prince

" by his word can alter it, nor any man by his own wilful-
" ness prevent or change it. That all things be common,
" and nothing several."

Convocation.

This year, April the 14th, the Convocation began their sitting. And Polydore Virgil, Archdeacon of Wells, presented Richard Gwent, *Dr. Decretorum*, Archdeacon of London, for Prolocutor. And May the 5th was presented at the synod the Lord Crumwel, Earl of Essex, Vicegerent; who expounded them certain articles. And a subsidy was granted by the Prelates. Prorogued till May 11. The day following, the King's Vicegerent sat with the Archbishops and other Bishops. Before whom the Prolocutor spoke concerning the payment of this subsidy, *viz.* being 4*s.* in the pound; besides the tenths yearly payable to his Majesty. And that for their parts they had appointed six persons of their own body, to transact and conclude with the Lords. These were, the Prolocutor, Thurlby, Archdeacon of Ely, Incent, one of the Clerks for Winton, Draycot for Lincoln, Brerewood, a Canon of Exon, and David Pool, Chancellor of Litchfield and Archdeacon of Salop.

The business of Anne of Cleves before the synod. Extr. of Con.

Session 13. there came upon the stage the King's great and weighty business about the Lady Anne of Cleves. The Clergy of both provinces being called together, the King sent them a letter missive: which being received and read in full Convocation, July the 5th, the Bishop of Winchester expounded and declared the specialities or parts of the causes of the invalidity or nullity of the matrimony pretended, publicly there and then to the whole company, *luculenta oratione*. And consequently, for more compendious and commodious expedition and search into the merits and circumstances of the said business, with the common consent of the synod, it was decreed, that the whole business should be referred to the two Archbishops, the Bishops 359
of London, Durham, Winchester, and Wigorn. Who, together with the Prolocutor, Thurlby, Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, Richard Layton, Dean of York, Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of the East Riding, Edward Legh, Thomas Robertson, and William Rivet, should receive, in the name

CHAP. XLVIII.

Anno 1540.

of themselves and whole congregation and sacred synod, all and singular the kinds of proofs which were in fact; and should with care and study examine, discuss, and with an equal balance weigh them: and them so examined and weighed, publicly to declare and lay open to the said synod. What the issue of this finally was, our historians declare at length.

A Convocation about Anne of Cleves marriage.

While the Parliament was sitting, the King's marriage with his present Queen, that was brought to him from Germany about six months ago, was declared to be null and void; so that both the King and she were at liberty to marry again. This the learned Bishops and Clergy of both Houses defined July 9, at the said Convocation held at Westminster, upon account of a precontract with the Duke of Lorain's son, and because the King had never given his full consent to this marriage, nor consummated the same by knowing her carnally. This is one of the memorable lines of King Henry's life, and for which he is wont to be charged. The particulars are at large set down by Bishop Burnet in his History. But having under my hand the whole process of this business in an authentic MS. in parchment, I will here relate chiefly how this was managed in the Convocation House, wherein the foresaid historian is but brief, and some other matters by him omitted.

Inter MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

The King dissatisfied about the Lady Anne.

The Lady Anne of Cleves came to Rochester on New-year's-eve last past, at night. On New-year's-day, being Thursday, the King privately visited her there: but he spake not twenty words to her. For she answered not the character of beauty that was reported of her to the King. At which he was much troubled, and signified as much to those about him: yet he acknowledged she was well and seemly. On Friday the King returned by water; having first sent a present of sables to her by the Master of his Horse. On Saturday she made her entrance into Greenwich, where the Court was, and the King waited upon her to her chamber. And that day the King's Counsellors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Crumwel, and the Bishop

of Durham, met with the agents of Cleves, and treated with them about their commission, and the performance of the covenants which the King had sent before to Dr. Wotton, his Ambassador at that Court, to have been concluded there; as also how the matter stood for the covenants of marriage between the Duke of Lorain's son and the Lady Anne. Concerning both which, the said agents having no satisfactory answer to make, were much astonished and abashed, and desired time to make answer till the next morning. On Sunday morning the counsellors and the agents met accordingly, and they then could give no good answer to either; but only as to the contract, there had been a revocation made; and that they were but spousals. When Crumwel had told the King the issue of this conference, he said, he was not well handled, and that were it not that she were come so far in his realm, and the great preparations that his estates and people had made for her, and fearing a ruffle in the world, he would never marry her. But, considering these extremities, the King advised, that the lady should, before his Council and certain notaries, protest that she was free from all contracts. And this was done accordingly by her. And on Monday (according to Crumwel's letter to the King) or Tuesday, (according to the Duke of Suffolk's deposition,) the King was wedded to her, she being conducted to the church by the Earl of Essex, (Bourchier,) and another Earl that came with her. But as the King was going, being yet in his Chamber of Presence, he told the Lord Crumwel, "that were it not to "satisfy the world and his realm, he would not do that he "must do that day, for none earthly thing."

Anno 1540.

360

But yet marries her.

On Monday (or rather Tuesday) night he bedded her. And on Tuesday (or rather Wednesday) morning he declared to Crumwel his further dislike of her. For he had, he said, felt her belly and her breasts, and, as he should judge, she should be no maid; and added, he left her as good a maid as he found her. And afterward he told Crumwel, and she herself, by certain expressions to some ladies about her, signified, that he never knew her carnally.

Complains to the Lord Crumwel.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Anno 1540.

And the King, both in Lent, and at Easter, and at Whitsuntide, lamented his fate to the Lord Crumwel, that he should never more have any children for the comfort of the realm, if he should so continue in marriage with this lady; and assured him before God, that he thought she never was his lawful wife. Crumwel then said to the King, that he would do his utmost to comfort and deliver his Grace of his affliction. And since Whitsuntide the King told Crumwel, that he had done as much to move the consent of his heart and mind as ever did man, and that he took God to witness the obstacle would never out of his mind.

The case committed to the Convocation.

The Parliament seeing it so near to touch the succession, and observing withal how this marriage was in many respects doubtful, by their desire and the King's allowance, and the Queen's consent too, the matter was brought before the Convocation. To whom the King gave out a commission, to meet and examine this business, charging them to judge according to the best of their understandings, without any inclination to one part or other, and according to justice and equity; and, "that having God only before "their eyes, they should by authentic writing declare to "him what in this matter was just, honest, and holy; re- "quiring this one thing of them, that as faithful and good "members of the Church, they would in this great cause "do according to justice and truth." This commission of the King was dated July 6, and may be found in the Appendix.

N°.CXIII.

The Convocation sit.

Accordingly on Wednesday July 7, in the chapter-house of St. Peter's, Westminster, assembled the most reverend Fathers in Christ, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Archbishop of York, and the reverend Fathers of both provinces;

Edmund, Bishop of London.
Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham.
Stephen, Bishop of Winchester.
John, Bishop of Lincoln.
Robert, Bishop of Carlisle.
William, Bishop of St. David's.

Robert, Bishop of Landaff.
John, Bishop of Hereford.
John, Bishop of Wigorn.
Robert, Bishop of St. Asaph.
Nicolas, Bishop of Rochester.
John, Bishop of Bangor.

There met also the venerable and eminent men, Richard 361
Gwent, Archdeacon of London, Official of the Court of Canterbury, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and the reverend Father Thomas Thirleby, Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of Ely, designed Bishop of Westminster; accompanied with

John Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, London.
Peter Vanne, Dean of Sarum.
John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln.
Henry Williams, Dean of Litchfield.
Simon Heynes, Dean of Exeter.
Rich. Layton, Dean of York.

And these Archdeacons;

Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury.
Richard Rawson, Archdeacon of Essex.
Richard Coren, Archdeacon of Colch. and Oxon.
Thomas Baghe, Archdeacon of Surrey.
Edward Leighton, Archdeacon of Sarum.
Maurice Gruffith, Archdeacon of Rochester.
John Worthial, Archdeacon of Cicester.
Polydore Virgil, Archdeacon of Wells.
Richard Strete, Archdeacon of Darby.
David Pole, Archdeacon of Salop.
Thomas Winter, Archdeacon of Cornwal.
George Hennege, Archdeacon of Taunton.
Griffin Leyson, Archdeacon of Caermerden.
Thomas Runcorn, Archdeacon of Bangor.
Thomas Westby, Archdeacon of York.
Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of East Riding.
John Langriche, Archdeacon of Cleveland.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Robert Davel, Archdeacon of Northumberland.
William Holgill, Archdeacon of Carlisle.

Anno 1540. Together with the Clergy of both provinces in great multitude. And first, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared the cause of their meeting or council. Then did Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, present to the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, the King's commissional letters. Which were read by Anthony Hussey, Notary Public, in the presence also of Thomas Argal, Notary Public.

Bishop Gardiner's oration to the House.

And then Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, managed the business on the King's part; and in an oration expounded and declared to the whole company the particular causes of the invalidity or nullity of the pretended marriage. Next, for

The case referred to a committee.

a more compendious and commodious despatch and search into the merits and circumstances of the said matter, by the common consent of the synod, it was decreed, that the two Archbishops, Edmund Bishop of London, Cuthbert of Durham, Stephen of Winchester, and John of Wigorn, and the venerable men, Richard Gwent, Thomas Thirleby, John Incent, Edward Leighton, Thomas Robertson, and Willam Rivet, Doctors of Divinity and Law, and Thomas Magnus, should, instead and in the names of all the rest, take all and singular the proofs of fact touching or concerning the merits of the said matter; and should examine, discuss, and in an equal balance weigh and consider them; and so to report and declare them, as the nature and quality of the business, and the necessity and use of the thing required: and them so nominated, ordained, and appointed, to do and despatch all and singular things in that behalf necessary, or any ways seasonable.

Their proceedings.

Which being done, the Clergy of the Lower House departed from the chapter house, the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, the Dean of York, the Dean of St. Paul's, Richard [Edward] Leighton, Thomas Robertson, and
362 Thomas Magnus, remaining. And the said Archbishops and Bishops and venerable men consulting together, upon

the manner and form for the quieter despatch of this affair, at length unanimously agreed, that the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, and the Dean of York, in the stead and names of them and the whole synod, should call what witnesses they would, and give them their oaths, and take their evidence, and certify the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of the depositions. Then the synod was adjourned by the Bishop of Canterbury until and between the hours of six and eight in the morning the next day. And the said Bishops and Clergy were warned to be present that day, to proceed further in this business. This being done, the Bishops of Durham and Winton, the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, and the Dean of York, in the presence of John Rhese, Register to the King's Majesty for ecclesiastical causes, and Richard Watkins, by the King's authority, Prothonotary, and Anthony Hussey, Principal Register to the Archbishop of Canterbury, between the hours of one and six in the afternoon, repaired to the King's palace near Westminster; and there took the depositions of the Lord Awdely of Walden, Lord Chancellor; Thomas Duke of Norfolk; Charles Duke of Suffolk; William Earl of Southampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal; John Lord Russel, Great Admiral of England; Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse; Knights of the Garter, the Lord George Cobham, Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the King's Secretary; Anthony Denny, Esq. and William Butts, Doctor of Physic; and John Chambers, the King's Physician, his deposition was taken at his house in Chanon Row; and the next day Mr. Phillip Hoby was deposed before the Elect of Westminster. Which depositions may be found in the Appendix. No. CXIV.

The decree.

The said day, being Thursday, the said Commissioners and Clergy of both provinces, according to the foresaid appointment, met again in the presence of all the Notaries Public in the chapter house. And then and there, that the business might be the more diligently and maturely finished, they joined to the foresaid eight, John Tregon-

CHAP. XLVIII.

wel, John Oliver, William Peter, and John Hughes, Doctors of Law. Now were brought in the depositions by the Bishop of Winchester, and some other public instruments having reference to the aforesaid cause. Then the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest, who were specially deputed to examine and discuss the merits and more secret matters of that cause, compared the proofs and merits thereof. Then, after some space of time, all the Prelates and Clergy being together, assembled in the said chapter-house, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the consent of the rest, adjourned the said synod until three of the clock of the afternoon of the same day. At which time all assembling, after they had maturely handled and digested among themselves the merits of the said cause, they did publicly and unanimously, not one disagreeing, assert and affirm, that they found by the proofs and arguments concerning the premises, that the King's Majesty *neutiquam matrimonio prætenso cum dicta Dom. Anna, ut præmittitur, contracto et solemnizato alligatum esse, sed ad aliunde matrimonium cum quavis alia persona idonea, divino jure haud prohibita, liberum esse*, &c. *i. e.* "was not bound by the pre-
"tended marriage contracted and solemnized with the said
363 "Lady Anne, but was free to marry elsewhere with any
"other fit person, not forbid by God's law; and that the
"most serene Lady Anne in like manner was not at all
"bound by the said pretended matrimony, not to contract
"marriage elsewhere with whatsoever fit man she would,
"not prohibited by God's law, notwithstanding the pre-
"tended matrimony contracted and solemnized *de facto* be-
"tween her and the King."

Anno 1540.

The letters thereof to the King.

And then further decreed, that letters testimonial or certificatory should be drawn up and sent to the King concerning the same, shewing their decision and the causes thereof. And that these letters might be the better and more plainly composed, the care thereof was left to the said six Archbishops and Bishops, and the twelve other persons above mentioned. And then the Archbishop adjourned the synod till eight of the clock the next day, being Friday.

And that day they meeting, the Archbishop again adjourned them till three in the afternoon. At which time the letters testimonial or certificatory, containing the judgment of the whole synod upon the invalidity of the marriage, being drawn in parchment, in form of a public instrument, were subscribed by them, as well by themselves as by the proctors of some of the Prelates and Clergy that were absent; and were sealed with the two Archbishops' seals, in the presence of Tregonwel, Oliver, Peter, and Hughs, being witnesses. I shall give no further account of this letter, it being exemplified in Bishop Burnet's History. Vol. i. Collect. p. 197.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Lord Crumwel's end. His merits. Persecution upon the Six Articles.

THE affairs of the religion received this year a very fatal blow by the taking off the Lord Crumwel, Earl of Essex, and Lord Vicegerent: brought about by the means of the Bishop of Winchester and the popish faction. His high honours and offices were these among others, as I collect them from a MS. journal of Cecil's. He was created Lord Crumwel, April 18, 1539. The Lord Herbert notes it to be July 9. that year. The next year he was created Earl of Essex; and was Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Chequer, Justice of the Forests. He was a man whose merits raised him from a very low degree. And as he was a sincere favourer of the Gospel, so he was very zealous and very honest in doing the King his master's work, and sometimes his drudgery; as in the dissolution of religious houses, and the severe execution of such as complied not with the King's divorce and his marriage, and the rejection of the Papal supremacy; which begat him many enemies, by whom he was overwhelmed at last. He retained many persons of great quickness and abilities, and preferred them to the

Crumwel's death and character.

Sir W. Cec. MS. Journal.

CHAP. XLIX.

King, who employed them in his frequent messages and despatches abroad into other kingdoms.

Anno 1540.

Worthy men preferred by his means.

Among other remarks of the Lord Crumwel, this may be one, that he preferred more men of worth and integrity, whether Lay or Clergy, in his time, than any other in great place and favour at Court had done. Of which Latymer, Bishop of Worcester, upon some such favour shewn by him to two gentlemen, takes notice in a letter to the said Crumwel, in the year 1538, to this tenor:

Bishop Latymer to Crumwel.

"Right Honourable, *salutem in Salvatore.* Sir, I have "to thank your good Lordship for many things; and now "a late, for your singular goodness shewed, as I understand, "to Mr. Lucy, a right good gentleman; and also towards "Mr. Acton, another of the same sort. But of this my "duty more at more leisure. And yet thus much now I "will say, and not say it alone, but with many, that your "Lordship (one man) have promoted many more honest "men, since God promoted you, than have many men done "before your time, though in like authority with you. "*Tanquam non tibi natus soli, sed multorum commodo.* "*Efficiat, qui omnia facit ut in eandem fidem diutissimè* "*vivat dominatio tua, ut sic inter nobiles nobilissimus* "*evadas. Quod quidem nihil esse possit nobilius, quàm bo-* "*nos viros evehere, malos autem reprimere. Id quod tibi* "*hactenus usu venit, plus omnibus facere.*"

Thomas Barnaby, Crumwel's servant.

Among the rest, I will mention one who is scarcely taken notice of by our historians. It was Thomas Barnabie, a merchant. He first became known to Crumwel by soliciting his own case at the Court, about two of his ships that had been taken by some French pirates; notwithstanding he had the King's safe conduct of trading into all parts and in all commodities, himself, his servants, and attorneys. Crumwel observing him a man of parts, and fit for despatch of business, and particularly well acquainted with France, and the ports and havens thereof, made use of him at first, to send over thither with messages to the ambassadors, to be despatched by them back again; and recommended him to the King. And in these services of the Prince, to and

from the Courts of France, Spain, and Italy, he made eight and twenty voyages. In the year 1524. he married a wife in France; and was alive in 1552. By this long acquaintance with France, he knew every port, haven, and bay, between Bulloign and Bourdeaux. Once in discourse with the said Lord Crumwel about France, he mentioned a way to him to distress that realm; namely, by getting New Haven from them, (now called Havre de Grace,) a town, in which, as he said, in his remembrance there were but three houses; two of them to lay cables and anchors in, and the other a victualling house. But the French King knew what a place of import it was, being the gulf, gullet, and mouth of the sea; which made him labour all he could to people and fortify it. So that it soon became exceedingly populous, and lived much upon piracy. Which the French King winked at, and called them *his mariners* and *his thieves*. It lay so, the channel laying on that side of his land, between Polhed and that haven, that no merchandises, of what realm soever it came, but must come that way, and nothing could come out of those parts of France, the commodities of Roan, the wines of Paris, Orleans and Bayon, to go to any other parts, but must pass 365 that way. And that no army that the French King could send to Scotland, or to victual his armies for the sea, but all was set forth there. There was one of the wittiest heads in all Christendom of a merchant shewed Barnabie, once standing there together, that the English needed no other rod to scourge Normandy and France, but only that. All this Barnabie discoursed to Crumwel. Who thereupon sent him thither upon the King's cost, and he drew a platform of it, and brought it to him. The French King was there at the same time, and the Admiral Biron, and the Constable, for nine days, to view it, and to cast its ditches. And moreover they made a proclamation, that whosoever would come and build there at New Haven should have his foundation, and cost him nothing. After his coming home, Crumwel conferred the matter with him, and the Lord Fitz Williams, then Lord Admiral, better than three

Anno 1540.

New Haven.

CHAP. XLIX.

Anno 1540.

or four hours, viewing the platform; and said, that if he lived, and that wars should happen, that should surely be remembered. And so preferred him to the King and his business. Which he performed faithfully, or else had never been employed so often as he was.

Well acquainted with France.

He was employed all the while the Bishop of Winchester and Sir John Wallop were Ambassadors in France; and likewise afterward, when the Bishop of London and the Lord Paget were Ambassadors. Few men were so well acquainted with the French Court, being despatched thither by the English Ambassadors for any by-matters, when the King's privy affairs obliged not the Ambassadors to wait upon the Court themselves. Hereby he came to know well the Chancellor, the Cardinal of Lorain, the Cardinal of Paris, the Admiral, the Constable.

Hated by Winchester for Crumwell's sake.

He stuck close to Crumwel, who sent him divers times to the Bishop of Winchester, and Wallop, Ambassadors in France, (as was said afore,) but they could not endure him, knowing him to be Crumwel's creature; and once they told the Constable of France, that he was Crumwel's spy. This Constable was a notable favourite in the French Court in those times: one of the doublest and most dissembling gentlemen in the world; and no more assurance to be taken of his words than to hold an eel by the tail. He would speak fair and promise fair, and work the contrary. And because he was very popish, Winchester and Wallop loved him well. This Barnabie often brought matters to Winchester, while Ambassador, concerning the King's proceedings in religion; which he could not well away withal, nor his Secretary Jerman Gardiner. When Crumwel died, he had many a heavy look of Wallop; who said to him that his great god was gone, and that there were none belonging to him but spies and heretics.

Laments the neglect of shipping in England.

This Barnabie was alive in the days of King Edward; and in the year 1552, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl, (whence I have extracted most of the former relation,) did very earnestly lament the neglect of shipping in England, and that we were so much outdone by France. Whereby all our

ports became neglected; and did propound very ingenious ways for the furthering of trade, as we shall read, when we come to the annals of that year.

August the 10th, (the next month after Crumwel's death,) the thirty-second of the King, that is, in this year 1540, an order was set down for the number of Counsellors, and in what precedency they were to sit; I have it out of a journal of Sir Will. Cecil's own keeping: *viz.* the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Awdly, Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer; the Duke of Suffolk, Great Master and President of the Council; the Earl of Southampton, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Sussex, Great Chamberlain; Edward, Earl of Hertford; Lord Russel, Lord Admiral; the Bishop of Duresm; the Bishop of Winton; Lord Sandes, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Tho. Cheney, Treasurer; Sir William Kingston, Comptroller; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse; Sir Anthony Wyngfield, Vice-chamberlain; Sir Thomas Wrythsley, Secretary; Sir Ralph Sadleyr, Secretary; Sir Rich. Rych, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Augmentation. 366 The names and order of the Privy Counsellors.

Upon the Six Articles, commissions were granted out by the King to the Bishops, and their Chancellors and Officials, and to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, and Sheriffs in every shire, and others named in the same commissions; to inquire diligently upon all heretical books, and to burn them, and upon all persons suspected of such felonies, contempts, or transgressions against the act of the Six Articles. Prosecution upon the Six Articles.

To London, and the diocese thereof, was a particular commission sent for this purpose. The Commissioners were the Bishop of London, Roche the Mayor, Allen, Warren, Richard Gresham, Knights and Aldermen, Roger Cholmley, Knight, Sergeant at Law, John Gresham, Michael Dormer, the Archdeacon of London, the Bishop's Commissary, Chidley, Crayford, Edward Hall, Brook, Morgan. And that these might be sure to do their office, a letter was procured from the King to Boner the Bishop, or Commissioners for London.

CHAP. XLIX.

Anno 1540.

his Commissary, to give all these their oaths for the execution of the said act. The form of which oath was prescribed in that act. The Bishop accordingly, at Guildhall, administered the said oath to them. And then the jury were sworn; when the Bishop admonished them to spare none. So in all parishes throughout London almost, some were summoned and accused, and brought into trouble, to the number of near two hundred. Several also of Calais, and of divers other quarters, were brought into trouble. So that all the prisons in London were too little to hold them. Insomuch that they were fain to bestow them in the halls of London. But by the means of the Lord Awdley, Lord Chancellor, they were bound for one another to appear in the Star-chamber the next day after; being by this means rescued from the hands of the Bishop and Commissioners. And then none appearing against them, they were all discharged. This must be recorded for one of the good deeds of that Chancellor.

Fox, p. 1100.

Prisoners upon the act.

Of these prisoners were Grafton and Whitchurch, the printers of the Bible, and divers Parsons and Curates; one nameless, a Scotch friar, driven out of his country, Curate of St. Catharine Colman: the Parson and Curate of St. Antholin's: Thomas Cappes, Priest of the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish-street, for saying, *that the Sacrament of the Altar was a memory of the Lord's death:* Hardiman, Priest, Parson of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-
367 lane, for preaching, that *confession was confusion and deformation*, and that *the butcherly ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred;* that *in making the sacraments of such virtue, they take the glory of God from him;* and, *that faith in Christ is sufficient without any other sacraments, to justify:* Richard Bostock of Algate, for saying, *auricular confession had killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters had done, since King Henry was King of England;* and *that water in the Thames had as much virtue as the water the Priest did hallow:* Thomas Lancaster of St. Katharine's, Priest, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited: Ward, a friar, for mar-

rying a wife: Wilcox, a Scotch friar, for preaching against confessions, holy water, praying to saints, purgatory, &c. John Taylor, D. D. of St. Peter's in Cornhill; William Tolwin, Parson of St. Anthony's; Robert Wisdom, parish Priest of St. Katharine's in Lothbury; Thomas Becon, George Parker, Parson of St. Pancrase; John Birch, Parson of St. Buttolph's-lane; Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, and famous preacher; he was the Duke of Suffolk's Chaplain, and preached sometime at St. Anthony's. To these I add Dr. Crome of Aldermary, and South, parish Priest of Allhallow's, Lumbard-street; and Some, a Priest. Anno 1540.

By the severity of this act of the Six Articles, much rigor was used towards such as espoused principles more agreeable to the Gospel. The Germans had a great compassion for them. As appeareth by what followeth. Martin Bucer, a learned Divine of the first rank in Germany, and Professor of Divinity in Strasburgh, being entreated by his friends in England, did earnestly deal with the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, that Melancthon might go into England, (whose presence the King had so earnestly before desired,) in hopes that the King might be prevailed upon by his means to abrogate or mitigate that sanguinary law. But the Elector in the month of October answered, "That he was certain in his conscience, that for "four or five years he omitted nothing that might help "the cause of religion in England; that he maintained at "Wittenburgh the Bishop of Hereford [*i. e.* Fox] at his "great charge. And that he [that Bishop] was sufficiently "instructed in the heads of the faith; and that he carried "all to his King; but yet there came no answer. That in "the year 1538. he sent Burcard and Boynberg; and "again, 1539, him and Baambach; but obtained nothing. "That the King continually delayed; and after so many "delays, privately had a synod with his Bishops; and "made a defect from his purpose of reformation with great "precipitancy, they, the Protestants, not being privy to it." Endeavours from Germany to mitigate that sanguinary law. Hist. Luth. per Seckingd.

CHAP. XLIX.

And he thought it to no purpose now to send Melancthon, things being come to that extremity.

Anno 1540. Dr. Barnes burnt.

In this year, July 30, without any trial, or sentence of condemnation, or calling him to answer, and two others with him, was Dr. Barnes burnt at Smithfield, once Prior of the Augustine's in Cambridge; a learned man, well known to the King, and much employed by him and the Lord Crumwel in embassies abroad, especially to Germany. He was the great restorer of good learning in Cambridge, about the year 1525 and 26, putting those students of his house upon reading good classic authors, instead of the schoolmen. Bilney converted Barnes wholly unto Christ. Mr. Stafford,
368 a pious learned man, and public Reader of Divinity, answered Barnes for his form to be made Bachelor in Divinity. By the means of this man, and some few others in that University, many became godly learned; who shewed themselves, and flocked together in open streets, in the schools, and at sermons in St. Mary's, and at St. Austin's, and at other disputations. They were chiefly of Pembroke hall, St. John's college, Peter house, Queen's college, King's college, Gonwell hall, and Bennet college. The names of some of them (for their names deserve to stand in record) were these, besides Barnes and Stafford and Bilney aforesaid: Dr. Thixtel, or Thissel; Thomas Allen, of Pembroke; Dr. Farman, of Queen's; Mr. Took, Mr. Loude, of Bennet; Mr. Cambridge, Field, Colman, Coverdale, Bachelors of Divinity; Parnel, of St. Austin's, under Barnes; Thomas Arthur, Dr. Warner, Segar Nicolson, uncertain of what college; Rodolph Bradford, of King's; Dr. Smith, of Trinity hall. To which we must add Latymer of Christ's college.

Learning and piety brought into Cambridge by his means.

These Gospellers meet together.

These and a great many more met often at a house called the White Horse, to confer together with others, in mockery called Germans; because they conversed much in the books of the Divines of Germany brought thence. This house was chose, because those of King's college, Queen's college, and St. John's, might come in at the back-side, and so be the

more private and undiscovered. Warner before mentioned was an acquaintance of Bilney's at Cambridge, and being Parson of Winterton, was present with him at his burning at Norwich; whom he chose to be with him then, to comfort him. Anno 1540.

Gospellers in these times at Oxon. Garret.

And that I may here take in (though it be a digression) what progress the other University of Oxford made about the same time also in religion; Thomas Garret, Curate of Honey-lane, London, and who was burnt in the same fire with Dr. Barnes, was the great instrument thereof there. Who brought thither sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tyndal's first translation of the New Testament; which was about the year 1525. or 1526; which books he sold at Oxon, and dispersed them among the students. Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of London had intelligence of this man, and that he had a number of these heretical books, as they called them, and that he was gone to Oxford to vend them; and a privy search was intended to be made for him in that University. But one Cole, of Magdalen college, afterwards Cross-bearer unto the Cardinal, gave secret warning of this to a friend or two of Garret's, and advised them to persuade him to be gone. And now a great many in Oxon became suspected in religion; as they might well be; for they fell very hard upon reading these books, and gathered much light in religion from them; namely, Delaber, of Alban hall; Clark, Sumner, Bets, Taverner, Radley, Frith, Cox, Drum, and others, of St. Frideswyde's college, or the Cardinal's college, now Christ's Church; Udal and Diet, and others, of Corpus Christi; Eeden of Magdalen college; others of Glocester college; two Monks of St. Austin's, of Canterbury, named Lungport; and John Salisbury, of St. Edmond's Bury; two White Monks of Bernard college; two Canons of St. Mary's college, one whereof was Robert Farrar, afterwards a Bishop and a martyr; and divers more.

Insomuch that a commission was sent down hither to make diligent search for books, and for such as read them, 369

CHAP. XLIX.

Anno 1540.

or favoured the Gospel. The chief of these inquisitors were Dr. Cotisford, Master of Lincoln college, Commissary then of the University; Dr. London, Warden of New College; and Dr. Higdon, Dean of St. Frideswide. In fine, such as were taken were made go in procession, and to make their recantation; and as they passed by Carfax, were made to cast a book into a fire there kindled, in token of their repentance.

Fox, p. 1092.

Barnes vindicated by Coverdale.

But to return to Barnes: it was not enough to take away his life, but one Standish, a Fellow of Whittington college, wrote a scurrilous book against him, refuting what he had said immediately before his burning. Which his friend and old acquaintance, Coverdale, answered, and justified the deceased martyr.

Rob. Wisdom.

Among divers of the Clergy of London taken up this year, Robert Wisdom was one, as afore was said. This man was a very painful setter forth of true religion; of whom we have spoken somewhat in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer; to which in this place we will add somewhat more. He wrote an exposition upon the Ten Commandments. For divers passages in which book he was put into Lollard's tower by the Council. And being convented before them, they laid to his charge certain texts of Scripture in that book. One was, "*Babes, keep yourselves from "images.* Hence they said, he was guilty of heresy, be- "cause by that text he shewed he was for destroying all "images. Another thing they laid against him was, that he "said, That *at the day of judgment Christ would reward "only of mercy and not of merit.* That *all traditions "of men should be plucked up by the roots.* That *man "hath no free will to do good.* He spake against invo- "cation and praying to saints, and against censing in the "church, and other ceremonies: against trental masses, and "that they profited not souls departed. That he advised "his parishioners to take the Scripture into their hands, "when they met together on Sundays and holydays in the "alehouse, to talk and commune of it. That he said, he "trusted to see the day, when maids should sing the

His doctrines.

" Scriptures at their wheels, and ploughmen at their ploughs. " That he said, we had a living Christ, and not a Christ of " clouts. That souls departed do not come again, and walk, " and play at bo-peep with us. *Item*, That every one of us " ought to bear one another's burdens, as in the body the " bones strengthen and maintain the flesh. And that there " was no difference of meats."

These were the articles, in number thirteen, laid against him. Which from Lollard's tower he declared his sense and meaning of in a letter. I refer the readers to the Appendix, No. CXV. where they shall find it at large. Which being so very well penned a discourse, and shewing the good learning and abilities of this reverend man, I was willing to preserve it. Out of it I shall observe at present only one or two things. One was, that he foretold of the Reformation under King Edward. Where speaking of the abolishing of the Roman Bishop, and the dissolution of monasteries, and the forbidding all pardons from Rome, he added, " that the residue " of all the Roman impostures must needs fall, though all " the Papists should set to their shoulders, and lift and un- " derprop, till they burst. And this I say in the word of the " Lord, that the day will come, when the very root of all " Popery, even your masses, shall be plucked up." And in the margin he wrote, *Note this, for it will come to pass, and that shortly.* Another matter I observe in his letter is, the reason why he advised people, when they were at the alehouse, to take the Scripture and talk of it. Which one Leswel, sent down into Essex to hear him preach on Easter Thursday, informed against him, that he then so taught. To which the Bishop, rebuking him for so saying, told him, that people, when they are drunk, will handle the Scripture unreverently; and that much mischief may come of it. He answered, " That therefore he exhorted to have " the Scripture then especially read and heard, that they " might, for the fear of that, abstain from excess and drunk- " enness."

Foretells the Reformation.

370

Two years before this, he was again in trouble before the Bishop of London; and several things are entered in

Troubled before.

CHAP. XLIX.

the Bishop's register concerning him: that was the time, I suppose, when he bare a fagot.

Anno 1540.

And now two years after, they extracted out of the same register matter against him; though the Bishop then swore by his baptism, that Wisdom should never hear of it more. He lived to better times; for he was Archdeacon of Ely, and one of the famous synod in 1562, and died 1568.

Huntingdon, a priest and poet.

About this time one John Huntingdon, a zealous priest and poet, compiled a poem, entitled, *The Genealogy of Heretics;* mentioning only the names of such godly men as had been no friends to the Pope; and no other heretics were once touched at, as if there were no heretics but such as opposed the Pope. By this Huntingdon, and two more Priests, was one Seton, a Scotch friar, and an excellent preacher in London, detected and informed against. But Huntingdon was afterwards converted to the same doctrine himself, notwithstanding these his present oppositions. There were many other poets of this strain, that appeared some years before, who vented all their wit against such as professed and loved the Gospel, and were enemies to the Pope: *viz.* Thomas Smith, Richard Dallison, William Stawne, Stephen Prowet, Friar Adrian, Quarry the pardoner; whom William Bale calls, *Popish poets* and *dirty metrists.*

Popish poets. Im. of both Churches.

Anno 1541.

The King's supremacy owned in Ireland.

In the thirty-third year of the King, which falls in with the year of our Lord 1541, the supremacy was gone through with in the kingdom of Ireland. For then the O Neals, O Relies, O Birus, O Carols, and other old Irish families, and the English families of the Desmonds, Barries, Roches, Bourks, (whose posterities do still continue zealous Romanists,) did make their submissions by indenture to Sir Anthony Sellenger, then chief governor of that kingdom; wherein they acknowledged King Henry to be their sovereign Lord, and confessed the King's supremacy in all causes, and utterly renounced the jurisdiction of the Pope; as Bramhal, the learned Archbishop of Armagh, extracted out of the council book of Ireland.

Just Vindic. chap. 3.

CHAP. L. 371

A new Convocation. Bible in folio printed. The Bishop of Winton's interposition in a controversy risen in Cambridge, about pronouncing the Greek. The Convocation meets again. Persecution at Oxford. The Necessary Erudition.

JANUARY the 20th, 1541, began a new Convocation. When the Archbishop landed at Paul's Wharf, and went thence on foot, the cross being carried before him to the church of St. Paul's. Bishop Boner said high mass: Dr. Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, preached a Latin sermon. His text, *Vos estis sal terræ:* Gwent, Archdeacon of London, chosen again Prolocutor, was presented by Nic. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. The Archbishop confirmed the choice. And then signified unto all, that it was the King's intention that the Fathers, the Prelates and Clergy there assembled, should consult *de rebus religionis lapsis et ruentibus;* and to deliberate among themselves of providing fit remedies: and what they should think fit to be reformed and corrected, to correct and reform the same among themselves. Declaring to them further, that many things in the Old and New Testament, translated into the English language, wanted reformation. And further the said Archbishop would, that the Prolocutor with the Clergy should betake themselves to the Lower House, and discourse among themselves concerning examination of the said books. And that some skilful persons should be appointed to turn over the canons and other laws for the shunning and restraining of simony.

Anno 1541. A Convocation. Their business to consult about.

Extr. of Convocat. MS. D. Fr. Episc. Roff.

In this synod also the good Archbishop treated about making of homilies; and likewise of translating the several books of the Bible. And the books were particularly delivered to certain Bishops to be translated. In another session, he spake also concerning the same; and concerning persons to be nominated to translate their parts. And in the session the next day, (*viz.* sess. 6.) he moved the trans-

Matters proposed by the Archbishop to the synod.

CHAP. L.

lating into English the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments. And many words inserted, to be examined how they might aptly be translated into the vulgar tongue. In this synod the Archbishop also signified his pleasure of making some statutes or laws against adulterers, perjured persons, and blasphemers of the name of God. And that he would exhibit his conceptions thereof in writing. Discourse also was entered into of some other things to be reformed: as, concerning the Lord's Prayer, the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, the Ten Commandments: namely, of teaching them the people, and ordinary sort. And here at another session, the Bishop of Winton read what Latin words were contained in the sacred volumes, which he would have understood according to their true and native sense and meaning, and the majesty of the things expressed, as far as might be, to be kept, or *in sua natura*, *i. e.* in their own nature; or, as much as it could be done, most accommodately unto the English speech of the word, or in English expression. All these good things, and divers more, were now in hand in this Convocation, by the pious zeal of Archbishop Cranmer. But the success answered not in the house.

Anno 1541.

372

The English Bible printed.

Yet now came forth the English Bible in folio, with the King's allowance. In the title-page was the picture of King Henry VIII. with Crumwel and Cranmer. And bore this title; *The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest volume; used and appointed, by the commandment of our most redoubted and sovereign Prince, King Henry VIII. supreme Head of the Church and Realm of England: to be frequented and used in every church within this his said realm; according to the tenor of his former injunctions given in that behalf. Overseen and perused at the commandment of the King's Highness, by the reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, and Nicolas Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Ri. Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* 1541. Nor was this the first time the whole Bible in English was allowed by that King to be printed; having been set forth in the year 1539. And this

sentence at the end of the book, *A Dno. factum est istud;* but the marginal notes in an edition before that, giving offence, were now left out.

Cheke at Cambridge reforms the pronouncing of Greek.

In May this year the Bishop of Winton shewed his authority in the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor. For Mr. Cheke, being Greek Lecturer, had endeavoured some time before to make a reformation in the pronouncing of Latin, but especially Greek. For as Greek books were not long before brought into study and reading, not without great opposition in the Universities, so the way of sounding the vowels and diphthongs and some consonants, was very odd and untoward. They made no distinction of the sounds of αι and ε, οι and ει, from the vowel ἰῶτα: and η, ι, and υ were sounded alike. The consonant π, when it stood after ν, they pronounced as a soft *b*. And τ after μ was pronounced as our *d*. Now Cheke laboured to refine this ill pronunciation. He would have each vowel to have its proper sound, and diphthongs, consisting of two vowels, to have the sound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the University, and great improvements were made in the knowledge of the Greek language daily, and Plato and Aristotle began to be much read. But some of the old Dons made at length a great stir at this new-found way of speaking Greek: and the complaint thereof was carried to the Chancellor. Who opposed it to that degree, as to make a public decree against it, upon pain of expulsion out of the senate, if one of that house; of being stopped of his degree, if a candidate; or private correction, if an inferior scholar. Which decree may be found in the Appendix.

The Chancellor opposes Cheke, and makes a decree about it.

No. CXVI.

Cheke argues with the Chancellor.

Upon this, Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the Bishop. Therein he said, "that the true sounds of the letters were "changed in the last barbarous ages: and that it was there-"fore better to mend that barbarity than to follow it. And "for this he appealed to Erasmus (who had writ a book "*of the right pronunciation of Latin and Greek*) and "learned men." The Bishop replied, "that every change "was not to be disallowed. And that the sound of letters

CHAP. L. Anno 1541. 373

"was more like to be changed by the learned, [than the "unlearned:] the learned being wont to have so much re- "gard to the euphony, and the gracefulness of the sound "of words." Cheke shewed how by pronouncing the diphthong οι as an ἰῶτα, (as was then ordinarily done,) there would be no distinction between λοιμὸς and λιμός. But the Chancellor was for no changes. *Utere*, saith he to Cheke, *moribus antiquis, verbis vero præsentibus, et multo magis sonis:* i. e. *Use ancient customs, but present words, and much more sounds.* And again, *Oro te, Cheke, &c. Pray Mr. Cheke, do not you encourage the youth to frame another sound to the Latin or Greek by their own guesses, than what they have received from their ancestors, or than what learned men do at this present retain.* And again, *Be not too stoical in examining sounds. And remember, that as words, so also sounds, take their authority from use, not from reason.* Again, he told the said Lecturer, *That it was a vain persuasion in him, to think that every thing that was writ was to be sounded out; and that he brought an absurd and odd sound to the ears of that present age, which by fallacious conjectures he imagined the ancients were pleased with.* He challenged Cheke to shew him a difference between the sounding of η and ε. And if he could not do that, he would not have him boast, *that he could learn that from the mute letters, which he could not express by mute letters.*

Why Cheke made this change.

Cheke's pretence in reforming the sound of the Greek language was to vindicate truth. But this moved not the Chancellor, if that were all the benefit of it, as he replied: and brake out into this expression, *Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogit Veri quærendi famcs?* That is, *But what does not the itch of seeking out Truth compel men to do?* As though that were so great a crime. This popish Bishop cared not indeed to have truth too narrowly searched after, for fear the old errors of Popery should be found out. But to proceed; the Chancellor bade him *not to be the author of removing out of its place an evil well placed: especially when that you call evil*, said he, *being removed, you have*

nothing that is good to put in the room thereof. However, he allowed him in his lectures to instruct his auditors, as concerning old words, so concerning the old sounds, [if that would serve,] to know them, but not to use them, that they became not ridiculous. He complained, that by that progress that Cheke had made in mending the sounds of words, the young men insulted over the old, who spake not as they did, and gloried in an exotic way of pronouncing, and took a kind of delight that they were not understood by their seniors. And indeed at the celebration of Divine service in the colleges, Latin and Greek began now to be read differently, after a new way. But this was looked upon as very odd by the older sort that heard it.

Cheke vindicates himself from rashness in this matter.

And whereas the Chancellor had called Cheke rash, bold, and arrogant, for attempting this alteration, Cheke in another letter told him, "that he would not be convicted of "rashness, in that he had acquiesced in the judgment of "the most learned and ancient men; nor of childish bold- "ness, in that he approved of the consent of almost all ages; "nor of arrogancy, in being able to diminish by the author- "ity of wise and knowing men, things unjustly and unpro- "bably crept in: for he had, he said, the authority of "the ancients, and the perpetual consent of the old gram- "marians. That this pronunciation was profitable for "learning, sweet for speech, and clear in utterance." He 374
added, "that when he began this way, it took greatly "among the scholars; and now after some years the old "way of reading Greek was nauseous and unpleasant to "hear. And the advantage was, that such as now learned "Greek profited more in the knowledge of that language "in a year, than they did before in two; and came much "sooner to a facility in speaking and writing it, which took "up a very long time before. And this the experience of "many years shewed. That it was by the variety of sounds "and modulation of numbers, that there was so much de- "light and sweetness in Homer's or Sophocles's verses, that "no singing of musicians, no striking of the harp, could be "more various and delightsome." He hinted that it was

CHAP. L.

Anno 1541.

affectation of ignorance, and an unwillingness in some that the learned languages should be known, which was the cause of the discouragements he met with. "When the "Latin language," said he, "began to be studied and called "into the world again, it was not without much opposition "and indignation. The Greek language was hateful to "many, and still is so; and there be some who studiously "restrain youth from the knowledge of it. Many reprove "the study of Hebrew, and it is as much as one's credit and "reputation is worth, to attempt the knowledge of it;" as he freely writ to the Chancellor.

Dr. Smith, (afterward Sir Thomas Smith, and Secretary of State,) being about the year 1542. Vice-Chancellor, waited upon the Chancellor, as it seems, concerning this great contest of letters; who, though he were for Cheke's way, yet seeing how resolved the Chancellor was to hinder it, told him, "that for his part he could pronounce both "ways, the new and the old, that he might offend nobody "by his pronouncing. For he knew it was matter of praise "even to stammer, if so be he that did so could speak flu-"ently, when there was need so to do; according to that, "*I am debtor both to the fools and to the wise.*"

But though this authority put some stop for the present to Mr. Cheke's commendable purpose, and the reformation of the reading of Greek; yet afterward it prevailed, as truth is said to do, and doth take place to this day.

The letters between the Bishop and Cheke printed.

There passed seven learned letters between the Bishop and Mr. Cheke upon this argument: which the said Cheke carrying with him, when after King Edward's death he passed through Basil into Italy, left in the hands of Cælius Secundus Curio, (a learned man of that city, and father-in-law to Zanchy,) who printed them in the year 1555, and dedicated them to the learned Sir Anthony Cook: the book bearing this title, *Joannis Cheki, Angli, de Pronunciatione Græcæ potissimum Linguæ, Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolis comprehensæ.*

The Vice-Chancellor

Notwithstanding the severe decree of the Chancellor, the

new and true way of pronouncing and reading Greek was not laid aside in the University. Insomuch, that the next year, *viz.* 1542, Dr. Edmunds being Vice-Chancellor, the Chancellor sent his letter to him, urging him to see punishment executed against such as so pronounced: telling him, "that he would not be deluded nor contemned: and that "he intended to use his authority, both towards him and "the Proctors, if they were negligent herein: but he trust-"ed they would not enforce him so to do. And that for "the order he made, he did it seriously, and would main-"tain it. That to be Chancellor of the University was "only honour, which by contempt was taken away: and he "would beware to give any man cause to contemn him."

Anno 1541. required to punish the new way of reading Greek.

375

In the same letter he signified to his Vice-Chancellor an information he had, that divers of the Regents of that University had eaten flesh last Lent. Which he shewed himself much displeased at, and required him to punish: directing him to send privately for them, and induce them to confess their fault and pay a fine, to be laid upon them by his discretion. But if they would not submit to this punishment, he was resolved, he said, to proceed to more open inquisition. For punished they should be. And, as an example hereof, he reminded his Vice-Chancellor of what had been lately done at the Court, which he was sure he had heard of; namely, how earnestly some there had been prosecuted for this fault, by the King's own command, by the advice of his Council. He added, in the conclusion of his letter, that the King, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, (as he termed it,) had compounded all matters of religion. Which uniformity he required his Vice-Chancellor to take care of. But the letter of the Chancellor may deserve to be perused.

Some in the University eat flesh in Lent.

No. CXVII.

After an adjournment, the Convocation met in March. And April 3, 1542. Here the Most Reverend treated of the Homilies, &c. and continued till two afternoon. Then Dr. Cox suspended all the Prelates not appearing, or not licensed to be absent from the celebration of divine things, and from entrance into the church. And so by several

Anno 1542. Sessions of Convocation. What was done.

CHAP. L.

Anno 1542.

prorogations till February following: then the Most Reverend treated of giving the King a subsidy. And they yielded 4*s.* in the pound in three years. And the Homilies were presented by the Prolocutor, composed by some of the Prelates, concerning divers matters. And then he put up a supplication, concerning making ecclesiastical laws, according to the statute in that behalf made. And also of paying tithes, as well greater, or *personal*, by the laity, more liberally and more justly. At another session, the Most Reverend said, that the King would have some ecclesiastical books to be examined and corrected. And delivered these books accordingly to certain Bishops for that purpose. And there he also decreed, that each morning and evening, one chapter of the New Testament should be read in each parish.

Church books to be examined.

Those books before mentioned, which the Archbishop signified it was the King's pleasure they should be examined, were all mass books, *antiphoners*, *portuises* in the Church of England: that they should be corrected, reformed, and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name: and from all *apocryphas*, feigned legends, superstitious oraisons, collects, versicles, and responses. And that the names and memories of all saints, which be not mentioned in the Scriptures, or other authentic doctors, be put away. And this for the eschewing of inconveniences, which daily chance to the King's subjects of the Clergy, for their negligence, in not abolishing such things or names as by his Majesty's injunctions and proclamations had been commanded to be stricken out, cancelled, and abolished. Hereupon it was ordered, that the examination and cor-
376 rection of the said books of service should be committed to the Bishops of Sarum and Ely, taking to each of them three of the Lower House; such as should be appointed for that purpose. But that the Lower House released. [A gentle refusal to have any thing to do therein.]

It was ordered also, that every Sunday and holyday throughout the year, the Curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read

unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English, without exposition. And when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old. CHAP. L. Anno 1542.

This done, a book of subsidies, of 6*s.* in the pound, was brought up by the Prolocutor. And then the Clergy desired the Lords to move to the King's Majesty these petitions. I. For the ecclesiastical laws of this realm, to be made according to the statute made in the fifth year of his gracious reign. II. For remedy to be provided by his Highness against the ungodly and unlawful solemnization of marriages frequently used, or abused, in the chapel or hospital of Bethlem without Bishopsgate. III. For an act of Parliament to be made this session, for the union and corporation of small and exile benefices through this realm; which for smallness of fruits be not able to find a Priest; and so rest untaken by Parson, Vicar, or Curate. IV. For some good order and provision to be made by his Majesty, and established by Parliament, for due and true payment of tithes, both predial and personal, throughout this realm; for quietness of all persons, and discharge of the consciences of the laymen. Petitions of the Clergy.

The next year, *viz.* 1543, died in the Fleet, under much disgrace, John London, LL. D. a great dignitary, and a great champion for the Pope: whereby for a long time he continued a fierce prosecutor of the professors of the Gospel, both in Oxon and Windsor, where he had preferment; and was the great instrument with the Bishop of Winton, in carrying on a plot for the destruction of Archbishop Cranmer, as may be seen in the Memorials of that Archbishop. Being Warden of New College, Oxon, he created much trouble to divers men in Cardinal Wolsey's college, newly founded, by sharp imprisonment, when John Frith, among other virtuous young men there, was apprehended; which fell in the year 1527. or 1528. Many others were then detected in that University, and especially in Dr. London's college; namely, Mr. Quinby, John Man, Talbot, all of New College; and Bartholomew Traheron, afterwards library-keeper to King Edward. But John Man recanted, Anno 1543. Dr. London dies. Foxii MSS.

CHAP. L.

whom therefore Traheron called the stony ground, on whom the good seed of God's word took no root. Talbot also started back, and served afterward the Lord Wriothesly, teaching his children: but nevertheless he was expelled by the Warden. But as for Quinby, he was imprisoned very straitly in the steeple of the college, and half starved with cold and lack of food, and at length died. He desired his friends that came to see him, that he might receive the Lord's Supper in both kinds, but it would not be granted. He was asked of his friend, what he would eat. Who said his stomach was gone from all meat, except it were a warden pie. Ye shall have it, quoth they. I would have, said he again, but two wardens baked; I mean, our Warden of Oxford and our Warden of Winchester,
377 London and More. For such a warden pie might do me and Christ's Church good, whereas other wardens of the tree can do me no good at all. Thus jesting at their tyranny, through the cheerfulness of a safe conscience, he turned his face to the wall in the belfry, where he lay, and after his prayers, slept sweetly in the Lord. This Dr. London, for his incontinency, afterwards did open penance in Oxford, having two smocks on his shoulders for Mrs. Thykked and Mrs. Jennyrigs, the mother and the daughter: with one of whom he was taken by Henry Plankney in his gallery, being his sister's son. This was known to a number in Oxford and elsewhere, many years after living, as well as to Loud, the relater of it in a letter to Mr. Fox. After this, for perjury, he was adjudged to another public disgrace, set down in the Martyrology; and soon after ended his naughty life in prison.

Anno 1543.

Quinby of New College persecuted to death.

Dr. London doth penance.

Counsellors made. Cecil's Journal.

The same year three notable learned men were preferred: that is to say, October 3, Dr. Heth, Bishop of Rochester, was admitted to be one of the King's Privy Council. William Petre, Doctor of Civil Law, was made a Master of Requests, and one of the Privy Council. And William Paget was made Clerk of the Council. And six days after, *viz.* October 9, Sir John Gage was made Comptroller in the place of Sir William Kingston, deceased.

Another session of a former Convocation began April 20, 1543. Now they were concerned, as it seems, in a diligent review of a former good book, called, *The Institution of a Christen Man.* For it appears by certain extracts of the register, that in several sessions, after the correction of the translation of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Mary*, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist: the English interpretation whereof being examined and corrected by the most reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Winton, Roffe, and Westminster; they were delivered to the Prolocutor, Dr. Gwent. And the next day the like was done touching the five first Commandments, and the exposition of them by the said four Bishops. And on another day were expounded, examined, and revised, by the most reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Westminster, Roffe, Sarum, and Hereford, the other five latter Commandments, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. And the same delivered to the Prolocutor. And then by adjournment, on the morrow the like was done in the sacraments of Matrimony, Penance, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, by the same. And they again the same delivered, by the consent of the said Archbishop and Bishops, to the Prolocutor, to examine the same by their and the other Prelates' judgments: and then shew their judgments on such a day appointed.

Anno 1543.

The Convocation met again.

Review of the Institution.

April 27. the Most Reverend, together with the Bishops of Winton, Roffe, and Westminster, examined the exposition of this word, *faith*, in the vulgar language, and the twelve articles of the faith. Which all and singular the Bishops approved. And in the afternoon a tract was read, *De Justificatione*, and of *Works*, and of *Prayer for the Dead.* All which were delivered to the Prolocutor to be examined, and returned on a day appointed. On another day, *viz.* April ult. the Most Reverend expounded the article of Free Will, &c. And to the Prolocutor the same was delivered, with intent that he should read over the 378
same tract before the Prelates of the Lower House. Which

CHAP. L.

Anno 1543.

being read, and approved by them, that, with the residue, was returned to the Upper House, with this approbation: that they accepted them, *pro catholicis et religiosis:* and gave great thanks to the Fathers, that they underwent such great labours, pains, and vigilances for the cause of religion and the commonwealth, and for the sake of unity. And so the House adjourned till May 4, and then prorogued. This produced a second edition enlarged of the Institution, and was called, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.*

And this year it came forth in print, with many alterations and additions, by a special commission from the King to Archbishop Cranmer, and divers other learned Bishops, and other Divines. And had the foresaid name given it, *viz. A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man. Set forth by the King's Majesty, &c.* Psal. xx. *Lord, preserve the king; and hear us when we call upon thee.* Psal. xxi. *Lord, in thy strength the king shall rejoice; and be marvellous glad through thy salvation.* And this all set in the title-page. On the next page, on the other side, are set down the contents of this book. Which are these: I. The declaration of faith. II. The articles of our faith, called, *the Creed.* III. The seven Sacraments. IV. The Ten Commandments. V. The Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater Noster.* VI. The Salutation of the Angel, called, the *Ave Maria.* VII. An article of Free Will. VIII. An article of Justification. IX. An article of Good Works. X. Of Prayer for Souls departed. Where it is to be observed, the article of Purgatory is left out, as not now approved; which was in the book called *The Institution*, &c. It was printed by Thomas Berthelet, the King's printer, the 29th day of May, 1543. This book was received in the Parliament that sat this year, as the Lord Herbert shews.

The necessary Erudition of a Christen Man.

Life of Hen. VIII. p. 559.

It was set forth by the King's own authority in a general preface, applied to all his subjects: wherein he gave an account fully and largely of the following book; and authorized his subjects to make use of it, for the better informing themselves of the true and right doctrine of religion. Which

Set forth by the King's authority.

royal declaration is well worthy our reading, and to be preserved in our history. And the book being so rare and scarce to be met with, I shall here present it, (as I transcribed it,) as the Introduction to the said book.

" Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of Eng-
" land, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and in
" earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, su-
" preme Head; unto all his faithful and loving subjects
" sendeth greeting. Like as in the time of darkness and The King's epistle to the book.
" ignorance, finding our people seduced, and drawn from
" the truth, by hypocrisy and superstition; we, by the help
" of God and his word, have travailed to purge and cleanse
" our realm from the apparent enormities of the same:
" wherein, by opening of Goddis truth, with setting furth
" and publishing of the Scriptures, our labours (thanks be
" to God) have not been void and frustrate: so now per-
" ceiving, that in the times of knowledge, the Devil, who
" ceaseth not in all times to vex the world, hath attempted
" to return again (as the parable in the Gospel sheweth) into
" his house purged and cleansed, accompanied with seven 379
" worse spirits; and hypocrisy and superstition being ex-
" cluded and put away; we find entered into some of our
" people's hearts, in an inclination to sinister understanding
" Scripture, presumption, arrogance, carnal liberty and con-
" tention used; be therefore constrained, for the remedy of
" them in time; and for avoiding such diversity in opinion,
" as by the said evil spirits might be ingendered, to set
" forth, with the advice of our Clergy, such a doctrine and
" declaration of the true knowledge of God and his word,
" with the principal articles of our religion, as whereby all
" men may uniformly be led and taught the true under-
" standing of that which is necessary for every Christen
" man to know, for the ordering himself in this life, agree-
" able to the will and pleasure of Almighty God. Which
" doctrine also the Lords both spiritual and temporal, with
" the nether House of our Parliament, have both seen and
" like very well.

CHAP. L.

Anno 1543.

Faith. "And for knowledge of the order of the matter in this "book contained, forasmuch as we know not perfectly God, "but by *faith*, the declaration of faith occupieth, in this "treatise, the first place. Whereunto is next adjoining,

The Creed. "the Declaration of the articles of our Creed, concerning "what we should believe. And incontinently after them

The Sacraments. "followeth the Explication of the seven Sacraments: where- "in God ordinarily worketh, and whereby he participateth "unto us his spiritual gifts and graces in this life. Which "matter is so digested and set forth with simplicity and "plainness, as the capacities and understandings of the "multitude of the people may easily conceive and compre- "hend the same. Then followeth conveniently the De-

The Ten Commandments. "claration of the Ten Commandments, being by God or- "dained the high way wherein each man should walk in "this life: to finish fruitly his journey here, and after to "rest eternally in joy with him. Which, because we can- "not do of ourselves, but have need always of the grace of "God; as without whom we can neither continue in this "life, ne without his special grace do any thing to his plea- "sure, whereby to attain the life to come; we have, after "the Declaration of the Ten Commandments, expounded

The Pater Noster. "the seven petitions of our *Pater Noster:* wherein be con- "tained requests and suits for all things necessary to a "Christian man in this present life; with Declaration of

The Ave Maria. "the *Ave Maria:* as a prayer containing a joyful rehearsal "and magnifying God in the work of the incarnation of "Christ; which is the ground of our salvation: wherein "the blessed Virgin our Lady, for the abundance of grace "wherewith God endued her, is also with this remembrance "honoured and worshipped.

Free Will, Justification, Good Works, Praying for Souls departed. "And forasmuch as the heads and senses of our people "have been imbusied, and in these days travailed with the "understanding of *free will*, *justification*, *good works*, "and *praying for souls departed;* we have, by the advice "of our Clergy, for the purgation of erroneous doctrine, "declared and set forth openly, plainly, and without am-

" biguity of speech, the mere and certain truth in them: so
" as we verily trust, that to know God, and how to live after
" his pleasure, to the attaining of everlasting life in the end;
" this book containeth a perfect and sufficient doctrine, 380
" grounded and established in holy Scriptures.

" Wherefore we heartily exhort our people, of all de-
" grees, willingly and earnestly both to read, and print in
" their hearts, the doctrine of this book; considering that
" God, who (as St. Paul saith) distributeth and divideth
" to his Church his graces distinctly, hath ordered some
" sort of men to teach others, and some to be taught; and
" all things should be done *seemly, and in order;* and hath
" beautified and set forth, by distinction of Ministers and
" officers, the same Church: and considering also, that for
" the one part which should teach others, is necessary, not
" only knowledge, but also learning and cunning in the
" same knowledge; whereby they may be able conveniently
" to dispense and distribute to their audience the truth of
" God, according to their cunning, for the edification of
" others, and by true exposition of the Scriptures, accord-
" ing to the apostolical doctrine received and maintained
" from the beginning; and by conferring and declaration of
" them, to convince, refell, and reprove all errors and un-
" truths set forth to the contrary: and finally be also hable
" to give an account, as St. Paul saith, of that they profess;
" it must be agreed then, that for the instruction of this
" part of the Church, whose office is to teach others,
" the having, reading, and studying of holy Scriptures,
" both of the Old and New Testament, is not only con-
" venient, but also necessary. But for the other part of
" the Church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed
" certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testa-
" ment is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty
" they ought and be bound to read it, but as the Prince
" and the policy of the realm shall think convenient, so to
" be tolerated or taken from it.

" Consonant whereunto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great mayny: esteeming it

CHAP. L.

Anno 1543.

" sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear " away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the Preachers, " and to imprint the lessons of the same, that they observe " and keep them inwardly in their hearts; and as occasion " serveth, express them in their deeds outwardly, whereby " they may be partakers of that blysse, which the Giver of " blessedness, our Saviour Christ, spake of, and promised " to such; saying, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custo-* " *diunt illud;* Blessed be they that hear the true doctrine " of God, and keep it.

Luke xi.

" Wherefore we exhort and desire all our loving sub- " jects, that they praying to God for the spirit of humility, " do conform themselves as good scholars and learners " ought to hear and bear away as afore, and willing to ob- " serve such order as is by us and our laws prescribed; " and to read and bear well away the true doctrine lately " by us and our Clergy set forth for their *erudition*. " Whereby presumption and arrogancy shall be with- " standed, and contention expelled, and carnal liberty re- " strained and tempered, and disdain clearly removed and " taken away. So as endeavouring our selves to live quietly " and charitably together, each one in his vocation, we shall " be so replenished with manifold graces and gifts of God, " that after this life we shall reign in joy everlasting with
381 " the only Head of the universal Catholic Church, our Sa- " viour and Redeemer Jesus Christ. *Amen.*"

I must observe that this book, the *Erudition*, was so changed and altered and enlarged, and thereby becoming so different from the *Institution of a Christen Man*, that it may seem to be another book, rather than a new edition of the former; as will appear by and by. The *Institution* is reprinted in the *Addenda* to the first volume of the History of the Reformation. Which was transcribed from a Cotton volume, being a fair book in parchment; writ by the hand of Morice, Archbishop Cranmer's Secretary, (for I know his hand,) and was the original, subscribed by the hands of that Convocation, that had agreed to, and drawn it up. And so high a value did Sir Robert Cotton set upon it,

Hist. Reform. vol. i. Addend. p. 305.

that, at the bottom of the first page, he writ his own name, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus.* But by comparing this book with the *Erudition*, that was a review thereof by the King's commission, and was published about six years after, one may see what a good step the reformation of religion had made: for whereas in the former book, devotion to images, honouring of saints, and praying to them, masses for the dead, and various popish rites and ceremonies, were commended and confirmed; in this book they spoke more dubiously and warily of, or rejected them. And as for *purgatory*, which made one great article in the former book at the end of it, it is in this quite left out. And this that follows is the good conclusion of it; *viz.*

"Finally, it is much necessary, that all such abuses as "heretofore have been complices concerning this matter, be "clearly put away. And that we therefore abstain from "the name of *purgatory*; and no more dispute or reason "thereof: under colour of which have been advanced "many fond and great abuses; to make men believe, that "through the Bishop of Rome's pardons, souls might "clearly be delivered out of it, and released out of the "bondage of sin, and that masses said at *scala cœli*, and "other prescribed places, fantasied by men, did then in "those places more profit the souls than in another, &c. "And also, that a prescribed number of prayers, sooner "than others, (though as devoutly said,) should further "their petitions sooner; yea especially, if they were said "before one image more than another, which they fanta-"sied. All these and such like abuses be necessary ut-"terly to be abolished and extinguished."

This *Erudition* also began with an excellent description of *faith*, shewed at large, as an introductory to a right belief of the articles of the Creed that next follows. This description the former book hath not. These are some of the differences between the two books. But yet one thing I must add concerning this last and best book; that the reading of the holy Scriptures is not permitted to the common people; and in that respect, the other party had the advan-

CHAP. L.

tage of those that favoured the Gospel. But however, soon after, even this year 1543, the large English Bible was printed with the King's allowance. Note, this was that called *The King's Book*; wherein the Archbishop had a considerable hand; spoken of in the Memorials of him.

Anno 1543.

Cran. Mem. p. 81.

382 The progress of religion reformed.

And now, after so many years' struggles of the Gospel party, headed by Archbishop Cranmer, and the Lord Crumwel, while alive, religion reformed had made a considerable progress under this King; and who hereby had obtained an high esteem and love among the best of his subjects. A large description and particular account whereof, let a learned and knowing man, living in these very times, relate, in a book written by him, under the name of Theodore Basil, and, as near as I can guess, this very year. Which, to give a prospect of these affairs, I think worthy the repeating.

The right Pathway unto Prayer. By Theo. Basil.

"I think there is no realm throughout Christendom "that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give "God thanks, as we English men have at this present. And "to whom is it unknown, with how miserable captivity we "have been detained and suppressed these many hundred "years, under the usurped power and grievous tyranny of "the Bishop of Rome? Who knoweth not how greatly "the consciences of Christen men were snarled, yea, and "almost slain, through the decrees of that Bishop? How "greatly was the Christen liberty inclosed and stopt up; "so that no man could enjoy the use of those things which "the word of God determined free, without his licence and "dispensation? How were the singular merits of Christ's "death, and the inestimable price of his most precious "blood, annihilated and set at nought; and the Bishop of "Rome's pardons trusted unto, and perfect affiance reposed "in them, for remission of sins and eternal salvation? "What a sort of hypocritical and superstitious works crept "in throughout Christendom only; which only were be-"lieved to be the alone good works. And the true good "works, which are commanded of God in the holy Scrip-"ture, utterly neglected, dismissed, and set at nought.

" Who thought it not a more meritorious act to gild an " image than to clothe a poor naked man? Who thought " it not a better deed to run gadding a pilgrimage into di- " vers countries, for to seek dead images, than to tarry at " home, and to visit the poor members of Christ; which " laid bedrid, sick, lame, feeble, and impotent?

" Again, what an infinite number of *monstures*, (*monks* " I would have said,) and other religious persons, and *God* " *will*, as they desire to be called, did there arise in this " kingdom? Who thought it not a better deed to put his " child into an abbey, and there to live idle, swinishly, and " irreligiously, pampered up with all delicious fare, that " would provoke unto lewdness, than to let him live abroad " in the world; there to practise some honest art and occu- " pation, that might turn to the commodity and mainte- " nance of the commonweal?—Did we not think it ra- " ther our duty to obey the proud Bishop of Rome than " our own native King? Did we not esteem his fantastical " decrees above the edicts, laws, and acts of our own King? " —Into what perils would we not cast ourselves, to do the " Romish Bishop's pleasure? &c.

" Furthermore, what ignorance and blindness was in this " realm concerning the true and Christen knowledge? " How many savoured Christ aright? How many walked " in the strait pathway of God's ordinances? How many " believed Christ to be alone Saviour? How many trusted " to be saved only by the merits of Christ's death, and the 383 " effusion of his most precious blood? How many ran to " God alone, either in their prosperity or adversity? How " many amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator and " Advocate unto God the Father? How many felt the " efficacy and power of the true and Christen faith; where- " by a Christen man is freely justified? How many did " know what they professed at baptism? How many had " knowledge what their *Pater Noster* meant; and where- " fore they prayed? How many did perfectly understand " the articles of the Christen faith? How many did know " what the ceremonies of the Church meant? as, holy

CHAP. L. Anno 1548.

"bread and holy water, and such other? How many heard "the evangelical doctrine ever preached purely and sincerely," &c. Meaning, how few there were of these.

"But now are these enormities, yea, and deformities of "this realm of England utterly exiled and banished. All "false religion is extirped, and plucked up by the roots. "The miserable captivity, wherewith we were oppressed in "the Pope's kingdom, is turned into delectable liberty. "Our consciences are restored to their old freedom. Christ's "death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that "are sanctified. All superstitious fantasies, invented of idle "brains, are full godly put down. The famous images, "wherewith the simple people committed fornication, I "mean *idolatry*, are justly plucked down, and conveyed "out of the way. All the monastical sects have put off "their cowls and monstrous garments. Our most Christen "King is now, according to the verity of God's word, and "his just and right title, recognised to be supreme Head "of the Church of England, next under Christ, imme-"diately here in earth. Moreover, ignorance and blindness "is exiled and banished; God's laws are manifestly de-"clared unto us: so that we may, if we will, keep his most "godly commandments. The most sacred Bible is freely "permitted to be read of every man in the English tongue. "Many savour Christ aright; and daily the number in-"creaseth, thanks be to God. Christ is believed to be the "alone Saviour, &c. Christ is believed to be our suffi-"cient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christ-"en faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous "in good works, is now received to justify, &c. The "twelve articles of the Christen faith, the Lord's Prayer, "called the *Pater Noster*, and the Ten Commandments, "are now rehearsed in the English tongue, both of young "and old; so that now all understand them. Many of the "ecclesiastical ceremonies are now right well taught and "known. To conclude, all old things are past, and new "things entered into the same place instead of them."

And then the King is extolled for all these privileges.

"All these things God hath brought to pass by his dearly "beloved servant, Henry our King." Adding, (as suggesting still more to be done towards a complete reformation,) "If his Grace go forth as he hath begun, he shall "make such a flourishing realm, both in spiritual and cor- "poral goods, both for the glory of God and for the main- "tenance of his Grace's public weal, as none may be able "to compare with this realm of England throughout "Christendom. And as his most excellent Majesty shall "easily overcome and excel in the exercise of true godli- "ness all his predecessors, and leave a memorable act unto 384 "his successors, most worthy to be followed; so likewise "may his Grace be sure, that there is reposed and laid up "in store for him in God's treasure house the immarcessible "crown of glory, &c. for his faithful walking in the divine "precepts, and setting forth of God's glory." All this beforesaid declaration had respect unto the late excellent book that came out by the King's authority, viz. *The Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man.*

Religion by this time was so far advanced, as to the reformation of it, that the custom of having public prayers said in the Latin tongue was regulated; and processions and prayers upon public occasions were commanded by the King's special order to be used in English hereafter, whereby the people, understanding what was said or sung, whether exhortation or prayers, might join therein, and might be edified and better instructed. Such an order the King issued forth to the Archbishop; by him to be sent to all the Bishops of his province, with the processions occasioned by the wars and commotions then in the world. The copy of which, as it remains in the register of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, was as follows, contracted: "Being re- "solved to have continually from henceforth general pro- "cessions in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of "this our realm, said and sung, with such devotion and "reverence as appertaineth: forasmuch as heretofore the "people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling on; "partly for that they understood no piece of such prayers

Processions to be said in the English tongue.

Regist. Ep. Bath and Wells.

CHAP. L.

"or suffrages as were used to be sung and said; have "used to come very slackly to the processions when the
Anno 1543. "same have been commanded heretofore: We have set "forth certain godly prayers or suffrages in our native "tongue. Which we send you herewith; signifying unto "you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of "your godly mind, and earnest desire to the setting for- "ward the glory of God, and the true worshipping of his "most holy name, within that province committed by us "unto you," &c. This is but a contraction of the King's mandate to the Archbishop. The whole may be found among the Collection of Records in the History of the Re-
Vol. i. b. iii. Numb. XXVIII. formation by Bishop Burnet. Therein signifying, "how "the King had sent these suffrages, not to be for a month "or two observed, &c. but to the intent, that as well the "same as other his injunctions might be earnestly set forth "by preaching, good exhortations, and otherwise, to the "people; in such sort as they, feeling the godly taste there- "of, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, em- "brace, and frequent the same." This was a further step in the reformation and regulation of abuses in religion, in keeping God's service in an unknown tongue.

As what the King had now done in favour of religion gave a great satisfaction and joy to the professors of the Gospel; so it reconciled a mighty love and honour to himself, in the hearts and tongues of his subjects.

385

CHAP. LI.

Leland's new-year's-gift to the King. John Loud, William Morice, eminent men. Some account of them. Persecuted. Persecution at Court. Mrs. Anne Ascue, martyr.

Anno 1545. Leland's new-year's-gift to the King. IN the year 1545, John Leyland, or Leland, presented the King, for a new-year's-gift, an account of that memorable commission he had granted him in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, which was in the year of our Lord 1543, *viz.* to

peruse and search all the libraries of the monasteries and colleges throughout the whole realm that were then dissolved and broken up; that, as much as might be, all ancient monuments of the histories of this land, and the places and eminent persons of it, together with the writings and books of learned men, might be preserved: a matter much redounding to that King's honour and renown; that he had such a regard to antiquity, and such a care of rescuing remarkable English events and occurrences from oblivion. But great pity it was, and a most irreparable loss, that, notwithstanding this provision, most of the ancient MS. histories and writings of learned British and Saxon authors were lost. Libraries were sold by mercenary men for any thing they could get, in that confusion and devastation of religious houses. Bale, the antiquary, makes mention of a merchant that bought two noble libraries about these times for forty shillings: the books whereof served him for no other use but for waste paper; and that he had been ten years consuming them, and yet there remained still store enough for as many years more. Vast quantities and numbers of these books, banished with the monks and friars from their monasteries, were conveyed away, and carried beyond seas to booksellers there, by whole ship ladings; and a great many more were used in shops and kitchens. But that the reader may have some further account of Leland's commission, and what public fruit thereof was by him intended, I have transcribed his new-year's-gift, and placed it in the Appendix.

In his edit. of Leland's laborious Journey.

Numb. CXVIII.

I will here subjoin the mention of another learned man, and rescue his memory, in effect lost in oblivion; who was of eminent note in these latter days of the King. His name was John Loud, bred up in Wickham's college, near Winchester, a man of polite learning, and a contemporary and companion of John Philpot the martyr, and others of the godly learned in those times. He was a member of Bene't college, and after removed thence to the Inns of Court. And in both places had the care and inspection over Mr.

John Loud, a learned and pious man. Foxii MSS.

CHAP. LI.

Anno 1545. Sir Richard Southwel, his pupil.

Southwel, afterwards Sir Richard Southwel, a Privy Counsellor, if I mistake not, to King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary. Under which last he proved a bitter persecutor of the Gospellers. But while he was under Loud's tuition, he stood very well affected to religion. This Loud, his tutor, he entertained with great respect in his house, in
386 the Charter-house, London; where he was also tutor to his son, and taught him Latin, and the laws, civil and municipal. Sir Richard would say of him, *He will make my boy like himself, too good a Latinist, and too great an heretic.* He was at the burning of Mrs. Anne Ascue; where, upon occasion of a sweet dew falling from heaven just before fire was set to her, accompanied with a gentle crack, heard, as though it had been such a thunder as is spoken of in the Gospel, that seemed to the people to be the voice of God, or the voice of an angel: this man strangely as it were inspired thereat, went presently to divers Lords of the Council sitting by to see the execution, and with a loud voice said to them, *I ask vengeance of you all that do thus burn a member of Christ.* Whereat one struck at him with all his might; but he escaped, and went home to the Charter-house.

William Morice of Ongar, a prisoner for religion.

At this time was detained prisoner here with Sir Richard Southwel, a person of good quality, named William Morice, committed thither by the Council for suspicion of heresy. This man lived at Chipping Ongar in Essex, and had the lordship thereof. He was first Gentleman Usher to the learned Mr. Pace, the King's Secretary and Ambassador abroad to Rome and Venice, and afterwards was preferred to be Gentleman Usher to King Henry himself. The Lord Rich and others would the rather have brought about his burning, out of the desire they had of enjoying his fair manor. But God delivered him, and brought him to honour in King Edward's days. He was father to Archbishop Cranmer's Secretary, Ralph Morice. To this gentleman thus lying in prison would Loud frequently resort privately, and lay with him anights, leaving his own silk and

soft bed, to converse with him about religion, and to hear what answers he intended to make to the Council concerning his persuasions in religion.

Loud narrowly escapes imprisonment for his religion.

Loud, while he lived with Sir Richard Southwel, was a member of Lincoln's Inn; and orders having been sent, as it seems, to the Inns of Court, to search for such of their members as favoured religion, and imprison them, he was vehemently suspected. And that, because Mr. Allington (one, I suppose, taken for the same cause) had confessed that he had discoursed with him about the meaning of *Hoc est corpus meum*. Whereupon Mr. Foster, Mr. Roper, and Mr. Griffin, Benchers of that house, repaired to Sir Richard Southwel's, to lay up Loud upon suspicion; but before they did it, asking his leave, because he was of his family. Southwel (though then a friend to his tutor, rather than to the religion) told them, that he knew no such thing by him, but that he was a quiet man in his house, and had well served his turn; yet bade them do what they would. But by these means he then escaped.

This man was first brought into a dislike of the Roman religion, while he was a scholar at Winchester, by reading Frith's book of Purgatory; which Thomas Harding (who was afterwards chaplain to Grey, Marquess of Dorset) delivered him to peruse for two days only. But liking it so well, he begged his leave to keep it for three and twenty. This man was alive in the year 1579, when he wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, his old acquaintance, encouraging him to go on with further enlargements of his books of the Acts and Monuments; and at the same time supplied him with divers well-attested stories, to be added to his book, in case 387
he should think fit to publish another edition.

Persecution at Court.

The persecution, by means of Bishop Gardiner, with whom sided the old Duke of Norfolk, Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, and some more, in this and in the year 1546, being the last year of the King, grew exceeding hot; and that in the very Court itself. For there being many both men and women there that stood well affected to religion, it was thought expedient, for a terror to

CHAP. LI.

Anno 1545.

the rest, to begin with them. Of the women was no less than the Queen herself, Katharine Par, of whose great danger for her religion Fox hath made a relation: to whom I add the Duchess of Suffolk, the relict of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; the Countess of Sussex; the Countess of Hertford; the Lady Denny; the Lady Fitz Williams; and among the rest, Mrs. Anne Ascue or Ascough, sister to Sir Francis Ascough, and to Mrs. Disney of Norton Disney in Lincolnshire. Which Anne Ascue was taken up and put to death. Of the gentlemen of the Court were taken up divers, and particularly Mr. Morice before mentioned, Sir George Blag, Mr. Lascels, and others; the last of which suffered with Mrs. Ascue. Of her and Lascels I shall say somewhat; and the rather, because not mentioned by Fox.

A few notes of Mrs. Ascue.

This good gentlewoman, being a person of great quickness and learning, as well as religion, somewhat before her imprisonment lodged at an house over against the Temple.

Foxii MSS.

"A great papist of Wickham college, called Wadloe, a "Cursitor of the Chancery, hot in his religion, and think-"ing not well of her life, got himself lodged hard by her "at the next house. For what purpose," saith my author, "I need not open to the wise reader. But the conclusion "was, that when he came to speak evil of her, he gave her "the praise to Sir Lionel Throgmorton, for the devoutest "and godliest woman that ever he knew. For, said he, at "midnight she beginneth to pray, and ceaseth not in many "hours after, when I and others appyed our sleep, or to "work.

Her first examination.

"My Lord Mayor, Sir Mart. Bowes, sitting with the "Council, as most meet for his wisdom, and seeing her "standing upon life and death, I pray you, quoth he, my "Lords, give me leave to talk with this woman. Leave "was granted. *Lord Mayor.* Thou foolish woman, sayest "thou, that the priests cannot make the body of Christ? "*A. Ascough.* I say so, my Lord: for I have read, that "God made man; but that man can make God, I never "yet read, nor, I suppose, ever shall read it. *Lord Mayor.*

" No, thou foolish woman? After the words of consecration, is it not the Lord's body? *A. Ascough.* No, it " is but consecrated bread, or sacramental bread. *Lord* " *Mayor.* What if a mouse eat it after the consecration? " What shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, " thou foolish woman? *A. Ascough.* What shall become " of her, say you, my Lord? *Lord Mayor.* I say, that " that mouse is damned. *A. Ascough.* Alack poor mouse! " By this time, my Lords heard enough of my Lord " Mayor's divinity; and perceiving that some could not " keep in their laughing, proceeded to the butchery and " slaughter that they intended afore they came thither.

388 Loud's testimony of her and Lassels.

" I being alive," continues my author, John Loud, mentioned above, " must needs confess of her now departed to " the Lord, that the day afore her execution, and the same " day also, she had an angel's countenance and a smiling " face. For I was with Lassels, Sir George Blagge, and the " other, [*viz.* Belenian, a Priest, then burnt,] and with me " three of the Throkmortons, Sir Nicolas being one, and " Mr. Kellum the other. By the same token, that one unknown to me said, Ye are all marked that come to them. " Take heed to your lives. Mr. Lascels, a gentleman of a " right worshipful house of Gatford in Nottinghamshire, " nigh Worsop, mounted up unto the window of the little " parlour by Newgate, and there sat, and by him, Sir " George. Mr. Lascells was merry and cheerful in the " Lord, coming from hearing of sentence of his condemnation, and said these words: My Lord Bishop would have " me confess the Roman Church to be the Catholic Church; " but that I cannot, for it is not true. When the hour of " darkness came, and their execution, Mrs. Anne Ascue " was so racked, that she could not stand, but was holden " up between two sergeants, sitting there in a chair. And " after the sermon was ended, they put fire to the reeds; " the Council looking on, and leaning in a window by the " Spittle, and among them Sir Richard Southwel, [the " master of the writer hereof.] And afore God, at the first " putting to of the fire, there fell a little dew, or a few

CHAP. LI.

Anno 1545. John xii. 27.

"pleasant drops, upon us that stood by, and a pleasant "cracking from heaven, God knows whether I may truly "term it a thunder-crack, as the people did in the Gospel, "or an angel, or rather God's own voice. But to leave "every man to his own judgment, methought it seemed "rather, that the angels in heaven rejoiced to receive their "souls into bliss, whose bodies then Popish tormentors cast "into the fire, as not worthy to live any longer among such "hell-hounds."

CHAP. LII.

The death of King Henry. Beloved by his people. His character. And the temper of his people.

Anno 1546. King Henry prevented in some good designs by death.

THINGS went on in this rate in the Church and University unto the latter end of King Henry's reign; and the Popish Bishops and Clergy carried the great stroke; the King either thinking that he had sufficiently purged the Church already, or upon political ends judging it now not convenient, or, for his wars, not being at leisure, to proceed any further, in taking away the rest of the corruptions that remained, till the very last year of his life, when he made some new attempts, in confederacy with the French King, 389 but was prevented by death, after he had entered six days into the month of January; when he gave up his dying breath.

Which was the reformation of religion.

For some little illustration of this, it may not be unworthy knowing, that when the Lady Mary, soon after the King's death, had writ to the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, blaming his proceedings in the reforming of religion, as being against her late father's will; and that there was a godly order and quietness left by him in the realm at the time of his death: the Duke in his answer told her, "what "trouble the King had with the Papists or Romanists, what "outrages they were guilty of against his noble person, "only for God's cause; and how some of them, as well "within the realm as without, conspired oftentimes his

Faustina, c. ii. transcribed into the Hist. Ref. vol. iii. Coll. p. 115.

"death, which, he said, was manifestly proved, to the confusion of some their privy assisters. That his Grace "died before he had fully finished such orders as he was "minded to have established, if death had not prevented "him. That no kind of religion was perfected at his "death, but that he left all uncertain. That he [the Duke] "and others could witness, what regret and sorrow the "King had, when he saw he must depart, for that he knew "religion was not established as he purposed to have "done; and that a great many knew and could testify "what he would further have done in it, had he lived." He that would see more of this pious design of the King may consult Mr. Fox's Monuments. Acts and Monum. p. 1184.

This King, notwithstanding his rigorous government, and his round dealing with many, to the taking away of their lives, lived and died highly beloved of his subjects; whatever were the reasons of it. Whether it were some of those princely qualities and excellent accomplishments, that he was endued with, or the suppressing the ecclesiastical power, which was so oppressive of the people. For an instance of the affections of his subjects to him: when about the year 1544. he warred with France, and sent into the counties for supplies of soldiers; it was obeyed with all the cheerfulness imaginable. One who wrote about this time, a Divine in Kent, gives this account of the behaviour of the men of that county. "When the King's let- Becon in, his Pref. to his Policy of War. "ters were delivered unto certain gentlemen there, for the "preparing of certain people apt for the wars, how expe- "ditely was his Grace's pleasure accomplished in every con- "dition! The gentlemen, all other businesses laid aside, "immediately provided their before appointed number of "men; arraying them with decent martial armour. So "that nothing wanted, but all things set at such a stay, "that they, receiving premonition of very little time, "were ready at all hours to bring forth their men apt "and ready for the wars. The men which were pressed "to go unto the wars, it was almost incredible to see "and perceive what alacrity and quickness of spirit was

Beloved by his people.

CHAP. LII.

" in them. They seemed to be so desirous to defend their " country, that they in a manner neglected their domestical
Anno 1546. " travails, their private business; not much esteemed their " dear wives and sweet children; no, nor yet their own " lives, so that they might in any point do good to the pub- " lic weal of England."

A benevolence given to the King.

The same year, 1544, a benevolence was given to the King, for the carrying on of this expensive war; a MS. whereof I have seen, shewing what each county gave. And
390 I find that Kent gave more than any one county in England, except the large county of Somerset, which exceeded Kent in three or four hundred pounds. The sum that county gave was six thousand pounds and almost five hundred, (besides the city of Canterbury, which gave near two thousand pounds more.) Which county, I suppose, was so extraordinary liberal, shewing so much love and good affection to their King, being swayed by the influence and counsel of their good Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole benevolence amounted unto seventy thousand seven hundred twenty-three pounds and upwards; the city of London, the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, not mentioned. What each county gave, if
No. CXIX. any be minded to know, let him consult the Appendix.

A character of the King.

The aforementioned author gives this great character of the King, relating to his care of the nation. " For all things " that conserve and keep this realm of England safe, and " free from the invasion and danger of our enemies, what " kingdom in the world is to be compared to this English " empire? How hath our most puissant and redoubted " King fortressed his most flourishing monarchy, empire, " and kingdom, with all things that any man can invent, " for the prosperous conservation of a common weal. Never " was there Prince, that took like pains for the safeguard " of his communalty. Never was there father, that so " greatly watched for the health of his son as he doth for " ours. Too much ingrate, unthankful, and ungentle is he, " that doth not agnize and knowledge the unmeasurable " kindness of this most excellent Prince. If this title, *Pater*

" *patriæ*, might lawfully at any time be ascribed unto any " temporal ruler, certes, to our most victorious Prince it is " most of all due and convenient: for he is a very right " and true father of this our country of England; as his " most godly actions and virtuous enterprises do manifestly " shew every day more and more." And quoting that passage of Augustus the Emperor, *Romam lateritiam accepi, marmoream relinquo*, he addeth, " How much more " justly may our most bounteous King say, *I took Eng-* " *land, made of tiles, but I leave it of marble?*"

Anno 1546.

A further character of him. Udal in Pref. to Erasm. Par.

Another about this time, a learned man, and Prebendary of Windsor, thus spake of this King: " King Henry VIII. " besides his felicity and lucky fortune in all his most royal " enterprises, as well by martial chivalry, as also in politic " governance; besides his manifold conquests and victories " in France, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere; besides his " inestimable high triumphs, voyages, and acts done both " at home and beyond the seas; besides his exceeding " great and manifold buildings, palaces, honours, manors, " castles, fortresses, holds, block-houses, havens, as well for " the strength and safeguard of his realms and dominions, " as for the commodity of friends arriving, and the annoy- " ance of the enemies; beside the defence and maintenance " of all his ports and narrow seas with carikes, barks, " hulks, ships' galleys, and many other high and sumptu- " ous devices of shipwright; beside the abundant furnish- " ing of all and singular the premises with all kind of ord- " nance, artillery, and other requisite provisions; beside his " founding, edifying, and erecting of an incredible number " of bishops' sees, cathedrals, colleges, lectures, schools, 391 " and other colleges for students in both Universities, and " so sumptuous endowing every of them with lands, pos- " sessions, jewels, ornaments, and all requisite furniture, " so much and so large, as every one of the premises par- " ticularly might be judged an act sufficient in a King's " time to be done; besides his most vigilant and careful " study about the enacting of a great volume of right " wholesome statutes and laws for the commodity and be-

CHAP. LII.

Anno 1546.

" hoof of the public weal of England and his other domi-
" nions; and among these his uncessant endeavours about
" a reformation in religion; and therein as a thing most
" necessary for all common weals, tending to Christ's glory,
" the extirping and abolishing of the detestable usurpa-
" tions of the Papacy of Rome, the rooting up all sects of
" cloisterers, of all counterfeit religion, and of idolatry, to-
" gether with the setting forth of the Scripture in the vul-
" gar English tongue: beside all these premises, and his
" other acts, &c. King Henry was a Prince of singular
" prudence, of passing stout courage, of magnanimity in-
" comparable, of invincible fortitude, of notable activity, of
" dexterity wonderful. He was a continual welling fountain
" of eloquence, a very rare spectacle of humanity. Of ci-
" vility, or good nourture, an absolute precedent; a special
" pattern of clemency and moderation; a worthy example
" of regal justice; a bottomless spring of largess and be-
" nignity. He was in all the arts and faculties profoundly
" seen; in all liberal disciplines equal with the chiefest; in
" no kind of literature unexpert. He was to the world an
" ornament, to his country a treasure, to his friends a com-
" fort, to his enemies a terror; to his faithful and loving
" subjects a tender father, to innocents a sure protector, to
" wilful malefactors a sharp scourge, to his common weal
" and good people a quiet haven and anchor of safe-
" guard, &c. A man he was, in all gifts of nature, of for-
" tune, and of grace, peerless; and shortly to break off in a
" matter of itself infinite, a man above all praises." This quality I observe in the favourers of the Reformation in those days, that though this King were very hard upon them, and would not be brought to countenance them in many things, yet they were wont to give high encomiums of him upon all occasions. Which is a token that it was not all flattery which they spake, but truth in a great measure.

Hated mortally in Italy.

To all that hath been said of him, I add, that it must ever redound unto the honour of his memory, that bold and venturesome act of his, in so bravely casting off the

long usurped power of the Pope in these realms. Which so enraged that Bishop, that he excommunicated him, and set all the princes of Christendom upon him. And how mortally the King was hated in Italy, and railed at in all societies in those parts, we have the testimony of Mr. Pole, (afterwards Cardinal,) as he told the King plainly in a letter he wrote to him, about 1537, from those parts, *viz.* "that "though he were often in company with all sorts of people, "he never heard one (and he swore *afore God* to the truth "of it) either praised his actions or allowed them. And "that further, when he would take the King's part, and "speak in favour of what he did, he was in jeopardy of his "life, incited, as he plainly told the King, by the injustice "they judged of his doings." 392

Anno 1546.

As we have given some character of the King, so here shall follow another of the people. Of whom take this account, as it seems they were about the latter end of the King's reign. Both the gentry and the clergy grew extreme covetous. As for the lay-sort, they fell to raising their old rents, turned their arable into pasture, for grazing sheep, and enclosed commons, to the great oppression of the poor. This may be best understood by reading what one writes who lived in those days. "How do the rich "men, and especially such as be sheepmongers, oppress the "King's liege people, by devouring their common pastures "with their sheep. So that the poor people are not able "to keep a cow for the comfort of them and of their poor "families, but are like to starve and perish for hunger, if "there be not provisions made shortly. What sheep-"ground scapeth these caterpillars of the common weal? "How swarm they with abundance of flocks of sheep; and "yet when was wool ever so dear, or mutton of so great "price? If these sheepmongers go forth as they begin, the "people shall both miserably die for cold, and wretchedly "perish for hunger. For these greedy wolves and cumber-"ous cormorants will either sell their wool and their sheep "at their own price, or else they will sell none. O what a "diversity is this in the sale of wools! A stone of wool

The condition of the laity.

The rich covetous. Becon in his Jewel of Joy.

CHAP. LII.

Anno 1546.

" sometime to be sold at eight groats, and now for eight " shillings; and so likewise of the sheep. God have mercy " on us." And a little after: " Rich men were never so " much estranged from all pity and compassion towards the " poor people as they be at this present time. They de- " vour the people as it were a morsel of bread. If any " piece of ground delight their eye, they must needs have " it, other by hook or by crook. If the poor man will not " satisfy their covetous desires, he is sure to be molested, " troubled, and disquieted on such sort, that, whether he will " or not, (though both he, the careful wife, and miserable " children, with the whole family, perish for hunger,) he " shall forego it, or else it were as good for him to live " among the furies of hell, as to dwell by those rich carles " and covetous churles."

Depopulate towns.

There was another evil these rich men were guilty of; namely, of depopulating towns, by letting houses and cottages fall down to the ground, or pulling them down. They got many houses and tenements into their hands, yea, whole townships sometimes; and then they would suffer them to go to utter decay and ruin. By which means whole towns became desolate, and like to a wilderness, no man dwelling there, except it were a shepherd and his dog. Insomuch that the before-mentioned author said, " that he himself " knew many towns and villages sore decayed: so that " whereas in times past there were in some towns an hun- " dred households, now there remained not thirty; in some " fifty, there were not then ten; yea, which was more to be " lamented, some towns so wholly decayed, that there was " neither stick nor stone standing, as they use to say. Where " many men had good livings, and maintained hospitality; " able at all times to help the King in his wars, and to sus- " tain other charges; able also to help their poor neigh-
393 " bours, and virtuously to bring up their children in godly " letters and good sciences, now sheep and conies devour " altogether, no man inhabiting the foresaid places. So " that, he addeth, those beasts which were bred of God for " the nourishment of man, do now devour man. And since

" gentlemen began to be sheep-masters and feeders of cattle, the poor had neither victual nor cloth at any reasonable price. For these forestallers of the market had gotten all things so into their hands, that the poor men must either buy it at their price, or else miserably starve for hunger and die for cold. They abhorred the names of monks, friars, canons, nuns, &c. but their goods they greedily griped. And yet where the cloisters kept hospitality, let out their farms at a reasonable price, nourished schools, brought up youth in good letters, they did none of all these things. They lightly esteemed, and in a manner contemned the priests, parsons, vicars, prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embraced and niggardly retained. So that now they were become in effect, saith he, though not in name, very monks, friars, canons, priests, parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and at the last, what not? And yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not?" Anno 1546.

The condition of the Clergy.

As for the spiritual men, they affected mightily courtly living, and taking their pleasure. Little residence upon their benefices, and less hospitality. " God commandeth," saith the same author, " tithes to be paid. But for what " cause? That the Ministers should spend them in the " Court, or at the University, or about whoring, or in keeping of hawks or dogs, or in maintaining a sort of idle, valiant lubbers, and do nothing but consume the good fruits " of the earth? Nay, verily, but that there should be meat " in his house." For the parsonage, or vicarage, is God's house. The vast number of priests made them contemptible. For there were Mass-priests, Dirige-priests, Chantry-priests, Sacrificing-priests, as the author of the *Defence of Priests' Marriage* reckons them up, and tells us, that Pighius, in his book of *Controversies*, complaining of the contempt of Priests, attributes the same to the great swarm and multitude of them, over many. The great neglect of their parishes added also to their disrepute. For they made them only serve as means to accumulate wealth to themselves, without any conscience to discharge their duties

Defence of Priests' Mar. p. 24.

CHAP. LII.

Anno 1546.

Follow secular business.

there. For they for the most part followed divers trades and occupations secular: some were surveyors of lands, some receivers, some stewards, some clerks of the kitchen, many gardeners, and orchard-makers. And commonly this was the trade; the better benefice, and the cure the more, the seldomer was the Parson or Vicar resident at home. If they wanted now and then sermons to be preached in their churches, they got friars to do it for them. Or, as the author above mentioned expresses it, "if any of them thought "for manner's sake to have some sermons in their cures, "they had friars at their hand ready to supply such parts "at their pleasure."

Page 29.

394 CHAP. LIII.

A notable book came forth, called, A Supplication of the poor Commons to the King; *shewing the late state of the kingdom. The King's care for the education of his children in learning. Praises of the King. Leagues, conventions, &c. in this King's reign.*

A Supplication of the poor Commons.

THIS year came forth a little book, called, *A Supplication of the poor Commons;* addressed to the King: whereunto was added another book, called, *The Supplication of Beggars,* printed anno 1524: which book is preserved in Fox's Acts and Monuments. This Supplication is a notable piece: shewing the state of the kingdom in those latter years of King Henry's reign; and representing the condition of the various ranks of the subjects, the usurpations of Priests, the hardships of the poor, oppressions of the richer sort, their covetousness, the stop made to the progress of religion; which occasioned the complaints of the commons to the King for redress of these things. And it gives such a light into the affairs of those days, that a better history can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very times: and since it is a piece hardly to be met withal, I shall give here some periods of it.

It was prefaced, " To the most victorious Prince Henry " VIII. by the grace of God, King of England, France, " and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head " of the Church of England and Ireland, immediately next " unto God: his humble and most faithful subjects of the " realm of England wish life everlasting."

Beginning, " Piteously complaining the poor commons " of this your Majesty's realm; greatly lamenting their " own miserable poverty: and yet much more the most la- " mentable and more than wretched estate of their children " and posterity, &c. Not many years tofore your Highness' " poor subjects, the lame and impotent creatures of this " realm, presented your Highness with a pitiful and la- " mentable complaint; imputing the head and chief cause " of their penury and lack of relief unto the great and in- " finite number of valiant and sturdy beggars, which had, " by their subtile and crafty demeanour and begging, got " into their hands more than the third part of the yearly " revenues and possessions of this your Highness' realm. " Whereupon, as it seemed, your Highness, seeking a re- " dress and reformation of these great and intolerable enor- " mities, as a merciful father of your natural country, moved " with pity towards the miserable and pitiful number of " blind, lame, lazars and others, the impotent creatures of " this your realm, hath, with most earnest diligence, sup- " planted, and, as it were, weeded out a great number of " valiant and sturdy monks, friers, chanons, heremits, and " nuns; disguised hypocrites, who under the name of the " contempt of this world, wallowed in the sea of this world's " wealth. And to the intent your loving and obedient " subjects might the better be able to relieve the needy and " impotent creatures, you took from them the great num- " ber of gilted [guilded] beggars, [images of saints.] Holi- " ness was so fast rooted in the hearts of us, your poor " commons, through the false delusion of the foresaid " sturdy and valiant beggars, that we would not stick to go " an hundred miles of our bare feet to seek one of them. " That we might not only bestow our alms upon them,

Their poverty.

Sturdy beggars, *viz.* the monks.

395

CHAP. LIII.

"but also do them reverence and honour, none otherwise "than if they had been very gods.

Anno 1546.

"Yea, when your Highness had ordained, that all these "foresaid beggars should be utterly abolished, never to "deceive us of our alms any more; we, like men always "brought up in foolish superstition of these false Phari- "sees and flattering hypocrites, knew not the obedience "that we owe to you, our natural and rightful Prince: "but incontinent fell in an uproar; crying [up] our holy- "days, abbeys, and pilgrimages: none otherwise than the "Ephesians did against the elect vessel of God, St. Paul, "when he said, *They are not gods which be made with* "*hands:* and as the Jews did against holy Stephen, when "he said, *That God dwelleth not in a house made with* "*hands.* Yea, had not God wrought on your part, in ap- "peasing that sturdy throng, this realm had even then "been like to have been utterly decayed. For even those, "whom your Highness had called together to assist you in "that dangerous time, were for the most part so bent to "the opinion of the other, that many would not stick to "say, *When we shall come to the battle, we know what we* "*have to do.*

"They, the commons, then promised him for certain, "that they, walking in the fear of the Lord, would not "from henceforth, so long as the knowledge of God's word "reigned, attempt any such so devilish enterprise, as to re- "bel against his Highness, their most natural Sovereign "and liege Lord; either for their fathers' popish traditions, "or other their own fantastical dreams, &c.

"The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out "did daily in their writings, counsels, and preaching, stir us

Sermons of Priests.

"thereunto, [*viz.* rebellion.] For what mean they in their "sermons, when they lament the great discords and mise- "rable state of this our time; wishing, that all things were "now as it was twenty years since; but that they would "have a Pope, pardons, lighting of candles to images, "knocking and kneeling to them, with running hither and "thither on pilgrimage?

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

Bible in English disliked.

" They tell us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, " diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have " reigned ever since men had the Scripture in English. " And what is this other, than to cause men's consciences to " abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this? " They say, it sufficeth a layman to believe as they teach; " and not to meddle with the interpretation of the Scrip- " ture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have " us so blind again as we were, when we would have fought " against our natural Prince, for the maintenance of their " popish traditions and purgatory patrimony? They can- " not abide this name, the *word of God;* but they " would have Scriptures called, the *commandments of God.* " They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy " to have the Scripture in his house, unless he may spend " 10*l.* by year. And what meaneth this, but that they would 396
" famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food " from them? We appeal to your Highness's judgment in " this behalf, whether this would be indifferent, or no; if " none should be allowed meat in your Highness's house, " but such as were clothed in velvet, with chains of gold " about their necks? What servants would your Majesty " have shortly? What starvlings would your servants be " of all other? For no man within your realm may refuse " to do you service. Hath God put immortal souls in none " other, but such as be possessioners of this world? Did " not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor* " *received the Gospel?*—Why do these men disable them " from reading of the Scriptures, that are not endued with " the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gra- " cious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut " up the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not " in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would. " They are like to a cur dog lying in a cock of hay: for he " will eat none of the hay himself, nor suffer any other " beast that comes to eat thereof.

" But some will probably say, they were not all sturdy " beggars, that were in the Parliament, when this law was

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

"established. For many of them, and the most part, "were secular men; and not of such ability, that this law "would permit them to have the Scripture in their houses. "Wherefore this law is indifferent, and taketh not the "word of God from us. But we, with our full consent, "have committed it to them in that said law limited. "Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from "us to the possessioners of this world, we may well be "likened to the Gedarites, Mark v. which desired Christ to "depart from their country; and the lurking night-birds, "which cannot abide the brightness of the sun.—If we "have rejected this merciful proffer of our most merciful "Father, (to have the Scriptures, the declaration of God's "will,) when he used your Highness as his instrument to "publish and set forth his most lively word; let us fall "down prostrate with repentance of this contempt of his "merciful gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold "the dolours of our hearts, and to forget our obstinacy "therein; giving your Highness such desire of our salva-"tion; and that you will as favourably restore unto us "the Scripture in our English tongue, as you did at the "first translation thereof set it abroad. Let not the adver-"sary take occasion to say, the Bible was of a traitor's set-"ting forth, and not of your Highness' own doing. For

Tho. Crumwel.

"so they report, that Thomas Crumwel, late Earl of Es-"sex, was the chief doer, and not your Highness, but as "led by him.

A Bible to be in every parish church.

"When your Highness gave commandment, that they "(the Bishops and Clergy) should see, that there were in "every parish church one Bible at the least, set at liberty; "so that every man might freely come to it, and read "therein such things as should be for his consolation; many "of this wicked generation, as well Priests as others their "faithful adherents, would pluck it, other into the quire, "other else into some pew, where poor men durst not pre-"sume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches "that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the

397 "withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they

" never rested till they had a commandment from your " Highness, that no man, of what degree soever he were, " should read the Bible in the time of God's service, as they " call it. As though the hearing of their Latin lies, and " conjuring of water and salt, were rather the service of " God, than the study of his most holy word. This was " their diligence in setting forth the Bible at your High- " ness' commandment. But when your Highness had de- " vised a proclamation for the burning of certain transla- " tions of the New Testament, they were so bold to burn " the whole Bible, because they were of those men's [Tyn- " dal, Coverdale, &c.] translation; [and not the New Tes- " tament only.]

Some translations to be burnt.

" We heard say, that they proffered your Highness, that " if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch " as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, they would " oversee it; and within seven years set it forth again.— " Your Bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have " gotten in the Bible for seven years, they would have " trusted, that, by that time, either your Highness should " have been dead, or the Bible forgotten: or else they " themselves out of your Highness' reach; so that you " should not have had like power over them, as you have " now.

Some offer to translate the Bible again within seven years.

" When your Majesty appointed two of them [Hethe " and Tunstal] to overlook the translation of the Bible, " they said, they had done your Highness' commandment " therein; yea they set their names thereunto. But when " they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other " side, they denied it; and said, they never meddled there- " with: causing the printer to take out their names, which " were erst set before the Bible, to certify all men that they " had diligently perused it, according as your Highness " had commanded.

Two Bishops to overlook the translation.

" One other point of their diligence your Highness may " note, in the setting forth and using of your Highness's " Primer, both in English and Latin: and in the diligent " reading unto the people the exhortation to prayer:

The King's Primer. The prayer there.

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

"which you ordained and commanded to be read always "before the procession in English. We think, that no "man can blameless say, that ever he heard one of them "read it twice over. Yea, when your Highness was re- "turned from your victory, done at Bolein, they did what "they could to have it called in again. Insomuch as "they caused all such parishes as they might command, to "use their old *Kyrie Eleyson* again. And yet to this day "they use on solemn feasts to follow their old Ordinary, "notwithstanding your Highness's commandment.

The Priests follow their old Ordinary.

"But when they catch any thing that soundeth to the "contrary, it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shall "be swinged in every pulpit, with, *This is the King's gra- "cious will:* and yet these heretics will be still doing in "the Scriptures. A shoemaker, a cobler, a tailor, a boy "not yet twenty years of age, shall not stick to reprove "that a learned man of forty years study shall affirm in "the declaration of God's word. Oh! how godly were "the people disposed, when they knew nothing of the "Scripture, but as they were taught by profound Clerks "and well-learned men? Then were there hospitals builded
398 "for the poor; then were there colleges builded for the "maintenance of learning. Yea, if they durst, they would "say, then were abbeys and chauntries founded, for the re- "lief of the poor souls in the bitter pains of *purgatory;* then "were our purses filled with the offerings of the devout "people, that used to seek the blessed images and relics of "our Saviour Christ, and his blessed mother Mary, with "the residue of the saints.

The Priests vaunt in their pulpits.

Unfit men obtain benefices.

"Then, for the abuse of obtaining and holding *benefices:* "let them be appointed livings worthy their ministration. "What reason is it, that a surveyor of buildings or lands, "an alchymist, or a goldsmith, shall be rewarded with be- "nefice upon benefice? which of very reason ought to be "committed to none other, but such as who by godly "learning and conversation were able, and would apply "themselves to walk amidst their flocks in all godly ex- "ample and purity of life. How great a number is there of

The King's Chaplains.

" them, that in the name of your Chaplains, may dispend " yearly by benefices, some one C. some CC. some CCC. " some CCCC. some CCCCC. yea, some a M. marks and " more. It is a common saying among us, your Highness' " poor commons, that one of your Highness's Chaplains, " not many years since, used, when he lusted to ride abroad " for his repast, to carry with him a scroll; wherein were " written the names of his parishes whereof he was Parson.

A story of one of them.

" And it fortuned in his journey he espied a church stand- " ing upon a fair hill, pleasant beset with groves and plain " fields, the goodly green meadows lying beneath, by the " banks of a crystalline river, garnished with willows, pop- " lars, palm trees, and alders, most beautiful to behold. This " vigilant Pastor, taken with the sight of this terrestrial " paradise, said unto a servant of his, (the clerk of his sig- " net, no doubt, it was; for he used to carry his master's " ring in his mouth,) Robin, saith he, yonder benefice stand- " eth very pleasantly; I would it were mine. The servant " answered, Why, Sir, quoth he, it is your own benefice; " and named his parish. Is it so, quoth your Chaplain? " And with that he pulled out his scroll, for to see for cer- " tainty whether it were so or not. See, most dread Sove- " reign, what care they took for the flock. When they see " their parish churches, they know them not by their situ- " ation. If your Highness had so many swine in your " realm as you have men, would you commit them to the " keeping and feeding of such swineherds, as did not know " their swine's coats when they saw them?

Complaint of extortioners and raisers of rent or fines.

" Instead of these sturdy beggars, there is crept in a " sturdy sort of extortioners. These men cease not to op- " press us, your Highness' poor commons, in such sort, " that many thousands of us, which here before lived ho- " nestly upon our sore labour snd travail, bringing up our " children in the exercise of honest labour, are now con- " strained, some to beg, some to borrow, and some to rob " and steal, to get food for us and our poor wives and " children. And, that is most like to grow to inconveni- " ence, we are constrained to suffer our children to spend

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

"the flower of their youth in idleness; bringing them up,
"other to bear wallets, other else, if they be sturdy, to stuff
"prisons, and garnish gallow trees. For such of us as have
"no possessions left to us by our predecessors and elders,
399 "departed this life, can now get no ferm, tenement, or cot-
"tage at these men's hands, without we pay unto them
"more than we are able to make. Yea, this was tolerable,
"so long as after this extreme exaction we were not, for the
"residue of our years, oppressed with much greater rents
"than hath of ancient times been paid for the same grounds.
"For then a man might, within a few years, be able to re-
"cover the fine, and afterwards live honestly by his travail.
"But now these extortioners have so improved their lands,
"that they take of 40*s.* fine 40*l.* and of 5 nobles rent 5*l.* yet
"not sufficed with this oppression within their own inherit-
"ance, they buy at your Highness' hand such abbey lands,
"as you appoint to be sold. And when they stand once
"full seized therein, they make us, your poor commons,
"so in doubt of their threatenings, that we dare do none
"other, but bring into their courts our copies taken of the
"convents, and of the late dissolved monasteries, and con-
"firmed by your High Court of Parliament. They make
"us believe, that by virtue of your Highness all our former
"writings are void, and of no effect: and that if we will
"not take new leases of them, we must then forthwith
"avoid the grounds, as having therein no interest. More-
"over, when they can espy no commodious thing to be
"bought at your Highness' hand, they labour for and ob-
"tain leases for twenty-one years, in and upon such abbey
"lands as lie commodious for them. Then do they dash us
"out of countenance with your Highness' authority; mak-
"ing us believe, that by the virtue of your Highness' lease
"our copies are void. So that they compel us to surrender
"our former writings, whereby we ought to hold, some for
"two, and some for three lives: and to take by indenture
"for twenty-one years, overing both fines and rents, be-
"yond all reason and conscience.

"This thing causeth, that such possessioners as hereto-

" fore were able and used to maintain their own children, " and some of ours, to learning, and such other qualities " as are necessary to be had in this your Highness' realm, " are now of necessity compelled to set their own children " to labour. And all is little enough to pay the lord's rent, " and to take the house anew at the end of the year. So " that we, your poor commons, which have no grounds, " nor are able to take any of these extortioners lands, can " find no way to set our children on work now, though we " proffer them for meat and drink, and poor clothes to " cover their bodies. Help, merciful Prince, in this ex- " tremity. Suffer not the hope of so noble a realm ut- " terly to perish through the unsatiable desire of the pos- " sessioners.

Prince Edward.

" Remember, that you shall not leave this kingdom to a " stranger, but to the child of great towardness, our most " natural Prince Edward. Employ your study to leave " him a common weal to govern; and not an island of brute " beasts, among whom the strongest devour the weaker.

They put him in mind of his hoar head.

" If you suffer Christ's poor members to be thus op- " pressed, look for none other than the rightful judgment of " God, for your negligence in your office and ministry. " For the blood of all them that through your negligence " shall perish, shall be required at your hand. Be merciful " therefore to yourself and us, your most obeisant subjects. 400 " Endanger not your soul by the suffering of us, your " poor commons, to be brought all to the names of *beggars*, " and most miserable wretches. Let us be unto your High- " ness, as the inferior members of the body unto their head. " Remember, that your hoar hairs are a token, that nature " maketh haste to absolve the course of your life. Prevent " the subtile imaginations of them that gaily look after the " crown of this realm, after your days. For what greater " hope can they have, as concerning that detestable and " devilish imagination, than that they might win the hearts " of us, your Highness' commons, by delivering us from " the captivity and misery that we are in.

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

Vice and wickedness reigned.

"Defer not, most dread sovereign Lord, the reformation "of these so great enormities: for the wound is even unto "death.—By this we mean the great and mighty abomina- "tion of vice, that now reigneth within this your High- "ness' realm this day. For *whoredom* is more esteemed than "wedlock; although not universally, yet among the great- "est number of licentious persons. *Simony* hath lost his "name: and *usury* is lawful gains, &c. What example of "life is in us this day, to declare that we rather be the "people of God, than the Jews or Mahometans? Certes, "most renowned Prince, none, but that we confess him to "be God. And that were sufficient, if our deeds did not "deny him.

Popish Priests.

"But these dumb dogs have learned to fawn upon them "that use to bring them bread; and to be wonderful "hasty, when they be maintained and cherished. But if "they be once bid *couch*, they know their *Sire Pope* so "well, that they draw the tail between the legs, and get "themselves straight to the kennel. And then come whoso "will, and do what they will, these dogs will stir no more, "than they hear their master say, *Hey cut*, and *Long tail*. "So fraid they are of stripes, and lest they should be tied "up so short, that they might not range abroad, and worry "now and then a simple lamb or two.

Complaint of an act for tithes in London.

"The last year they obtained by their importunity a "grant, which, if it be not revoked, will in continuance of "time be the greatest impoverishment of us, your poor "commons, and chiefly in the city of London, that ever "chanced since the first beginning thereof. They have ob- "tained, and it is enacted, that every man within the said "city shall yearly pay unto them 6*d. ob.* of every 10*s.* "[rent.] So that if the lord of the grounds please to double "and trible the rents, as they do indeed, then must the "poor tenant pay also double and trible tenths, as due in- "crease of their riches, &c. Have compassion upon us, "most gracious Sovereign; suffer not these unsatiable dogs "to eat us out of all that we have. Consider, that it is

" against all reason and conscience, that we, your poor " commons, should be thus oppressed: that where the land- " lord demandeth of us double and triple rent, that then " we shall pay also to the *parson* double and triple tenths. " But, most dear Sovereign, how craftily have they wrought " this feat! They require not the tenths of the landlords " that have the increase, but of the tenants; which of ne- " cessity are constrained to pay to the lords their asking; " either else to be without dwelling-places. They know " right well, that if they should have matched themselves 401
" with the landlords, they happily would have been too " weak for them at the length. But they were in good " hopes, that we, your poor commons, should never be able " to stand in their hands.——If we have not wherewith to " pay them, they may, by virtue of the act, distress such " implements as they shall find in our houses, &c.

" Doubtless, most renowned Prince, if the oppression " were not too much, beyond all reason and conscience, we " would never have troubled your Highness with it. Yea, " if there were any hope, that they would be satisfied by " this, we would rather fast three days every week, than we " would seem to be slack in doing all such things as the law " bindeth us to do. But we see daily such great increase " of their unsatiable desire, that we fear least in process of " time they will make us all beg, and bring to them all " that we can get.

The poor beg for money to pay for the Sacrament at Easter.

" It is no rare thing to see poor impotent creatures beg " at Easter, to pay for the Sacrament, when they receive it. " And it is no less common to see men beg for such dead " corpses, as have nothing to pay the Priest's duty. Yea, " it is not long since there was in your Highness's city of " London a dead corpse brought to the church to be bu- " ried, being so poor, that it was naked, without any cloth " to cover it. But these charitable men, which teach us " that it is one of the works of mercy to bury the dead, " would not take the pains to bury the dead corpse, unless " they had their *duty*, as they call it. In fine, they caused

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

" the dead corpse to be carried into the street again, and " there to remain, till the poor people, which dwelled in " the place where the poor creature died, begged so much " as the Priests call their due.

Priests' petty briberies.

" Judge then, most victorious Prince, what an unreasonable sum the whole and gross sum of these enhanced " tenths, with other their *petty briberies* draweth to. They " receive of every hundred pound, 13*l.* 15*s.* and of the " thousand, 137*l.* 10*s.* Then may your Highness soon be " certified, what they receive of the whole rents of the City. " No doubt, gracious Prince, they receive of us yearly " more than your Highness did at any time, when you were " beset on every side with mortal enemies. And yet their " consciences will serve them well enough to take three " times as much as they do, if your Highness would suffer " them. As they use to say, that forasmuch as it is established by a law, they may with good conscience take it, if " it were more. Yea, if your Highness would suffer them, " their conscience would suffer them to lie with our wives, " every tenth: and the other lords, to have every tenth " wife in the parish at their pleasure. But our trust is, " that your Highness will tie them shorter. And, to say " the truth, it is time. For if you suffer them a while, " they will attempt to make your Highness pay the tenths " unto them, as long as they have paid them to you. For " they have already sought our warehouses, storehouses, " stables, wharfs, and fairs: causing us to pay, not only the " tenths, (for that we have paid before,) but also the seventh penny of the whole rents, raised throughout the " whole city.

King Henry once led by Priests into superstition.

" Remember, Oh! how they led your Highness, when " you sent forth your letters under your Broad Seal, commanding every and singular your Highness's subjects, " under pain of your Highness's displeasure, to aid, support, and further all and singular proctors and pardoners. " Remember in what case they had brought your Highness, when you thought it godliness to visit in your own

402

"person the graves, images, and relics of superstition "and dead saints: doing to them divine honour and reve- "rence, &c.

"Your Highness commanded, that none should receive "the Sacrament at Easter but such as could and did use "the Lord's Prayer, with the Articles of the Faith, in the "English tongue. But they bid us use that which is most "ready to us. Who to receive the Lord's Supper at Easter.

"They baptize our children in the Latin tongue: bid- "ding us say *Volo*, and *Credo;* when we know not what it "is they demand of us. By this means it is brought to "pass, that we know not what we promise in our baptism, "but superstitiously we think, that the holiness of the "words, which sound so strangely in our ears, and of the "water that is so oft crossed, is the doing of all the matter. "Yea, we think that if our children be well plunged in the "font, they shall be healthful in all their limbs ever after. "But if they suffer by any misadventure, or have any hurt "in any of their members, incontinently we lay the fault; "saying, that member was not well christened." These are some of the chief parts of this notable *Supplication of the Commons*. Baptism by Priests.

I have still further to add under this reign, and to enter upon record, as a most commendable quality of this King, his care for the education of his children, not only his son, but his daughters too, in good learning, and in the knowledge of the learned tongues, as well as in other accomplishments. Which example of the King many noblemen following, bred up their daughters under the best learned men, whom they fetched from the Universities. And many young women now arrived to very considerable attainments in the tongues and philosophy. Sir Anthony Cook's daughters were all excellently learned in Latin and Greek; and so were Sir Thomas More's. Queen Katharine Par was well learned, and the Lady Jane Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's unfortunate daughter; and so were the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth. Erasmus, in one of his letters wrote in the year 1529, makes mention of the former: "That The King bred his daughters to learning.

Ep. xxx. lib. 19.

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

" as Katharine the Queen, her mother, was *egregiè docta*, so " her daughter Mary *scribit benè Latinas epistolas*; that " is, writ letters in good Latin. And Sir Thomas More's " house was nothing else but *musarum domicilium*; a ha- " bitation of the muses." In the same letter he speaks how the Emperor's aunt Mary delighted in Latin books To whom therefore he wrote a treatise; entitled, *Vidua Christiana*, The Christian Widow. And lastly, the same Erasmus hence makes this observation: [a] " It is pretty that " this sex should now at last betake itself to the ancient " examples..... The scene of human things is changed; " the monks famed in times past for learning are become " ignorant, and women love books."

King of Portugal's daughter writes to the Lady Mary in Latin.

403 As to the Lady Mary's learning, I will set down a Latin letter, which in November this year, by the opportunity of some ambassador, was sent to her from her namesake, another King's learned daughter, and related to her; wherein she makes the fame of our Lady Mary's learning, and her notable endowments, which rendered her famous abroad, as well as consanguinity, the reason of her writing to her, and why she desired her correspondence. By which well-penned letter we may observe the care that in that age was taken for the bringing up of ladies in good literature in other parts as well as in England. But behold the letter.

Maria Emanuelis Portugalliæ Regis filia, Mariæ Principi, Henrici Angliæ Regis filiæ.

MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

Si nulla inter nos esset necessitudo, quæ peculiari quadem ratione ad amandum et scribendum alliceret, tamen singularis tua vel virtus vel eruditio, quæ ad nos usque non obscura fama defertur, efficeret profectò, serenissima Princeps, ut et te amarem, et literariam consuetudinem, quando alia non datur inter nos esse, cuperem. Nunc quum ad eximias animi tui dotes, quæ te orbe toto reddunt amabilem, jus etiam consanguinitatis mihi tecum interce-

[a] Bellum est, eum sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere..... Scena rerum humanarum invertitur: monachi literas nesciunt, et fœminæ libris indulgent. *Ubi supra.*

dat, non video cur alias scribendi ad te causas disquiram; quum majores nec quæri debeant, nec inveniri possint. Quas ob res tenebar ego jampridem incredibili quodam desiderio te literis appellandi meis. Nam ex quo de candidissimis tuis moribus, de singulari prudentia, de bonarum literarum studio, ac denique de omni virtutum genere, quibus nobilitaris, accepi; dici non potest quantum te de his omnibus amer, quanti te faciam; ut omittam interim sanguinis vinculum, quo quum venit in mentem, non mediocriter soleo delectari. Anno 1546.

Ergo quum tam opportuna quam volebam nuncii occasio nunc esset oblata, statui hoc ad te literarum dare; quibus animum erga te meum, i. e. tui amantissimum, significarem, et literas item tuas elicerem. Quas jure meo videor jam sperare debere, quod te prior subinvitarem. Facies ergo tuum, quum rescribes, officium. Facies autem cumulatius, si de salute, deque voluntate erga me tua pluribus ad me verbis diligenter scripseris. Ego enim, si te literis meis delectari perspexero, non intermittam, quin quoties tabellarii potestas erit, meum tibi hoc in genere præstem officium. A te autem peto primum, ut me ames; quod quoniam mihi jam debere videris, spero te non gravatè facturam: deinde, ut siquid ego facere possum, quidpiamve apud nos est quod tibi sit usui, aut voluptati futurum, ea imperes fiducia, quam vel benevolentia in te mea pollicetur, vel tam arcta necessitudo deposcit. Non enim committam, ut aut fidem meam aut spem tuam fefellisse possim videri. Vale. Datis apud Santarenam, nonis Novembris, anno millesimo, quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

Some further account of King Henry.

But to take yet a further review of this great King before we conclude. Beside what hath been related of him by others already mentioned, let me add the judgments of two persons of eminence, living in that King's time, and after; both of them Statesmen, and well acquainted with the transactions of that Monarch; men also of integrity as well as learning. 404

By Sir Rich. Morison;

One of them, *viz.* Sir Richard Morison, commends the

CHAP. LIII.

endowments of his mind, as well as the beauty of his outward proportion, aspect, and demean, in these words: *Quis tam bardus, tamve barbarus est, ut in illo Principis serenissimo ore, clementissimi Regis signa non videat? Quis potuit unquam frontem illam, vultum illum vel procul vidisse, et non agnovisse clementiæ sedem? Quis augustam illam totius corporis majestatem potuit, vel è longinquo, spectasse, et non diademate, sceptro, balteo, fibulis, fimbriis, regno denique natum, dicere? At patior, corporis dotes, quas Rex omni virtutum genere ornatissimus, nunquam in suis laudibus locum habere voluit, nihil ad rem attinere, nisi cum natura providentia Dei O. M. benignitatem certasse comperias, animumque multo pulchriorem is dederit, quam illa corpus parare potuit.* That is, "Who is there "so dull, or so barbarous, as not to see, in that most serene "countenance, the signs of a King? Who ever could see "even at a distance that forehead, that face, and not ac- "knowledge it the seat of clemency? Who could behold "afar off that august majesty of his whole person, and "not say, he was born to a diadem, a scepter, a belt, &c. "in a word, to a kingdom? But the King, who was adorned "with all kind of virtues, admitted not these his corporal "endowments to have any place in his praises; but that, by "the providence of Almighty God, kindness and goodness "strove with nature, and gave him a mind much fairer "than they could frame his body." This in general.

Anno 1546. In Apomax.

And Sir Tho. Chaloner.

But for a more particular account of this King, and of his qualities, abilities, and influence in the affairs of the world, wherein he was concerned, I subjoin what Sir Thomas Chaloner more largely shews in his poem, entitled, *In laudem Henrici Octavi Regis Angliæ præstantissimi, Carmen panegyricum.*

In laud. Hen. carm. paneg.

And first, in excuse for the King's vices, he hath these words:

Quo minus id mirum est, si fortunatior et Rex
Indulsit genio, admittens quandoque proterva,
At non immani veniam superantia facto.

He was learned, pleasant, and eloquent, from his younger years, as he describes him: CHAP. LIII.

Quem Musæ fovere sinu, Charitasque lepore
Dotarunt, gratæ multa gravitate loquelæ. Anno 1546.

When he had occasion to speak to his subjects, or to some ambassador, or to any that came to him about business, he spake well and readily; and that in divers languages. He moved them with his eloquence. And so he did also by his behaviour and countenance. For,

Gestus, vultusque etiam sat amabile spirans.

As for his make and person, it was beyond all others: insomuch that when he designed to conceal himself, he was known. For he would sometimes go disguised through the city, to know the better the minds and manners of his people. He walked stately, and was higher by the shoulders than others. 405

Specie atque ipso gressu sublimior esse,
Quam mentiretur vulgo apparcret, et alta
Ingrediens cervice tenus turbæ superesset
Attonitæ, humano ceu quiddam augustius ore,
Cerneret obtutu fixo.

His aspect was beyond all others, and his countenance bespake majesty.

Vicerat ille omnes tunc pulchros pulchrior unus:
Tanta fuit sacræ majestas regia formæ.

His mind equal to the beauty of his body.

Sed acer et aptus præstitit.

He exceeded others in shooting in the long bow, and in wrestling, and in riding, and managing the great horse. He became his armour, which he sometimes put on: and exercised himself in hunting.

He held the balance between the two great kings of Europe, and set bounds to their conquests.

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

Trutina adversos dum pensitat æqua.
At potuit prohibere altrum, ne vinceret alter.
Atque ita si alteruter præstaret, sorte favente,
Jamque instans, jugulum victricia tela pararet
Figere in alterius, quo junctis viribus auctus,
Tunc vacuo solus possit dominarier orbi.

He was a due executor of justice upon malefactors. And for his rigour in having justice done upon breach of his laws, he was apt to be censured. But he saw it was necessary to be done; who before in his younger time was too mild, and inclined to spare offenders.

Junior hic etenim, dum forsan mite benigni
Principis ingenium precibus miseratio flectit,
Non uni indulsit, non uno crimine turpi.
At cum ignoscendo tandem perceperat, unus
Quanta nocens toti dimissus damna maniplo
Inferat, audaci ingeminans sua crimina facto;
Noluit ulterius jam clemens dicier, uni
Parcere, sed multis duxit mansuetius esse
Parcere, quam soli, qui nollet parcere multis.
Ergo metum duxit vinclum præstantius esse,
Quo populus temere mores mutatus in horas,
Stare loco possit, crudæ formidine pœnæ,
Quam si indulgentem vitiis vitiosior horæ, &c.

406 The King was assistant to the poor against their proud, rich, oppressing neighbours: for if any such happened to live near a rich man, on whom they had any dependance, unless they did whatsoever he pleased, and were absolutely at his nod, he seized upon all that the poor man had.

Actum erat istius de re, de bobus et agro.

And he would say, "Go, seek some new habitation: I "will not suffer it unrevenged; but you shall know, who I "am, and who you are."

Hæc olim Henricus damnans malesueta potentum

Imperia, injusto miseros torquentia fastu,
Ulterius vetuit.

Anno 1546.

And appointed judges, at stated months in the year, to go down and decide suits and contentions in the middle of the kingdom, after the ancient custom; to do justice to the poor and obscure, as well as the rich, without respect of persons.

Pauperne obscurus, an aurum
An genus et proavos jactet, discrimine nullo.

This King extolled. And why.

This King, notwithstanding some unjustifiable deeds of his, and shedding some innocent blood, was in the latter end of his reign much applauded and extolled; and that chiefly for two or three brave acts; *viz.* first, the rejecting the Bishop of Rome, extirpating his pretended supremacy in these kingdoms; and not allowing any papal jurisdiction over his subjects. The second, in dissolving the monasteries, and putting an end to idle monks, friars, and nuns. And the third, in causing the holy Scripture in the English tongue to be freely read and used in his kingdom by the laity. Observe the praises given him by one in an epistle to his last Queen, Katharine. "His most excellent Majesty "being a man after the heart of the Lord, and being a "right David, chosen to destroy Goliah, the huge and cum- "brous enemy of Israel, without any armour, and without "any other weapon but the stone of God's word, cast out "of the sling of the divine Spirit, working in him, and his "laws made here in England; and being the elected in- "strument of God to pluck down the idol of the Romish "Antichrist. Who, following the steps of his father, Luci- "fer, hath not only usurped a kind of supremacy and ty- "ranny over all princes on earth, as well Christen as hea- "then, but also hath ensurged against heaven; and hath "lift up and exalted himself above all things that is called "God; making void the plain commandment, for the ad- "vancing of his own more than *pharisaical* traditions; "perverting the true sense of the holy Scriptures, and

Udal's Pref. to Erasm. Paraphr. on St. Luke translated.

CHAP. LIII.

Anno 1546.

" wresting them to the maintenance of his abominations,
" being both afore God and man detestable. His High-
" ness being our Ezechias, by the providence of God, de-
" puted and sent to be the destroyer, not only of all coun-
407 " terfeits in religion, who swarmed among us like disguised
" maskers, and not mummers, but mumlets; who, under
" the cloak of holiness, seduced the people, and devoured
" the houses of rich widows; and were maintainers of all
" superstition, idolatry, and rebellion; but also to root up
" all idolatry done to dead images of stone and timber, as
" unto God, &c.

" His most excellent Majesty, from the first day that he
" wore the imperial crown of this realm, foresaw, that to the
" executing of the premises it was necessary that the people
" should be reduced to the sincerity of Christ's religion, by
" knowing of God's word; he considered, that requisite it
" was, his subjects were nouzzled in Christ, by reading the
" Scriptures: whose knowledge would easily induce them
" to the clear espying of the slights of the Romish juggling.
" And therefore, as soon as might be, his Highness, by most
" wholsome and godly laws, provided, that it might be
" leeful for all his faithful loving subjects to read the word
" of God, and the rules of Christ's discipline, which they
" professed. He provided, that the holy Bible should be
" set forth in our own vulgar language: to the end, that
" England might the better attain to the sincerity of
" Christ's doctrine: which they might draw out of the clear
" fountain and spring of the gospel, &c. By this his Ma-
" jesty's most godly provision it hath come to pass, that the
" people, which long time had been bred in error and blind-
" ness by blind guides, monks, friars, chanons, and papisti-
" cal preachers, do now so plainly see the clear light, that
" they do willingly abhor idolatry and superstition: they
" do now know their duty to God and their Prince: they
" do now embrace the verity for verity sake, &c. Finally,
" that their David, the King Henry VIII. had so sub-
" stantially cast the foundation, and raised the building of

" the temple, that he trusted it should be no burden to " their young Solomon [Prince Edward] to consummate " and finish the same, when his time should come." CHAP. LIII. Anno 1546.

As this King was contemporary with the greatest monarchs of Europe, *viz.* the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France, so he was engaged in many wars and in divers leagues and pacifications with them or either of them, for the better consulting the peace of mankind. Which, what they were with each prince, and in what years made, throughout the whole course of his reign, I have retrieved the titles thereof, and transcribed them from a curious MS. in the Cotton library; consisting of leagues, treaties, conventions, commissions, instruments, confirmations of treaties, oaths, obligations, articles, &c. This transcript is reposited in the Appendix, and concludes it. King Henry's leagues. N°. CXX.